



**A University of Sussex DPhil thesis**

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details



# Piety in Peril

*A religiously conservative sixteenth century  
school of church monuments in  
Sussex, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*

**Volume 1**

David Robert Hutchinson

Candidate for a Doctor of Philosophy degree  
in Archæology

University of Sussex

Submitted: November 2010

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

SIGNED

DATE

**UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX**

David Robert Hutchinson

D.Phil. in Archæology

**‘PIETY IN PERIL’****SUMMARY**

DURING APPROXIMATELY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS of the early to mid-sixteenth century, a hitherto largely unnoticed series of Caen stone tombs were erected in Sussex and Hampshire churches with designs that emphasized religious imagery. These crudely-carved but high-status monuments displayed the piety of those commemorated and included a transitional mixture of Gothic and Renaissance motifs. Strong circumstantial evidence suggests they were carved by masons in Chichester, employed within a cathedral ‘works organisation’, who could offer lower transportation costs than those producing Purbeck marble tombs in London and Corfe, Dorset.

The tombs satisfied the religiously conservative taste of local patrons with at least 14 tombs being designed as Easter Sepulchres. Later monuments appear incongruous when set against the backdrop of state-inspired change in religious doctrine and were among the last carved in the medieval tradition. As the pace of the Reformation quickened, the iconoclastic policies of the radically Protestant government of Edward VI constricted the masons’ operations and probably brought their business to an end around 1550 - despite diversification into secular work.

Employing archæological recording techniques and archival research, this project identifies and catalogues, for the first time, the 32 surviving examples of these masons’ output, which demonstrate a much greater production rate and wider distribution than previously published.

The project also investigates the destruction of the monuments’ religious iconography by Protestant reformers, probably in 1548-53, and/or the erasure of devotional motifs by relatives in attempts to protect the tombs from damage. In addition, the project explores issues of patronage, the sources of the masons’ designs, their construction methods and places them in the context of tomb production in London and the provinces in the mid-sixteenth century.

## Acknowledgements

THIS DISSERTATION COULD not have been completed without the constant enthusiastic assistance and support of my wife Sally, who endured many weary hours in cold churches helping with the recording of the monuments. My thanks also go to Father Jerome Bertram FSA for deciphering the inscriptions on the three Sussex exterior monuments. He also helped with Latin translations and in discussions on the chronology of the Slaugham tomb. Philip Lankester FSA, until recently one of the curatorial staff at the Royal Armouries in Leeds, and Antony North FSA, formerly of the Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Metalwork, have been kind in answering questions on funerary armour. I have enjoyed a stimulating correspondence with Dr Margaret Aston FSA on iconoclasm and discussions with Dr Richard Robinson on the botany of the plants depicted on some tombs. I am grateful to Dr Doris Jones-Baker FSA and Giles Standing for information on graffiti on funeral monuments and on masons' work at Canterbury and elsewhere and particularly to Rebecca Shawcross, assistant shoe resources officer at Northampton Museums and Art Gallery, for help in dating the shoe graffiti at Christchurch. I am greatly indebted to Diana Spelman for her help in transcribing some documents; to Bob Turner of the Worthing Archaeological Society for drawing the maps and to Les Smith FSA for help at Goudhurst.

Spencer Thomas generously supplied information from his researches into the pre-Reformation 'Chichester Cathedral works organisation'. Tim Pullan kindly supplied a copy of the Boxgrove paint survey report and Chris Tod of the Steyning Museum Trust provided information on the screen now in St Andrew's church, Steyning, recorded by the late Harry Ford and the Adur Valley Fine Arts Society in 1990. I am grateful to the Museum Trust for permission to reproduce sections of two of Ford's drawings.

I am also indebted to many librarians and archivists who have been helpful in my research, in particular Bernard Nurse FSA, former Librarian to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Adrian James, assistant Librarian there; Esme Evans, Honorary Librarian, and her team of volunteers at the Sussex Archaeological Society at Barbican House, Lewes; Kay Walters at the library at The Athenæum in Pall Mall and the staff of the University of Sussex library at Falmer. My thanks are also due to the staffs at the West Sussex Office at Chichester, the National Archives at Kew, the British Library and the Hampshire Archives

office at Winchester. The clergy and churchwardens at a great number of churches have been unfailingly kind in allowing my equipment to clutter up their chancels - in some cases specially opening up their churches or lending me keys. Particular thanks are due to Richard Newall, the vergers and his staff at busy Christchurch Priory, who willingly allowed me unusual access to the chantries and the north and south ambulatories for two days. I am also especially grateful to Julie Mason, parish administrator at Broadwater, for allowing me access to that church during the extensive building operations.

I am grateful to the British Library Board for permission to reproduce Grimm's drawings from the Burrell MSS in this dissertation; the West Sussex Record Office and Edward Reeves of Castle Studios, Lewes, the copyright holder, for permission to reproduce the photograph of the Broadwater jousting helm and English Heritage (National Monuments Record) at Swindon for permission to reproduce the photograph of the Goudhurst monument. Charles Randall of Worthing has kindly given permission for me to reproduce his photograph of the opening of the de la Warr vault in Broadwater church. George Anelay of West Sussex Archaeology Ltd., generously supplied his photograph of the interior of this vault and another of the Coverts at Slaugham and has allowed me to reproduce them. Finally, I would like to offer my appreciative thanks to Prof. Peter Drewett FSA, my supervisor before his retirement and latterly to David Rudling FSA and Dr Richard Carter of the Centre for Community Engagement at the University of Sussex for all their help, support and advice.

# Contents

## Volume 1

Summary. ....	iii
Acknowledgements. ....	iv
List of Tables. ....	viii
List of Graphs. ....	viii
List of Maps. ....	viii
List of Illustrations. ....	ix
List of Abbreviations. ....	xiii
 Introduction. ....	 1
- Previous research. ....	2
- Research objectives. ....	6
- Methodology. ....	7
 <b>Section 1: The context</b>	
1 – The politico-religious environment. ....	11
- The reaction to religious reform. ....	17
- Testamentary evidence. ....	20
- The progress of reform. ....	23
- Power structures in Sussex and Hampshire. ....	31
- The influence of London. ....	35
- The Reformation in other counties. ....	36
 <b>Section 2: The monuments</b>	
2 – The masons’ output. ....	39
- Church monuments. ....	41
- The monuments surveyed. ....	47
- The evidence for attribution. ....	51
- Review of the dating evidence. ....	56
- Religious panels. ....	63
3 – Distribution. ....	71
4 – The location of the masons’ workshop. ....	76
- Secular work. ....	79
- Decorative woodwork ....	83
5 – Materials and construction. ....	90
- Caen stone. ....	90
- The process of ordering a tomb. ....	92
- Construction methodology. ....	94
- Paint on the monuments. ....	105
6 – Graffiti. ....	110
 <b>Section 3: Patronage</b>	
7 – The social status of those commemorated. ....	116

8 – The patrons’ choices. ....	122
- Which type of monument? ....	125
- Recessed canopy tombs. ....	131
- Chantry chapels. ....	137
- Monuments of munificence. ....	140
- Hybrid monuments. ....	142
- Exterior panels. ....	145
- Funerary armour. ....	151

#### **Section 4: Iconography**

9 – Easter sepulchres. ....	154
10 – The religious iconography. ....	162
- Personal saints. ....	164
- Religious themes. ....	174
11 – Decoration and symbolism. ....	184
- Renaissance decoration. ....	184
- The inspiration for the motifs. ....	190
- The meaning of the motifs. ....	201
12 – Iconoclasm. ....	206

#### **Section 5: The context within monumental art**

13 – Other workshops’ output. ....	231
14 – Conclusions. ....	248
Bibliography. ....	254
- Primary sources - manuscript. ....	254
- Primary sources - printed. ....	256
- Secondary sources. ....	258
- Unpublished dissertations. ....	266

### **Volume 2 - Appendices**

Contents. ....	ii
List of Illustrations. ....	iii
1 - Catalogue of ‘Chichester’ monuments and chantries. ....	267
2- List of churches investigated. ....	572
3 - Monuments in Sussex, 1510-1550. ....	576
4 - Monuments in Hampshire, 1510-1550. ....	581

## List of Tables

1.	Confidence Factors in Attributions.	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
2.	Date comparison between developing policy on imagery and erection of tombs and religious panels.	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
3.	List of attributed church monuments.	...	...	...	...	...	...	41
4.	Evidence for attribution of monuments.	...	...	...	...	...	...	51
5.	Evidence for re-dating monuments.	...	...	...	...	...	...	56
6.	List of attributed religious panels.	...	...	...	...	...	...	63
7.	Distances of monuments from Chichester.	...	...	...	...	...	...	71
8.	Number of components of selected monuments	.	...	...	...	...	...	97
9.	Overall dimensions of monuments.	...	...	...	...	...	...	98
10.	Measurements of tomb-chest panels.	...	...	...	...	...	...	99
11.	Social status of those commemorated by these tombs.				...	...	...	116
12.	Social status of those with monuments in Sussex, 1510-50.				...	...	...	127
13.	Social status of those with monuments in Hampshire, 1510-50.				...	...	...	129
14.	List of hybrid monuments.	...	...	...	...	...	...	143
15.	List of monuments used as Easter Sepulchres.	...	...	...	...	...	...	154
16.	Religious iconography on monuments/panels.	...	...	...	...	...	...	162
17.	Sources of Renaissance motifs.	...	...	...	...	...	...	191

## List of Graphs

1.	Chronological distribution of all monuments in Sussex and Hampshire, 1510-50.	...	130
2.	Dated monuments by stone type, 1515-45, Sussex and Hampshire.	....	136

## List of Maps

1.	Map showing distribution of monuments, c.1520-50 in Sussex, Hampshire and Surrey.	...	...	...	...	...	72
2.	Map showing distribution of monuments, c.1520-50 in the centre of Chichester.	...	...	...	...	...	73



## List of Illustrations

1. Purbeck marble tomb, 1544, Singleton. ... ..	45
2. Major portion of tomb-chest, Christchurch Priory, Hampshire. ... ..	46
3. Caen stone fragment with quatrefoil, Christchurch Priory, Hampshire. ... ..	47
4. Monuments at Preston Episcopi and Mickleham. ... ..	47
5. Monuments at North Mundham, Slaugham, Carisbrooke. ... ..	48
6. Monuments at Brading I and II; Broadwater I. ... ..	48
7. Monuments at Chichester I, Christchurch Priory I and Sompting. ... ..	48
8. Monuments at Rustington I, Godshill, Christchurch Priory II. ... ..	49
9. Monuments at Kingston Buci, Boxgrove I, Selveston. . ... ..	49
10. Monuments at Petworth, Brading III, Church Norton. ... ..	49
11. Monuments at Hamsey, West Wittering I, Racton. ... ..	50
12. Monuments at Chichester II, Westhampnett, Rustington II. ... ..	50
13. Monuments at Wiston, Chichester III, Broadwater II. ... ..	50
14. Monuments at West Wittering II, Boxgrove II, Clapham. ... ..	51
15. Lower portion of religious panel, The Chantry, Chichester Cathedral. ... ..	65
16. Grimm's drawing of 1791 of panel and doorway, Chichester Cathedral cloisters ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	66
17. Image niche, Mickleham, Surrey. ... ..	67
18. Religious panel, Stoke Charity, Hants. ....	68
19. Religious panel, Goudhurst, Kent, ( <i>English Heritage, National Monuments Record</i> ). ... ..	69
20. Interior of de la Warr vault, Broadwater, ( <i>George Anelay, West Sussex Archaeology Ltd.</i> ) ... ..	70
21. Sixteenth century doorway, Canon Lane, Chichester. ... ..	80
22. South porch, Hamsey church and Grimm drawing of doorway in demolished Fenn Place, Sussex, ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	80
23. Painting of vaulting of quire, Boxgrove Priory by Lambert Barnard. ... ..	82
24. Shields bearing arms of LA WARR, Boxgrove Priory. ... ..	82
25. Shields bearing arms of ERNLE and BOND, West Wittering I. ... ..	83
26. Grimm's drawing of Great Hall, Halnaker House ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	84
27. Sixteenth century wooden panels, Patching church, Sussex. ... ..	85
28. Interior of hall in Racton House, now demolished, ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	85
29. Oak screen serving as a reredos, Steyning church. ... ..	86
30. Woodcarvers' and masons' motifs compared: Steyning screen ( <i>after Ford, 1993, 11</i> , by permission of Steyning Museum Trust) and at Chichester III and Boxgrove I. ... ..	87
31. Right-hand portion of Steyning screen ( <i>after Ford, 1993, 21</i> , by permission of Steyning Museum Trust) and motifs from Broadwater II and West Wittering II. ... ..	88
32. Caen stone monument to Richard Covert, d. 1579, Slaugham. ... ..	92
33. Drawing of Hamsey monument ( <i>after Harvey, 1929</i> ). ... ..	94
34. Tomb-chest at Westhampnett with two plugs inserted. ... ..	95
35. Mortise joint at Racton. ... ..	96
36. Repairs patches to chancel pier, Brading III. ... ..	100
37. Insertion of Brading III into south chapel. ... ..	101
38. Insertion of Boxgrove I beneath quire arch. ... ..	102
39. Cornice of Boxgrove I and arch. ... ..	102
40. Canopied image niches and quire arch at Christchurch Priory I. ... ..	103
41. Repairs to tomb-chest, Sompting. ... ..	104
42. Repairs to moulding, Broadwater I. ... ..	105

43. Pigmentation, Brading III. ....	106
44. Paint on Brading II. ....	106
45. Traces of dark blue paint, Wiston. ....	107
46. Painted reredos at east end of Boxgrove I. ....	108
47. Left hand niche and Gartered shield, Boxgrove I. ....	108
48. Graffiti on lower section of wall, Boxgrove I. ....	111
49. ?Game on tomb-chest coverstone, Racton. ....	111
50. Graffiti with religious overtones, Racton. ....	112
51. Graffiti of shoes, Christchurch Priory I. ....	114
52. Graffiti of a ?child's hand, Christchurch Priory I. ....	114
53. Hand in graffito in niche of Salisbury chantry, Christchurch Priory. ....	115
54. Destroyed monument of Sir Richard Shirley, Wiston ( <i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i> ). ....	122
55. Sallet helmet on Shirley monument, Wiston. ....	132
56. Two late fifteenth century London-made Purbeck tombs ( <i>after Maskell, 1864, 33</i> ). ....	133
57. Drawing of Hamsey tomb ( <i>after Chapman, 1865, 98</i> ). ....	133
58. Gothic cornices at Sompting, Slaugham, Selmeston, Hamsey and Clapham. ....	134
59. Leaf cresting on freestone monument c.1530, Stoke Charity, Hants. ....	135
60. Cresting on Christchurch Priory II, Hants. ....	135
61. de la Warr chantry chapel, Boxgrove I. ....	138
62. Chantry chapel of countess of Salisbury, Christchurch Priory, Hants. ....	139
63. Chantry chapel of Robert Harys, Christchurch Priory I, Hants. ....	140
64. North side of Oglander tomb, Brading III, IoW. ....	141
65. Imagery on Wadham monument, Carisbrooke, IoW. ....	142
66. Burton alabaster effigies at Godshill, IoW. ....	144
67. London-made brasses on Covert monument, Slaugham. ....	145
68. Wyddowsoun tomb, Mickleham, Surrey. ....	146
69. Exterior monument, c.1525, Chichester I. ....	148
70. Exterior monument, c.1520, North Mundham. ....	149
71. Exterior wall monument, St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester III., c.1540. ....	150
72. Broadwater jousting helm ( <i>Edward Reeves, Lewes/WSRO</i> ). ....	151
73. Funerary helm at Petworth. ....	152
74. Composite funeral helmet at Godshill, IoW. ....	153
75. Resurrection panel, West Wittering I. ....	158
76. Resurrection brass, Slaugham, c.1520. ....	158
77. Christ in Majesty, West Wittering II. ....	159
78. Recessed canopy tomb at Hamsey. ....	160
79. Tomb-chest, West Wittering I, with saints. ....	164
80. Images of SS George and Barbara, West Wittering I. ....	165
81. Images of St Benedict and probably St Roche, West Wittering I. ....	166
82. Tomb-chest of Broadwater I from Dallaway's <i>History of Western Sussex</i> ( <i>Society of Antiquaries of London</i> ). ....	168
83. Two personal saints, Church Norton. ....	169
84. Defaced effigies of saints, Chichester II. ....	170
85. Mass of St Gregory and Christ as 'Man of Sorrows', c.1530, Stoke Charity, Hants. ....	172
86. 'Man of Sorrows', Rustington II. ....	173
87. Image of crucified Christ in lily in a vase, West Wittering II. ....	175
88. Annunciation panel, West Wittering II. ....	176
89. Christ in Majesty, Racton. ....	177
90. Pelicans and chalice on panel at west end of Racton. ....	178
91. Pelicans supporting a shield and grapevine frieze, Racton. ....	178
92. Christ in Majesty, North Mundham. ....	179

93. Our Lady of the Assumption, Chichester I. ...	180
94. God the Father in Majesty, Chichester II. ...	180
95. Religious panel, Goudhurst. ...	181
96. Monument to Sir John Dawtrey I, Petworth. ...	182
97. Monument to John Lews and wife, Church Norton. ...	183
98. Renaissance motifs on left-hand portion of cornice, Broadwater I. ...	184
99. Renaissance motifs on central portion of cornice, Broadwater I. ...	185
100. Renaissance motifs on right-hand portion of cornice, Broadwater I. ...	185
101. Grotesque mask on shallow frieze on tomb-chest, Broadwater I. ...	186
102. Heraldic panel, Boxgrove I. ...	187
103. Cherubs supporting a shield, Petworth. ...	187
104. Cherubs supporting a roundel containing the initials 'I. G' at Racton. ...	188
105. Stately winged angels, Boxgrove I. ...	188
106. Renaissance masks on the frieze, Clapham. ...	189
107. Figures from pilasters, Chichester III. ...	189
108. Figures on pilasters at West Wittering II and Clapham. ...	190
109. Apple picking scene ( <i>Society of Antiquaries of London</i> ) compared with carvings on Boxgrove I. ...	193
110. Three naked men flee from a double-headed dragon ( <i>Society of Antiquaries of London</i> ). ...	194
111. Carving of three men fleeing doubled-headed dragon, Boxgrove I. ...	194
112. Two naked wodehowses in combat ( <i>Society of Antiquaries of London</i> ). ...	195
113. Carved panel of two wodehowses fighting, Boxgrove I. ...	195
114. Effigies of Death and a woman, Boxgrove I. ...	196
115. Two figures of bishops, Boxgrove I. ...	196
116. Dragon with a face above tail, Boxgrove I. ...	197
117. Mythical beast with wings and face on belly, Boxgrove I. ...	197
118. Two cherubs with a fleshy vine, Boxgrove I. ...	198
119. 'Samson' or 'Hercules' fighting a lion, Boxgrove I. ...	198
120. Effigy of a knight carved on north pier, Boxgrove I. ...	199
121. Cherubs riding dragons, Boxgrove I. ...	199
122. Two small figures with prayer scrolls, Boxgrove I. ...	200
123. Trailing rose and acanthus leaves, Boxgrove I. ...	201
124. Image of Virgin Mary, Broadwater II. ...	202
125. Honeysuckle on shallow frieze, Boxgrove I. ...	203
126. Stylised passion flower on pier of Boxgrove I. ...	203
127. Fleur-de-lis and stylised rose-hip, Boxgrove I. ...	203
128. Trailing fritillary with arms of MORLEY, Boxgrove I. ...	204
129. Broadwater II and effigy of St George. ...	211
130. Erasures of figures of bishop-saints and St George, Broadwater I. ...	215
131. Holy Trinity, or <i>Corpus Christi</i> , Westhampnett. ...	216
132. Erased panel, Petworth. ...	217
133. Inscription within recessed canopy tomb, Selmeiston. ...	218
134. Iconoclasm at Kingston Buci: Resurrection and Pietà. ...	219
135. Smashed 'Man of Sorrows', Rustington II. ...	220
136. Damage to exterior panel, Chichester II. ...	221
137. Damage to donors' panel, cloisters, Chichester Cathedral. ...	222
138. Heads and hands of effigies smashed, Rustington II. ...	225
139. Damage to brasses at Clapham, Sussex. ...	226
140. Appropriation of alabaster effigy of c.1470 by addition of inscription, 1547, Melbury Sampford, Dorset. ...	228

141.	Head of brass effigy sliced off, Warminghurst, Sussex. ....	229
142.	Defaced Holy Trinity, Salisbury chantry, Christchurch Priory. ....	230
143.	Caen stone monument to Sir Goddard Oxenbridge, Brede, 1537. ....	232
144.	Purbeck tomb-chest panel built into cottages at Corfe ( <i>after Drury, 1949</i> ) compared with that of Broadwater I. ....	233
145.	Purbeck recessed canopy tomb ?Edmund Dawtrey, c.1525, Petworth. ....	234
146.	Remains of Purbeck tomb, Sir Roger Lewkenor, 1543, Trotton. ....	234
147.	Purbeck canopied tomb to Sir William Goring, 1558, Burton. ....	235
148.	Sussex marble monument to three earls of Arundel, 1596, Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel.	236
149.	South porch, Sherborne St John, Hants., with donor panel. ....	237
150.	Draper chantry 1529, Christchurch Priory, attributed to Thomas Bertie. ....	238
151.	Figures and Resurrection, East Tisted, Hants., attributed to Thomas Bertie. ....	239
152.	Tomb of Richard Norton died 1556 but erected c.1540, East Tisted, Hants. ....	240
153.	Renaissance motifs by Thomas Bertie at East Tisted, Hants. and on Petworth and Boxgrove I. ....	241
154.	Inscription and figures, Tristram Fantleroy, 1538, Michelmersh, Hants. ....	241
155.	Fragment of tomb-chest in north transept, Michelmersh, Hants. ....	242
156.	Caen stone tomb of Sir Francis Dawtrey, re-dated c.1570, Swaythling, Hants. ....	243
157.	Appropriated monument to Sir Thomas White and wife, South Warnborough, Hants.	245
158.	Kneeling figures of Sir Thomas White and wife, inserted c.1570, South Warnborough, Hants. ....	246
159.	Tomb of John Waller, c.1530, Stoke Charity, Hants. ....	247
160.	Alabaster effigy, c.1500, Sir David Owen, died 1542, Easebourne. ....	247

# List of Abbreviations

3D	Three-dimensional.
Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts.
APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council.</i>
AT	altar tomb.
BAA	British Archaeological Association.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
BL	British Library.
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary.
CCE	Centre for Community Engagement.
CMS	Church Monuments Society.
CPR	<i>Calendar Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary</i>
d.	died.
ed.	edited.
edn.	edition.
<i>fl.</i>	flourished.
fn.	footnote.
fol(s).	folio(s).
Hants.	Hampshire.
HRO	Hampshire Record Office.
IoW	Isle of Wight.
<i>Jnl.</i>	<i>Journal.</i>
JP	Justice of the Peace.
km(s).	kilometre(s)
Lincs.	Lincolnshire.
LP	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.</i>
MBS	Monumental Brass Society.
MP	Member of Parliament.
N/A	Not applicable/Not available.
NMR	National Monument Record.
no.	number.
n.s.	new series.
o.s.	old series.
pers. comm..	Personal communication
pl.	plate.
PROB	Probate in TNA Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills.
<i>Proc.</i>	<i>Proceedings.</i>
pt.	part.
<i>r</i>	<i>recto</i>
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections.</i>
SCM	<i>Sussex County Magazine.</i>
<i>s.l.</i>	<i>sine loco.</i>
<i>s.n.</i>	<i>sine nomine.</i>
SNQ	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries.</i>
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
SRS	Sussex Record Society.
SS	saints.
TC	tomb-chest.
TNA	The National Archives.
<i>Trans.</i>	<i>Transactions.</i>
ulc	upper and lower case letters.
<i>v</i>	<i>verso</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History [of England].</i>
vol (s)	volume(s).
WCR	<i>Winchester Cathedral Records.</i>
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office.

## Introduction

A LARGE AND IMPORTANT group of sixteenth century church monuments in Sussex and Hampshire churches has been strangely neglected in the study of sepulchral monuments or in its corpus of literature. Only a handful has been named by scholars as belonging to an identifiable group. These Caen stone tombs, which sometimes display both Gothic and Renaissance motifs, were intended not only to describe the social status and wealth of those commemorated, but also to create a compelling motivation for prayers of intercession for their souls through the inclusion of permanent or temporary religious iconography. Moreover, physical evidence demonstrates that a significant proportion had a dual role; as well as being monuments to house the bones of the dead and to perpetuate their memory, some also served as Easter Sepulchres - structures that formed the focal point of parish devotions during the pre-Reformation Easter rites. They are among the last funerary monuments in early modern England that were erected in the medieval tradition and which included pious imagery. They are thus remarkable survivals, given the religious turbulence of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This dissertation will argue that they were probably carved by masons associated with Chichester Cathedral, governed during this period by a religiously conservative chapter, and erected in churches in the traditionalist dioceses of Chichester and Winchester.

However, these tombs became vulnerable to iconoclastic attack by Protestant reformers during the reign of Edward VI (1547-53) and in some instances relatives of those commemorated took overt defensive action to protect the monuments by erasing their iconography. Those which retained such offending imagery did not escape brutal defacement, apart from some tombs located in more remote churches which were missed by the iconoclasts, or those afforded protection by local gentry with kinship ties. The evidence provided by these tombs therefore creates a hitherto unexplored case study on the localised impact of iconoclasm on this category of material culture in Sussex and Hampshire, away from the better-known despoliation of London churches. The subject of tomb destruction in the mid-sixteenth century has attracted scant attention from scholars, apart from investigation of the re-use of despoiled monumental brasses (for example, Hutchinson, 2003) or analysis of the state's legal instruments that spawned iconoclasm (Aston, 1988). This *lacuna* stems from the fact that documentary evidence of iconoclasm in churches

during the Edwardine Reformation is comparatively thin, in contrast to the larger volume of primary sources that narrate the wave of Parliamentary-sponsored destruction in the mid-seventeenth century (for example, Trevor Cooper, 2001 and Spraggon, 2000 and 2003).

### **Previous research**

In the early years of the twentieth century, the ecclesiologist and architect Philip Johnston was probably the first to recognise these tombs as a discrete series. He listed a number in his treatise on local ecclesiastic architecture published in the second volume of the *Victoria County History of Sussex*, but wrongly included London-made Purbeck tombs; incorrectly identified some of those commemorated and misdated several examples (Johnston, 1907, 361). Two decades later Katherine Esdaile (1927, 25) briefly discussed five tombs at WISTON, WEST WITTERING I and II, WESTHAMNETT and Selsey (now CHURCH NORTON) and declared: 'Their marked and linear style is as striking as their religious character and their dates show how little effect the Reformation, officially completed in 1538, [*sic*] produced in the remoter corners of England'. In a later work, she commented again on this 'school of West Sussex masons [that] represented scenes from the Life of Christ [*sic*] on a remarkable series of monuments at BROADWATER, WEST WITTERING, Bosham [*sic*] and elsewhere, showing Gothic passing into Renaissance - inspired perhaps by the great Renaissance tomb at BOXGROVE in the same area' (Esdaile, 1946, 57). Crossley (1921, 109) also described this transition in decoration, claiming the monument of the ninth baron de la Warr at BROADWATER II was 'more Italian' in its design.

Margaret Whinney (1964, 6, 10) drew attention to a perceived spread of French and Italianate ornament from Winchester to Christchurch Priory and into Sussex in the mid-1520s, citing the decorative panels on the BOXGROVE chantry. She pointed out that 'coarser and rather later examples may be found in the same county... The group is also distinctive in showing kneeling effigies in relief, flanking the sacred images. The quality is not very high, but the stylistic connexion with late-fifteenth century English wall-painting, itself influenced by Flanders, is very clear' [*sic*]. These monuments are coupled with her denunciation of the inferiority of English sculpture in the sixteenth century, which was 'a sorry tale. Though the quantity produced was great, its quality is at once mediocre and monotonous' - due to craftsmen possessing only a limited knowledge of continental art and

lacking the skill to replicate it. She added: 'Though early in the century, contacts with both Italy and France were strong enough to suggest that Renaissance ideas would quickly replace Gothic, these contacts progressively weakened, leaving little but some knowledge of Renaissance decoration' (Whinney, 1964, 1-2). Nairn and Pevsner, in their introduction to the Sussex volume in the *Buildings of England* series, also commented on this 'odd set of small monuments which are in the form of a Pietà, [sic] not at all what you would expect from Tudor England. Most of them were later defaced, and some of them used Renaissance ornament... The best of the pure Gothic examples is at WEST WITTERING, then Selsey, [died] 1537 and WESTHAMPNETT, c.1535'. The de la Warr chantry at BOXGROVE '... is like a miniature building... [and] mixes up Gothic and Renaissance details in the naughtiest and most disarming way' (1965, 30-31). Brian Kemp (1980, 64) provided a fuller exposition of the group, emphasising their 'hybrid schemes... incorporating both Renaissance decoration alongside Gothic elements'.

The Sussex historian, the late Verena Smith, studied these tombs in the early 1960s, but her findings were incomplete and never published, although she made two abortive attempts to write a paper on the subject which contained short descriptions of several examples. Her observations on BOXGROVE, BROADWATER, CLAPHAM, PETWORTH, RACTON, WESTHAMPNETT and WEST WITTERING are in her field notebooks, now in the library of the Sussex Archaeological Society at Barbican House, Lewes, East Sussex (Verena Smith papers, box no. 16). She did, however, identify the source for one motif carved on a pier of the BOXGROVE chantry as being copied from a *Book of Hours of the Virgin Mary*, printed in Paris in 1503, although this had been pointed out in print more than 20 years before (Cave, 1935, 127-8).

Finally, ten of these tombs were discussed in a doctoral dissertation on foreign influences on English tomb sculpture in the first half of the sixteenth century, submitted in the mid-1980s (Shilliam, 1986). The monuments at BROADWATER I and II, BOXGROVE I, RACTON, PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING I and II, WESTHAMPNETT, and CHURCH NORTON were considered, (1986, 147-56) together with one incorrectly located at Yapton, West Sussex, rather than at its true location, RUSTINGTON II (1986, 155). The tomb at SLAUGHAM was recognised as an Easter Sepulchre but mistakenly not included in this group. Shilliam briefly discussed the sources for the motifs at BOXGROVE I and the significance of some of



the religious imagery as part of a wide-ranging chapter on tombs in Sussex and Hampshire, which also covered monumental brasses (1986, 138-83). She linked the group stylistically with tombs in Winchester Cathedral and at East Tisted, Hampshire, but recently these have been convincingly attributed to Thomas Bertie, who was employed by Bishop Richard Fox of Winchester in the early sixteenth century (Riall, 2007). This dissertation will dispute her identification of those commemorated at PETWORTH and RACTON and will submit conflicting dating evidence for some monuments. Shilliam also tentatively located the workshop producing these tombs 'in the Chichester region, possibly linked to the Cathedral' (1986, 179).

Whinney's disparaging comments on these tombs were written when the perceived superiority of Italianate decoration and the importance of style and the logistics of its transmission dominated the beliefs and attitudes of art historians. Provincial funerary sculpture of the sixteenth century was then considered a debased alternative to the Renaissance tombs erected for some *nouveau riche* courtiers. Research into monuments has moved on, as have techniques employed in the study of art history and archaeology. The importance of regional masons is now recognised and is increasingly the subject of scholarly inquiry. The Church Monuments Society *Journal* has published, for example, papers on two Midlands masons working in alabaster (Bayliss, 1990 and 1991) and on a mid-fourteenth century workshop in north Yorkshire (Gittos & Gittos, 2002). This body of research also includes a growing number of doctoral dissertations: Renaissance tombs in Herefordshire and the output of the local mason John Gildon, active c.1570-c.1590 (Llewellyn, 1983); Devon church monuments c.1530-c.1640 (Faunch, 1998); the Totternhoe school of masons in the Midlands, c.1567-c.1618 (Edis, 2000); the Cornish funeral monument industry 1497-1660 (Cockerham, 2003, published as Cockerham, 2006) and the funerary monuments of Ireland 1560-1660, including an investigation of the Kerin school of sculptors, 1577-c.1600 (Harris, 2006). The complex issues of patronage and use of *memento mori* portraiture have also been discussed in dissertations on Protestant culture in England and Wales 1540-1630, primarily amongst the minor gentry, lawyers, scholars, doctors and merchants in southern England (Tarnya Cooper, 2001) and on Renaissance portrayals of children on funeral monuments in Poland, 1500-1600 (Łabno, 2005), a *genre* unique to that nation, dating from the early sixteenth century. Faunch's work on Devon

tombs is apposite to this study of Sussex and Hampshire monuments as there are similarities in workshop output between the two regions. One Devon workshop active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century also produced monuments with a blend of Gothic motifs and Renaissance details, using Beerstone, the white Cretaceous limestone quarried in East Devon (Faunch, 50-68). Cockerham's exhaustive study of Cornish tombs investigated five workshops in the county which carved in slate; the work of masons based in south-west and north Devon (2006, 89-112) together with local brasses (2006, 113-121). He also compared the Cornish monuments with those found in Kilkenny in Ireland (2006, 163-167) and in Brittany (2006, 168-176) in an attempt to uncover elusive common 'Celticity'. More recently, a comprehensive study into the use of Egglestone marble for monuments - slabs containing brasses, incised slabs, tomb-chests and effigies - in the north of England, the east Midlands and East Anglia was published in the *British Archaeology Reports* series (Badham & Blacker, 2009).

Whinney (1964, 1) has emphasized the importance of the medieval cathedral workshops in training masons: 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries... in 1538 and the consequent break-up of the cathedral workshops was not the sole cause of the decline in English sculpture by the middle of the century, but it was a potent one and the fact that no religious sculpture was required in England after about 1540 greatly restricted the field'. As we shall see in chapters three and four, there is persuasive circumstantial evidence to link Chichester Cathedral with the masons who produced this group of monuments, comparable to research undertaken on a workshop associated with at least one bishop of Winchester (Riall, 2007) which erected tombs in the cathedral there and elsewhere in Hampshire. The loss of the market for religious imagery, through liturgical change, coupled with the impact of the Dissolution, was probably a major factor in the demise of the Chichester workshop, as it was for provincial manufacture of brasses after 1539 (Hutchinson, 2003, 457).

Earlier fieldwork by this candidate, as part of wider research into several types of Reformation tombs, indicated that this assemblage of monuments was larger than suggested earlier. Furthermore, they were distributed over a greater area than West Sussex. With such a distinct and localised group of monuments, produced over more than three decades, the opportunity for new insights into both workshop practices and patrons' preferences was evident. More than 80 years ago Mrs. Esdaile (1927, 25) suggested: 'This remarkable group

of West Sussex tombs ... is worthy of special study'. It is now time to attempt to fill this gap in our knowledge and understanding of sixteenth century sepulchral monuments.

### **Research objectives**

Eleven research objectives were identified in the planning phase of this dissertation. The most important was to identify and record all examples of these masons' work to establish the *terminus post* and *ante quem* of workshop operations; estimate total production and suggest its size and possible organisation. This data would also create a chronology of output which could be used in assessing whether regulatory events affecting liturgy in the early Reformation influenced patrons' preferences. An integral part of this process was confirmation of the date of erection of each monument, achieved by re-visiting every published date. Achievement of these immediate objectives would enable a definitive catalogue of these tombs to be compiled which would provide distribution data to assist in determining the workshop location.

The masons responsible for this series may have been associated with Chichester Cathedral, or possibly with Robert Sherborn and his immediate successors as bishop of Chichester, so documentary evidence was sought to support this theory. Records of the importation of Caen stone via Dell Quay or Bosham (the harbours serving Chichester) could also prove useful, although the customs returns of other ports along the south coast also had to be explored in case Chichester's attributes as a production centre proved nugatory. Extensive fieldwork involved detailed examination of each tomb for mason's marks. The consequential recording of graffiti added a new dimension to the project.

It was also important to explore the motivation behind the choice of religious imagery on these tombs and if possible, to determine the original liturgical role (if any) of each monument. Associated with this were efforts to identify the source or inspiration for the designs of the monuments and their motifs, which might assist both conclusions on the workshop location and the attribution of the monuments. Attempts were made to identify the timing and motivation of the destruction of the religious iconography and place this within the context of the regulatory regime for church liturgy and furnishings, as the tombs represent an interesting, if not unique, case study of iconoclasm on the ground. Four identified monuments remained anonymous and it was important to identify those

commemorated to build a complete picture of patronage. Finally, it would be useful to place this group within the context of monumental art c.1520-c.1550 so they could be compared with other workshops' output in the same period.

## **Methodology**

The first objective was to locate surviving monuments dating from the period 1500-1550 in the old administrative counties of Hampshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex. In contrast to monumental brasses, England and Wales lack a comprehensive list of carved monuments, aside from catalogues of the output of some Midlands masons (Bayliss, 1990 and 1991, 39-56 and 21-41,); regional workshops (for example, Llewellyn 1983, 268-280 and 284-323; Faunch, 1998, 205-453 Cockerham 2006, 31-122 and Harris, 2006, 103-204) or London tombmakers' production from the mid-sixteenth century onwards (White, 1999 and 2009, 1-162 and 325-51). A lengthy desktop research exercise was therefore necessary, investigating published work and examining collections of photographs, drawings and engravings of monuments held by the National Monuments Record and the British Library, using comparative typology evolved during earlier fieldwork on sixteenth century tombs. Lists of 'probable' and 'possible' candidates for inclusion were compiled - a process that involved amending inaccurate dating of monuments or descriptions of stone types in published accounts, and evaluating the possible appropriation of earlier tombs. This procedure also took account of the presence of prosperous local landowners, some with family ties to those commemorated by monuments of this series elsewhere. Each potential candidate tomb was examined during visits to 111 churches in Sussex, Hampshire, Surrey and Kent, listed in *APPENDIX 2* in volume two of this dissertation. Other churches near Chichester that might contain unrecorded fragments of monuments were also investigated. The Tudor arms in Caen stone mounted above the main entrances to Hurst and Calshot castles - the Henrician artillery forts along Hampshire's Solent coastline, built in the 1540s - were examined in case the masons were also responsible for carving these rectangular panels. The Hurst example is fragmentary but this and panels at Calshot and Cowes were almost certainly the work of the Winchester mason Thomas Bertie, known to have been involved in the construction of these coastal defences (Riall, 2007, 161).

The tombs were recorded on bespoke *pro forma* report forms, using archaeological techniques of measurement and photography. Experience demonstrated that white or creamy Caen stone, carved in low relief, created problems in achieving satisfactory contrast in polychrome digital photography which also produced inaccurate reproduction of colour in low or dappled light. Therefore, to show detail adequately, the majority of illustrations are in monochrome in this dissertation. The results of the fieldwork and concurrent desktop research are contained in individual reports on each 'Chichester' monument, grouped in *APPENDIX 1* in volume two, following recent practice (Llewellyn 1983; Faunch, 1998 and Cockerham 2003 and 2006). This database forms the foundation for the analysis and discussion contained in this volume. Monuments not associated with this group were examined for comparative purposes and to build up a coherent picture of contemporary work by rival masons. Overlying this was an assessment of all monuments of all types, both extant and lost, erected during 1500-50 intended to provide an overarching picture of patronage in this period in Sussex and Hampshire. The survey results are contained in *APPENDICES 3* and *4* in volume two.

In order to evaluate these identifications and to provide a measure of transparency, a confidence factor has been placed on monument attributions, explained below in *TABLE 1*.

*Table 1*  
**Confidence factors in attributions**

<b>CONFIDENCE WEIGHT</b>	<b>EXPLANATION</b>
<b>1</b>	Applied to fragments which are too small to evaluate with any level of confidence. These may include features or motifs common to the group of monuments but accurate dating or attribution is impossible to determine with confidence.
<b>2</b>	Attribution tentative, based on the appearance and 'feel' of a monument. Lacks features found on many tombs in the series.
<b>3</b>	Reasonable level of certainty, based on features that resemble one or more of the monuments that have been identified with a greater certainty.
<b>4</b>	Confident attribution, based on appearance, typology and factors such as family links between the commemorated. Some features may be lost which could reduce the level of confidence, or the monument has features not found elsewhere. Other factors instil some small measure of doubt.
<b>5</b>	High degree of certainty. The design, motifs, or typology are common throughout the series, or in a significant proportion of the group.

Those churches which contain monuments of this series are identified in small

capital letters in this dissertation. Their locations are indicated by National Grid map references, National Monument Record numbers and postal addresses in each entry in *APPENDIX 1*. The ancient pre-1832 county and parochial boundaries have been used throughout.

All photographs are by the author unless otherwise acknowledged. Some illustrations of features do not include scales because of the difficulty of attaching them to damp stonework or to iconography carved in bas-relief; in such cases measurements are provided. In other instances (for example, RUSTINGTON II and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I) overall dimensions have been estimated because local health and safety protocols prevented close examination. Attention was paid to the possibility of finding masons' marks and all graffiti were recorded as this subject has become an important area of research in recent years (Jones-Baker, 1996, 254-8). Dating of the monuments was established by investigating the costume and armour of the effigies, the wording of the inscriptions, the degree of transition between Gothic and Renaissance motifs and comparison with other monuments of known date, again using typological techniques. Documentary sources also produced valuable evidence.

The next phase of investigation involved archival research into antiquarian drawings and notes, created before the churches were restored during the Victorian period. The objective here was to identify any lost tombs, reconstruct the original appearance of damaged ones and to discover whether they had been moved by restorers within the footprint of the church, thus destroying evidence for an additional liturgical role for a monument. A prime source was the drawings by the Swiss artist Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, undertaken in the 1780s-90s for the Sussex antiquary Sir William Burrell, and now in the British Library. Whilst Grimm brought new standards of accuracy to topographical drawing in the eighteenth century, occasionally even Homer nodded and we find SOMPTING noted as being at CLAPHAM, or the RACTON effigies shown facing the wrong way. Another task was to discover primary source evidence about those commemorated: their wills, *inquisition post mortems* and property transactions held by local record offices, the National Archives and the British Library, with the aim of not only establishing their wealth and family connections but also their religious beliefs or level of piety. Attempts were also made to identify the occupant(s) of the anonymous tomb in the south aisle of

Chichester Cathedral (CHICHESTER III); the exterior monuments at St Andrew Oxmarket (CHICHESTER I and II) and at NORTH MUNDHAM, West Sussex, all belonging to this series. Additional desktop research into a vast range of published material on secondary aspects of these tombs and those commemorated demonstrated the all-encompassing nature of church archaeology. Previous suggestions for the sources for the motifs on the tombs were confirmed and developed by examining the woodcuts in devotional works published in Paris and elsewhere in France in the early sixteenth century. Some might have been based on popular devotional prints of saints or religious scenes, or from specific *Books of Hours*. The latter may have been held in the library of Chichester Cathedral, and this might be significant in light of the postulated link between the ‘mother church’ of the diocese and the masons’ operations. Early records of the Chichester Cathedral chapter were therefore investigated, as was any evidence of successive bishops’ patronage of the arts and crafts during the period 1500-50. Finally, early books on plants were examined in an effort to discover the meaning of the symbolism of some of the motifs on the monuments.

The Harvard system of citation has been used in this dissertation, with additional information to the narrative added in footnotes where appropriate. Significant information derived from original documentation is so cited but less important text has been referenced to published calendars.

## Section 1: The context

### 1 - The religio-political environment

THE PROGRESS OF LITURGICAL CHANGE IN ENGLAND at the beginning of the Reformation was a stop/start affair, driven by conflict between traditionalist and evangelical factions within the royal court and Henry VIII's determination to impose his authority on his own church in England. The king's innate conservatism in religious matters and his mercurial changes in policy frequently reined back the progress of reform; doubtless, until his dying breath in January 1547, he believed he was a more worthy Catholic than any Pope in Rome.

To construct the historical context in which these tombs (with their plethora of religious imagery) were erected, it is necessary to chart the development of the antipathy against such 'popish' iconography found amongst religious radicals and in government declarations during the early Reformation. As far as the reformers were concerned, carved images were explicitly prohibited by the Word of God in the second of His Ten Commandments contained in the *Book of Exodus*. Martin Luther's colleague Andreas von Karlstadt published the tract *On the Abolition of Images* in 1522, in which he rejected arguments that images were merely the educational 'books' of the poor and claimed that they distracted the pious from true worship. It was therefore necessary, indeed praiseworthy, to destroy carved and painted iconography (Gray, 2003, 134-5). Attacks on the established liturgy began in England in the 1520-30s with increasing popular iconoclasm against images seen particularly in East Anglia, fanned by the appearance of an English translation of the Swiss Protestant reformer Martin Bucer's *Das Einigerlei Bild* (Marshall, 1535) which also promoted the destruction of 'superstitious' statues. In 1533, the reformist cleric Hugh Latimer spoke scornfully of the pervasive custom of seeking intercession from images of saints and urged that:

saints are not to be honoured.... Dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear....nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal. They can neither help me nor mine ox, neither my head, nor my tooth (Darby, 1953, 75).

Three years on, Latimer, now consecrated bishop of Worcester, repeated his complaints



about the popular ‘abuse’ of religious iconography in an impassioned sermon before the Convocation of the Clergy. Images were, he charged, mere ‘juggling deceits’ which diverted honest people into idle superstition (Corrie, 1844-5, 233). The Convocation agreed that images of saints and the crucifix ‘are to be put out of the church and the reliques [*sic*] of the saints in no wise be revered and that it is against God’s Commandment that Christian men should make curtesy or reverence to the image of our Saviour’ (Phillips, 1973, 53). However, the publication that same year (1536) of the Ten Articles on religion sought to maintain the liturgical *status quo* and approved not only the veneration of images ‘as representers of virtue and good example’ but also preserved the cult of the saints and the use of intercessionary prayer for the dead. Concurrently, an instrument for the abrogation of holy days (ostensibly an economic measure, concerned with securing the harvest) reduced the number of Masses associated with individual saints which had been increasing ‘daily more and more by men’s devocyon, yea, rather supersticyon’. Additionally, in August 1536, Thomas Cromwell, the king’s vice-regent and vicar-general in matters spiritual, issued the first set of religious injunctions, requiring clerical obedience to Henry’s supremacy over the church and the use of Bibles written in both Latin and English. These also criticised the ‘superstition and hypocrisy’ of worshippers’ devotion to saints.

Two years later the Protestant belief in the overarching importance of the Word of God, rather than in ritual and imagery, made its debut in governmental decrees. A second set of injunctions urged parishioners ‘not to repose their trust... in any other works devised by men’s phantasies beside Scripture, as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers, to relics or kissing or licking the same’. The seventh injunction demanded that ‘such feigned images as ye know of... to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto, ye shall... forthwith take down’. No candles or wax tapers could now be placed before ‘any picture’, save for the lights burning before the Holy Rood and within the sepulchre at Easter.

Yet any hopes of reformers for real and imminent liturgical change were quashed by the royal proclamation of November 1538 that condemned those who attacked and violated ‘divers and many laudable ceremonies and rites hitherto used and accustomed in the Church of England and yet not abolished – whereby daily riseth much difference, strife and contention’. Those parts of the old ritual specifically approved included creeping to the

cross on Good Friday and Easter Day and the setting up of lights within the sepulchre. This proclamation was redacted by the king himself but its published version included two additional clauses, probably late insertions by Cromwell. The first repeated warnings against 'superstitious abuses and idolatry' and the second condemned the cult of St Thomas à Becket, the archbishop and chancellor murdered for his opposition to another king's aspirations in 1170 (Duffy, 1992, 410-12).

The destruction of the shrines and images must have come as an enormous shock to the faithful, already bemused by contradictions in official instructions on religious issues. Much of what they had believed in - and relied upon for solace - was suddenly swept away. Some of the monuments to their dead now seemed vulnerable to future attack by reformers. The demolition of Becket's shrine at Canterbury in September 1538 galvanised the Vatican into action against Henry. On 17 December Pope Paul III prepared to promulgate the Bull of excommunication drawn up five years earlier by his predecessor Clement VII, declaring the king a heretic. Many in England supposed, more in hope than reason, that the obliteration of much of what they held most dear must be only a temporary aberration in government policy - and there were grounds for such optimism. The religiously conservative faction surrounding Henry at court, led by Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, introduced the Act of Six Articles - passed as the Religion Act (31 Henry VIII, *cap.* 14) in June 1539 - which slowed, if not temporarily halted, the pace of liturgical reform. Two years later, however, the king wrote to his bishops expressing his displeasure that 'shrines... and monuments of those things do remain in sundry places of this realm... the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition'. Even after the fall and execution of Cromwell in July 1540, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer continued his campaign to transform the English liturgy and slowly his efforts nibbled away at the established church services. In 1542, he laid before the southern Convocation of Bishops his proposals to revise the service books and to discontinue the dressing of images and the placing of lighted candles before them. Cranmer's growing influence culminated in May 1545 in the publication of the *King's Primer* which excluded psalms of mourning, supplication and complaint. It contained no prayers to the BVM, saints - or even the Blessed Sacrament.

The speed of religious reform accelerated after Henry's death in January 1547 with

a Protestant regency governing the realm on behalf of his nine-year-old son, Edward VI. Fresh injunctions were published commanding the clergy to proceed forthwith with the destruction of images. The burning of lights was prohibited, except for two candles on the altar. Two prayer books in English were to follow, as did the state looting of the property and wealth of the guilds and fraternities. Gardiner, soon to be imprisoned for his obduracy on religious issues, declared:

The destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it and especially the nobility who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts... (Muller, 1926, 272-6).

The bishop attempted to exploit anxieties about the undermining of civil authority by warning that the destruction of religious imagery would inevitably extend to secular heraldry (Lindley, 2004, 68). Predictably, his pleas fell on deaf ears. The Edwardine Reformation of 1547-53 swept through parish church and cathedral alike, smashing imagery, obliterating wall paintings and removing anything that bore the hallmarks of idolatry or cynically, could be sold for the benefit of the royal exchequer. For the relatives of those who had erected monuments with the now officially reviled religious motifs, the rolling tide of Protestant despoliation appeared remorseless, cruel and sacrilegious.

An attempt to establish a possible correlation between these events and the timing of the manufacture of the tombs and religious panels investigated in this dissertation is contained in *TABLE 2*. The tombs are listed in *TABLE 3* on pages 41-4 and the religious panels in *TABLE 6* on pages 63-4.. Revisited and sometimes revised dates for each monument are discussed in *TABLE 5* on pages 56-62 and those that lack precise dating, from documentary or physical evidence, are underlined in the table below. Monuments which lack religious iconography or where evidence is insufficient to presume its original inclusion are indicated by their locations being printed in bold italics.

*Table 2*  
**Date comparison between developing policy on imagery and  
erection of tombs and religious panels**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENT</b>	<b>LOCATION OF TOMBS, PANELS</b>
1520		<u>Preston Episcopi</u> , <u>Mickleham</u> (plus panel), <u>North Mundham</u> , <u>Slaugham</u> ,* <u>Carisbrooke</u> , <u>Brading I</u> and <u>II</u> , donors' panel, <u>Chichester Cathedral</u> .

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENT</b>	<b>LOCATION OF TOMBS, PANELS</b>
1522	Publication of <i>On the Abolition of Images</i>	
1524		<u>Broadwater I.</u>
1524-32	Attacks on images in East Anglia	
1525		<u>Chichester I</u> , <u>Christchurch Priory I</u> , <u>Sompting</u> .
1526		<u>Rustington I.</u>
1529		<u>Godshill.</u>
1530		<u>Christchurch Priory II</u> , <u>Kingston Buci</u> , <u>Stoke Charity</u> panel.
1532		<u>Boxgrove I.</u>
1533	Reformist cleric Hugh Latimer attacks the honouring of saints and veneration of images.	<u>Selmeston.</u>
1535		<u>Petworth.</u>
1536	Convocation of Clergy agrees that images of saints should be ejected. Ten Articles on Religion approves veneration of images. Act for Abrogation of Holy Days reduces Masses associated with saints. Act for dissolution of minor monastic houses passed.	<u>Brading III.</u>
1537		<u>Church Norton</u> . <u>Goudhurst (panel).</u>
1538	Religious injunctions order the removal of 'feigned images' and prohibits the placing of candles before 'any picture' apart from the Holy Rood and the Easter Sepulchre. Saints' shrines destroyed in Canterbury, Chichester and Winchester Cathedrals.	<u>West Wittering I</u> , <u>Racton</u> , <u>Hamsey</u> .
1539	Religion Act slows the pace of liturgical reform.	
1540	Dissolution of major religious houses	<u>Chichester II</u> , <u>Westhampnett</u> , <u>Rustington II</u> , <u>Wiston</u> .
1542	Cranmer urges that images should no longer have lights put before them.	
1545	Publication of the <i>King's Primer</i> which excludes psalms of mourning, supplicant and complaint.	<u>Chichester III</u> , <u>Broadwater II</u> .
1547	Abolition of fraternities and chantries. Clergy ordered to destroy images.	<u>West Wittering II</u> , <u>Boxgrove II</u> .
1547-53	'Cleansing' of parish churches and cathedrals	<u>Clapham.</u>

**KEY:**

\* The monument at Slaugham had three development phases, c.1520-47.

In the absence of documentary evidence, estimation of the time-lag between date of death and the erection of tombs is always problematic and can be only established by looking at other monuments, comparing structure, costume, inscription content and motifs. A frequent requirement was for the monument to be in place in time for the Mass marking the first anniversary of the death - the so-called 'year's mind' - although some testators sought earlier completion of the tomb, as at Burton, Sussex in 1558 where Lady Elizabeth Goringe asked her executors to erect 'one decent Tombe' for her husband and herself 'within one quarter of a year nexte after my deathe as my holle truste ys in them' (Godfrey, 1935, 233). A Purbeck monument with London-made 'Nayle'-style figure brasses was erected in accordance with her instructions, but the timescale involved is unknown.

Whilst the imprecision of such dating will always militate against unequivocal conclusions, broad trends are revealed by this analysis. Fifteen of the 32 tombs and one religious panel were erected in or after 1536 when the Tudor regime's policy towards imagery began to harden. It is indicative that four monuments were probably ordered or carved in 1540, following the Religion Act of the previous year that slowed liturgical reform. None were seemingly erected in 1539 or during 1541-4 when uncertainty amongst conservatives about liturgical change probably increased. The later tombs at WEST WITTERING II and BOXGROVE II stand out as anachronistic, given the advent of a Protestant regency government determined to implement interventionist policies in churches. Testamentary evidence suggests that CLAPHAM was completed in or after *c.*1550 after laying unfinished (TNA, PROB 11/34 fol.90v), suggesting that executors may have debated the wisdom of including iconography. It has no religious imagery, apart from two prayer scrolls (one effaced), but missals are shown on its prayer desks and some female effigies hold rosaries - both targets for iconoclasts.

These hints at the tenacity of traditionalist preferences amongst patrons are not confined to Sussex and Hampshire. Nationally, few wills that survive from 1538-46 include directions for tombs, indicating instead merely the desired burial location, with decisions on monuments left to executors' discretion. Two are noteworthy as they specify requirements for religious iconography. Sir Robert Wingfield, a counsellor to Henry VIII and a former alderman of Calais, in his will dated 10 August 1538, asked to be buried in 'the north side of Senyt Nicholas church in Calleys' in the tomb he had already erected for himself there.

He requested his executors to buy a 'mrbyll ston<sup>e</sup> upon wiche I will there shalbe graven a crosse of Jherusalem', presumably in brass (TNA PROB 11/27 fol.262). The will of Sir Thomas Johnson of Lindley, in conservative Yorkshire, dated 25 September 1542, asked that he should be buried in 'oure ladie quere of Otley dedicated in honore of Alhallos... I will that myne executors do cause a stone to be laide upon me, an image of the Nativitie of oure Lorde sett opon the same and an ymage of myself made knelinge under with myne arms in foure corners of the same stone' (Clay, 1907, vol. 6, no.162).

### **The reaction to religious reform**

Research in the last 40 years has demonstrated marked diversity across the English counties either in the strength of support for the Reformation or in resistance to religious change; see, for example, examinations of opposition in Lancashire (Haigh, 1975) and of acceptance in Essex (Oxley, 1977). In Sussex, particularly in the western half, a staunch commitment to the old liturgy lasted well into the 1570s, principally because of the inherent conservatism of its clergy and landowners. In this, the religious loyalties of Sussex mirror those of other rural counties such as Lancashire which retained a Catholic majority until late into the sixteenth century (Haigh, 1975, 49); yet neighbouring Cheshire was troubled by only mild recusancy in the 1560-70s (Wark, 1971, 1-11). Kent had strong traditions of Lollardy, a mainly non-resident nobility and experienced conflict between privilege-conscious towns and their monastic landlords. Here there were outbreaks of 'ragged, basically unsophisticated anti-clericalism' by the 1520s (Clark, 1977, 29-30), widespread Lutheran teaching and acceptance of reforms encouraged by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury from March 1533. In contrast, the episcopal leadership in Chichester diocese had no appetite for religious change (except for late in Edward VI's reign and after Elizabeth I's accession in 1558) and offered scant encouragement to the faithful to entertain change. Only one radical evangelical - John Scory - occupied the bishop's throne in 1552-53 before his expulsion early in the reign of Mary I. The conservative Robert Sherborn, bishop from 1508, only reluctantly accepted Henry VIII's supremacy. Throughout his long tenure, he increased his episcopal authority by reforming his church courts whilst making concerted efforts to improve the fabric of his parish churches. He also enhanced standards of pastoral care and was active in monastic visitations (Harper-Bill, 2004, vol. 50, 284).

Sherborn resigned the see at the king's request in June 1536 and died the following August, leaving a will which was deeply orthodox in tone and sentiment (TNA PROB 11/25, fols.310v-311). Richard Sampson, (bishop 1536-43) was forced to defend himself against accusations of laxity in imposing reform or disciplining traditionalist clergy. 'No one' the bishop assured Thomas Cromwell in September 1538, was 'more sorry for the abuses in [my] diocese' - adding that he was 'glad of the injunctions commanded in the king's name... for now they will be obeyed'. Sampson trusted 'that henceforth the diocese will be in better frame' (LP vol. 13, pt. 2, 339) having issued fresh instructions to his clergy, ordering that 'every good Christian man and woman should obey...' the religious injunctions, since Henry VIII was 'God's minister and because he is their king and that they should pray for the good estate for his grace' (BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra E V, fol.294). That same month he acknowledged he had been 'negligent in not resorting to his diocese as often as he might...' pledging that 'if the king wishes to set forth any doctrine he will have no trouble in [this] diocese'. Sampson admitted he was 'not very friendly to novelties unless necessary' but insisted that he was 'no more papist' than Cromwell himself (BL Cotton MS, Cleopatra E V, fol.298). Despite these assurances, he fell foul of the Minister over his support of the traditionalist Six Articles of 1539 and reports that he advocated Romish doctrine and papal supremacy in a sermon at Chichester on 15 August that year. Sampson told Cromwell that:-

I suppose in my little mind I spake nothing but that if ye had been present, ye would have been very wel content with it....

Touching the worshipping of images, setting up of candles before them, or kneeling, I assure you that I trust ye shal hear shortly in my poor dioces that they shal know their former fault and leave it (Stephens, 1876, 218).

He was arrested in 1540 and detained in the Tower, accused of treasonably sending food to a papist called Thomas Abel, who was 'almost eaten up by vermin in a filthy prison' (LP, vol. 16, no.578). Only the Minister's fall that July secured Sampson's liberty. George Day (1543-51) was one of five prelates who dissented from the *Book of Common Prayer* in English in 1549. The following year his preaching was censured, and Edward VI's Council sent the king's almoner to Sussex to counter his beliefs and 'teach the people aright' (APC, vol. 3, 137 and 154). Day was detained in the Fleet Prison in October 1551 for opposing liturgical reform, (notably his refusal to abolish altars), but was restored to the see by Mary

I in 1553. John Christopherson, who succeeded him in 1557, died after a month's imprisonment in early 1559 for preaching against the Protestant William Bill, later dean of Westminster Abbey (McCann, 1981, 102, 113-4).

The Sussex clergy followed their bishops' lead by ridiculing the new rites (Kitch, 1981b, 80-1). Such was the depth of clerical opposition in Sussex to religious change that inevitably, there were exceptions to the general acceptance of the break with Rome. For example, William Inold, vicar of Rye, was denounced in September 1533 for warning of papal displeasure. He predicted that if England was placed in excommunication, all would suffer - as in King John's reign, when 'there was neither corn, grass nor fruit growing'. His parishioners asked that if the Pope waged war against the king, were 'we not bound to resist in defence of our prince and realm?' Inold rejected this 'for the Pope is above all kings and princes of the world'. Eventually, he was jailed in 1538 for sedition. (Elton, 1972, 86, 89). Richard Gwent, archdeacon of London, who carried out a visitation of Chichester diocese in 1535, reported that many clergy had not erased the Pope's name from their missals and had not preached against the papacy, but he believed this was caused by indolence or ignorance, rather than wilful disobedience (Goring, 1996, 141). Other priests were more direct in their opposition. In 1535 the rector of Brede clapped Thomas Netter into the stocks for heresy - his possession of a psalter in English. When he maintained it was printed *cum gratia et privilegio regali*, the rector retorted that 'the king's grace did grant many such things, the which is little regarded and less shall be' (LP, vol. 9, no. 1130). The following year William Hoo, suffragan bishop of Chichester and vicar of Eastbourne, affirmed that the preachers of the English *New Testament* might call themselves 'Children of Christ' - but were in truth, Satan's offspring. He scoffed that a befuddled monarch only allowed them to preach because those 'that rule about [him] make him great banquets and give him sweet wines and make him drunk, and then they bring him bills and he putteth his sign to them' (LP, vol. 11, no. 300). The parish clerk of St Clement's, Hastings, wanted to see all English Bibles burned (Goring, 1996, 144). Thomas Cowley, vicar of Ticehurst, continued to extol miracles and images despite the religious injunctions against them. During a sermon in June 1538 he held up a groat bearing Henry's head on the reverse, and demanded of his congregation:-

Dare you spit upon this face? You dare not do it. But you will spit upon the image [and so] spit upon God? Hold you there, hold for a while! Within four years, we



shall have it as it was again. It is but trick and go. Lightly it came and lightly it will be gone again.

Therefore, do as you have done. Offer up a candle to St Loys [Eliguis or Eloi] for your horse and to St Anthony for your cattle.

Earlier that year, on Candlemas Day (2 February) Cowley had come to the chancel door after Matins and 'declared a ballad of Our Lady and told the people "Law, law, masters - I said we should have the old fashion again, ye may see comes a little and a little"' (TNA, SP 1/133, fols. 51-3). Other Sussex clergy suffered retribution for their beliefs or actions. George Crofts, the chancellor at Chichester, and the prebendary John Collins were executed at Tyburn on 9 December 1538 for opposing the Reformation. Christopher Plummer, prebendary of Somerleigh, was sent to the Tower on 6 July 1535 for criticising the king's divorce from Katherine of Aragon but was released eight months later. He was her chaplain in 1518 (Kitch, 1978, 277-92).

Unlike the north of England, the dissolution of the monasteries passed off peacefully in Sussex - in contrast to events at the Premonstratensian house at Bayham, in the north-east of the county, when suppressed by Wolsey in 1525. Then local people, armed with swords and crossbows, sought to restore the dispossessed canons. (For more on this riot, see Blaauw, 1854, 222 and Goring, 1978, 1-10). In the 1530-40s some religiously conservative local gentry, such as Sir John Gage of Firle, took an active part in the suppressions and profited from the redistribution of property. Ellis Bradshaw (CHICHESTER III) received the surrenders of the Greyfriars and Blackfriars priories in the city on 8 October 1538 and signed the inventories of their contents (LP, vol.13 pt.2, nos. 562 and 563). Richard Sakevyle I (WESTHAMPNETT) was granted the priory of Michelham in May 1541 'as steward of the manors of Cowdean and Holwick' (LP, vol. 16, 429) and was among those who took possession of the college or deanery of Hastings in October 1546 (LP vol. 16, pt. 2, 159).

### **Testamentary evidence**

Predictably, the wills of those commemorated by these monuments emphasise their piety and conservatism, in common with the content of others from Sussex in 1520-1550. Almost all begin with variations on the familiar pre-Reformation preamble, bequeathing their souls 'to almighty god, to our glissed ldy saint mary and to all the holy saintes of hevyn'

(BROADWATER I, TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.11) with other examples at SOMPTING (WSRO, STA 1/1A, fol.50), HAMSEY (TNA, PROB 11/27, fol.132v) and RUSTINGTON I (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.22v). However, this phraseology is also employed by testators throughout the 1540s, as at WISTON (TNA, PROB 11/28, fol.171v), PETWORTH (TNA, PROB 11/29, fol.118), WEST WITTERING II (TNA, PROB 11/31, fol.19v), CHICHESTER III (TNA, PROB 11/30, fol.239), SLAUGHAM (TNA, PROB 11/31, fol.377) and finally at CLAPHAM, dated 6 November 1548 (TNA, PROB 11/32, fol.185). Other wills provide pious legacies for the repair or maintenance of churches such as that of Edward Elrington at PRESTON EPISCOPI:

I bequethe to every parisshe chirche standing abowt the downes between the water of Lewes and the water of Barbrohe [?Bramber] to the mayntenunce of the saide chirches to every one of them xx<sup>d</sup>... I bequethe to the reparacion of the Chauntrie Chapell of Shorditche beside London xl<sup>s</sup> to be bestowed by the discrecion of myn executors and overseers (TNA, PROB 11/18, fol.12v).

Most bequeathed money to buy vestments, ornaments or for the maintenance of lights for favoured churches or monastic houses as at PETWORTH: 'to the Church of Waltham [Coldwaltham] to bye them a Cross with a banner of silke, to the said Crosse xl<sup>s</sup>' (TNA, PROB 11/29, fol. 118). Joan Cooke at RUSTINGTON left 'oone sowe so as to fulfil and make the number of vij keyn [kine] the which I have in my keeping for the maytenunce of [Our Lady's] light... I will that my executours make deliveraunce of them to Mary my daughter and she to maynteyn the said Light.... as I have doon in my tyme' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.22v). At HAMSEY (where there were also directions for the erection of an Easter Sepulchre as a tomb), there were bequests:

to the parishe Church of Hampsey a vestment price foure marcs... I bequeathe to the mayntenynge of the ornamentes of the Church of St Johns under the Castell of Lewes vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>. I bequeathe in like manner to the Parishe Church of Chaleghe [Chailey] vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

I bequeath to the graye Freres of Lewes one vestement of white silk with an Image of oure lade therin embroiderd with all such things as be necessary and incident unto the same (TNA, PROB 11/27, fol. 134).

Unsurprisingly, all were concerned with the welfare of their souls in the afterlife with detailed instructions given for monthly and yearly obits and the trental Masses to be said. Richard Burré at SOMPTING left his son-in-law Richard Holland the lease of the parsonage 'callyd the Temple that I hold of the Howse of Saynt Jonys [Knights of St John of Jerusalem, dissolved 1540] ...

and also my farme callyd the Esthamme so [long] as he kepe an Obbit for my sowle and my wyvys sowle by the space of xj eyere after my dethe in the church of Sowntyng; the dirge off that Obbit yerly to begyn the Sondaye next after Saint James Daye and the massis the next morrow foloyng' (WSRO, STA 1/1A, fol.50).

At WISTON, Sir Richard Shirley directed that at his burial 'there be seyde one Trentall of masses and at my monthes mynde one trintall of masses. And in lyke maner, the daye of my yeres mynde one trintall of masses for my soule and all Christen solles. And every of the preestes at eche of the said dayes shall be rewardyd as shalbe thought convenient by myn Executour' (TNA, PROB 11/28, fol. 171v). Edward Markewycke at HAMSEY bequeathed to:-

every house of ffreres within the Countie of Sussex x<sup>s</sup> to singe a trentall of masses within the house Immeditely after my decease for my soule, my fathers soule my mothers soule and all christen soules...

I bequeath to the Priory of Lewes xl<sup>s</sup> whereby my soule may be the better remembred... I geve and bequeath to the Chamberer of the Monastery of Saint Pancrasse of Lewes xl<sup>s</sup> for a remembraunce to pray for my soule...

I bequeath to Walter Mascall Clerk tenne marcs sterling to singe and say masse for my soule for the space of one year next after my decesse at the same universitie where he is scholer or student...

And I will that my said executours with the Issues and profites of my said lands and tenements shall fynd a oon honest and good preest being an Englishman borne to singe and say masse for my soule my father soule my mother soule and for the soules of all my friends and benefactours... in the parish Church of Hampsey and to contyne by the space of twenty years next after my decease.

And I will that my said executours shall yerely keep an obite of 20<sup>s</sup> by the yere in the same Church by the space of twenty yeres next after my decease (TNA, PROB 11/27, fol.134).

By the late 1540s, such requirements began to disappear although requests for masses and trentals are found in four wills dated 1546-8 signed by inhabitants of Boxgrove (Godfrey, 1935, 187). A direction for a 'dyrige and v Masses' was sought by a Chichester citizen on 6 June 1547 and John Clarke of Pulborough left 4d to 'y<sup>e</sup> Mother Church of Chichester to be prayd for' on 30 March 1552 (Godfrey, 1935, 325, 287). At CLAPHAM, where Sir William Shelley asked to be buried without 'not great trouble or coste' and emphasised his desire to be interred 'without any pompe or costely Cerimonies', he still required one hundred Masses to be said for his soul (TNA, PROB 11/32, fol.185). Thus the old liturgy lingered on. In 1549, John Carter sought burial before the Rood in Chichester cathedral 'agaynst ye pulpyt' and asked his executrix to 'agre w<sup>t</sup> ye mynysters of ye seyde churche for my seyde

buryall after ye old custom ther used' (Godfrey, 1935, 278). Most church goods provided by legacy disappeared in the Edwardine Reformation. Later, memories of what had been swept away remained fresh in Sussex. In 1550, Richard Awdeby desired to be buried in the cathedral 'dyrectly under the defacyde image of the Assumpcyon of Our Lady at theeste end of Our Lady Chapell' (Godfrey, 1935, 278). Five years later, Walter Yeman, vicar of Yapton, asked to be buried in his chancel 'afore the place wher the image of Our Lady dyd stand' (Godfrey, 1940, 423). Some religious iconography survived in Sussex or was replaced in the Marian Counter-Reformation. On 28 March 1559, Thomas Richardson, vicar of East Marden, West Sussex, requested burial in the chancel 'before the Image of Saint Peter' (Godfrey, 1938, 196).

### **The progress of reform**

The evangelical William Barlow, who had resigned as bishop of Bath and Wells in Mary's reign because of his marriage, was not appointed to Chichester in succession to Bishop Christopherson until the end of 1559 and did not take up residence until the following summer. This left an 18-month interregnum - a vacuum in ecclesiastical power that delayed imposition of the Elizabethan religious settlement. On arrival, he was confronted with the daunting task of dragging Sussex into the Protestant faith - especially in the western half, as the Cinque Ports in the east were now coming under continental influence and were establishing Protestant prayer groups. Furthermore, the old bishops' authority was also weaker east of Lewes because of the infrequency of their visitations to this distant and sometimes inaccessible area of the diocese (Haigh, 1995, 21) and the obstinate survival of a smattering of Lollard beliefs which had spread earlier from west Kent (Goring, 1996, 145).

An analysis of clerical institutions in the diocesan records indicates that 61 of the 280 livings in the see of Chichester were deprived of their incumbent in 1559-64 ostensibly on religious grounds, although some were vacancies caused by the influenza epidemic of 1557-9. A consensus amongst modern historians estimates that deprivations across England totalled 300: the scale of the Chichester ejections suggests that this could be revised upwards (McCann 1981, 103-4). Within two years of Elizabeth's accession, half the cathedral clergy had also departed, including the chancellor and the treasurer (Kitch, 1981b, 80). Among the more senior to be deprived were the archdeacon of Chichester, Alban

Langdale, and Anthony Clerke, prebendary of Firle, a former Carthusian monk and master of the grammar school at Chichester. Both sought protection from Anthony Browne II (1528-92) first viscount Montagu, at Cowdray where Langdale became chaplain. Robert Taylor, archdeacon of Lewes, retired into the homes of the Sussex Catholic gentry but was later detained at the Scott family's residence at Iden and carried off to Rye, still clad in his vestments, and 'evilly used'. Later he sheltered with a cadet branch of the Gages at Framfield as did William Wood, who was ejected as vicar of Newtimber in 1560. David Michell, once a Cluniac monk at Lewes Priory, was deprived as rector of Horsted Keynes and was accommodated at Firle Place, the Gage family seat, as was Thomas Cottesmore, former rector at Poynings (McCann, 1981, 104-9).

In 1564, Barlow reported to the Privy Council on the precarious spiritual health of his diocese. Aside from its grudging acceptance of the *Book of Common Prayer*, he declared:

this Countye of Sussex... is free from all violent attemptes eyther to afflicte the godlye or distourbe the stablissed good orders of this Realme. Nothwithstandinge I doubte of secret practises which perhappes myghte breake oute into open violence, were yt not for feare of your Lordshippes vigilante Authoorite (Bateson, 1895, 8).

The bishop warned that a large number of Sussex gentry remained Catholics or were sympathisers and that they impeded the conversion of the county. Some were JPs who did not enforce the laws against recusants (Kitch, 1981b, 79). He complained that Battle remained a hot-bed of Catholicism - hardly unexpected, as it was one of the seats of Viscount Montagu, who had spent six weeks in prison in 1551 for hearing Mass (Bindoff, vol. 1, 514) and had established new chantries at Battle and Midhurst in 1557 to replace those dissolved by Edward VI (CPR Philip & Mary, vol. 3, 440-1). This snail-like progress towards acceptance of Protestantism, particularly west of Lewes, was underlined by a report of 1568 on religious disaffection in Sussex that demonstrated that the heart of the unreformed religion was yet beating strongly. Many rood lofts still stood in Sussex chancels and in some parishes, where they had been dismantled to comply with Elizabeth's religious *dictat* of 1561, 'the wood liethe still... ready to be set up again'. It added:

In some places because the rood was taken away they painted there in that place a cross with chalk and because that was washed away with painting and the number of crosses standing at graves in the churchyard taken also away, they have since made crosses on the church walls within and without and upon the pulpit and

communion table in despite of the preacher...

In the churches they have put crosses upon the stalls whom they favour and upon my farmer's stall they have chalked a gibbet.

Images had been hidden, not destroyed 'and other popish ornaments [were concealed] to set up the Mass again within twenty-four hours' as at the town of 'Battell and the parish of Lindfield, where they be yet very blind and superstitious'. At the former, a minister 'who spoke against the pope's doctrine' was ejected by the parishioners. At Arundel 'certain altars do stand yet to the offence of the godly which murmur and speak much against the same and preachers have also spoken against the standing thereof in their sermons of late'. Elsewhere, chalices had been secreted to await the return of the old doctrine and communion was merely ministered in 'glasses and profane goblets'. The report also warned that unreformed priests remained active in Sussex:-

There is one Father Moses, sometime a friar of Chichester, and he runneth about from one gentleman's house to another with news and letters, being much suspected in religion, and bearing a popish Latin primer about with him with Dirge and the Letanye praying to Saints and in certain houses he maintained the popish doctrine of purgatory and the praying to dead saints.

Parishioners still brought their Latin primers to godly Protestant services and women and old people openly said their rosary beads during the prayer-book liturgy. (Birt, 1907, 427-30; Duffy, 1992, 494, 577). As late as 1586 there were complaints that the Edwardine whitewash covering the Passion of Christ wall painting in Chichester Cathedral had been rubbed away so that the image was 'as bright as ever' and there were 'monstrous and idolatrous monuments in the High Cross' which 'the common people are used to reverence unto them' (McCann, 1974b, 1). Catholic influence also remained omnipresent in education; 'There be schoolmasters who teach without licence and be not of sound and good religion, as the schoolmaster in the town of Battell [Edward Tarry] the vicar of Findon and the schoolmaster that teacheth in the Lodge of Stansted who teacheth Mr Stoughton's children, being comptroller of my lord of Arundel's house' (McCann, 1974a, 101).

Unlike some other English counties, no detailed examination of religious attitudes in Sussex or Hampshire during the early years of the Reformation has been published, possibly because surviving evidence tends to be episodic. We know, for example, that powerful resident Sussex landowners such as the Brownes, Gages and Shelleys remained implacably recusant, despite the penal laws punishing regular non-attendance at Sunday

services. Other gentry like the Gounters at RACTON paid for the upkeep of their own unreformed priests in their churches. The report of 1568 acknowledges: 'Many gentlemen at Easter receive Communion at home in their chapels and choose priests from a distance as Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Edward Gage [brother of Sir John] and James Gage' (McCann, 1981, 100-1). Most of the Sussex and Hampshire magnates, gentry and clergy appear to have accepted Henry VIII's version of Catholicism *sans* the Pope, but retained grave reservations about the reforms in liturgy during his reign (Kitch, 1981b, 81). Sir Anthony Browne I (1500-48), Master of the Horse, privately dissented over the supremacy issue and was interrogated in June 1536 about his affection for Princess Mary and his views on the succession. (BL, Cotton MS, Otho C X, fol.172). His will, dated 22 April 1547, confirms his steadfast Catholic beliefs, as he requested the saying of 'certayn masses and dirges by the priests [of Battle church] and my chaplains' (TNA, PROB 11/33, fol.75). In the early 1530s Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, was the only lay peer to join the spirituals in opposing the Bill restraining appeals to Rome; Sir Richard Shirley of WISTON was also among those noted by Cromwell as opposing this Bill (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 3, 326). Sir John Gage, vice-chamberlain of the royal household, departed the court in August 1533 because of his objections to Henry's divorce (LP vol. 6, no.965). He resigned his office and sought spiritual comfort in the Sheen Charterhouse, declaring his intention to become a monk, although he returned to court in 1537 to attend the christening of Prince Edward and the funeral of Queen Jane (Potter, 2004, 252; Bindoff, vol.2, 180). Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, (BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER II) was another Sussex magnate who was traditionalist in his religious views. He was a close friend of Bishop Sherborn, whose servant, Anthony Wayte, described de la Warr in October 1534 as 'the whole stay of our corner of Sussex - for if we lacked him, we might well say to have lost the greatest part of wealth and Catholics, for he is surely a good lord and just' (Byrne, 1981, vol. 2, 270). George Crofts, the ill-fated chancellor of Chichester, declared under interrogation that de la Warr had never wavered from his pious beliefs in the intercession of the saints, the value of pilgrimages or the existence of purgatory (Riordan, 2004, 243). No wonder the ninth baron was titular head of the administration of the estates of the bishops of Chichester. However, he was prepared to conform over the king's divorce and was

appointed commissioner of oaths for the royal supremacy in Sussex in 1534 - doubtless a carefully calculated decision by the government, given his own beliefs and his known conservative associates in the county (Riordan, 2004, vol. 58, 243).

In March 1536 de la Warr learnt of plans to dissolve the Benedictine house at Boxgrove. Four years earlier he had completed his chantry chapel within the quire of the priory church (BOXGROVE I), intended not only as a monument to himself and his wife (they were to be buried in the vault beneath) but also as a dynastic mausoleum (Willis *et al*, 1861, 18). He immediately wrote a letter to Cromwell:

I have perffyt word that the act is past that all howses of relygyon that is [worth] under 300 markys ys gebyn to the kynge's highness, both the landes and gooddes, and that by the said acte his highness may by his letter patentes under his grete eale gyve lysence to as many as shall stand with his gracys pleasure to contynew unsubpressyd.

And so it is, that I have a power howse called Boxgrave, very nere to my power howse, whereof I am ffounder, and there lyethe many of my auntytours and also my wyffys mother; and for bycawse hyt is of my ffoundacyon, and that my paryshe church is under the rooffe of the church of the said monastery, and have made a power chapel to be buried yn.

.....yf it might stand with the kynges gracys pleasure, for the power servyce that I have doyn his highness, to fforebere the subpressyng of the same, or else to translate hyt ynto a college of suche nombre as the landes wyll bere.

...yf hyt may not stand so with his gracys pleasure, then I wold lowly beseche his grace to have the preferment of the farme [lease], with all such other thynges as the pryor yn in tyme had for the provysyon of his howse.

De la Warr begged Cromwell to give him his 'lawful ffaver, good wyll and helpe hereyn' and promised he would 'recompence youre goodness, kyndnes and payne hereyn, so that I trust for so powere a thyng that you shalbe contentyd and pleasyd' (BL, Cotton MS., Cleopatra, E IV, fol. 234). The last prior, Thomas Myles, surrendered the house later in 1536 and is commemorated there by another tomb in this series, BOXGROVE II. The dissolution in March 1537 was organised by local commissioners, Sir John Dawtrey II of Petworth and William Palmer of Angmering, together with a creature of Cromwell's, John Morise, who afterwards boasted to his master:

I trust the kynges grace wilbe pleased by meanes of yowre good lordshyppe, and the rather for that his grace, by the vygylant circumspection and dylygent dewte of the seyd lord LaWarre, hath more proffett [here] than in any other howse dissolved in Sussex. And, as I verily thynke, the kyng is not better answered nor more trewly of the goodes apperteynyng to his highness by reason of any howse dissolved in Ingland, then he is also [here]. (BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra, E IV, fol. 234v).



De la Warr was granted the lease of the priory and its manor at the inflated price of £125 13s 4d. The quire of the great monastic church was used as the parish church and the nave roof stripped of its lead and partially demolished. However, de la Warr enjoyed the benefits of Boxgrove for only three years. Apparently because of suspicions that he planned to reinstate the monks, de la Warr was forced to convey to the king the priory, manor and his newly refurbished house at Halnaker (where Henry had stayed during a progress in 1536) in exchange for the less valuable suppressed abbey at Wherwell, Hampshire (LP, vol. 14, pt. 2, nos. 481, 544, 547; LP, vol. 15, no. 436; TNA, SC 12/15/54). The king's Council was charged 'to try out the very bottom and pith of such things ... as de la Warr had been detected to have offended your majesty' but they found insufficient evidence to justify his arrest 'for it would touch the king's honour if he were imprisoned on a weak ground' (Cook, 1965, 92; LP, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 968). Eventually, de la Warr moved his household to another of his houses at Offington, near Worthing, and commissioned a second monument of this group for himself and his wife (BROADWATER II), completed about nine years before his death in 1554.

Sir William Shelley of CLAPHAM, a justice of the Common Pleas, also became increasingly unsympathetic to the religious changes. In November 1534 he was involved in a dangerous conversation with a fellow conservative judge, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, telling him:

I can tell you news. These new books of heresy shall be called in and who as doth keep them shall be taken as a heretic.

Shelley was delighted by the triumph of 'Dr Nicholas, the Italian' [Nicholas de Burgo] who overcame some Lutherans during a religious disputation and he condemned as 'a most detestable book of heresy' Robert Barnes' *A Supplication Vnto the Most Gracyous Prince Kynge Henry the VIII*, published in Antwerp in 1531 when the Protestant reformer was exiled (Elton, 1972, 32-3). The judge's remarks were reported to the Privy Council and he was transferred to the Home Circuit for the Lent Assize of 1535, under the watchful eye of his one-time junior, the Attorney-General Christopher Hales (Whittick, 2004a, 215). Despite his religious views, Shelley still dutifully applied Henry VIII's law. As the suppression of the religious houses continued, in 1537 two of the Greyfriars in Lewes spread the treasonable rumour that the king was dead. They were punished 'and took it very

penitently' according to Shelley, who was judge in their case (LP, vol. 12, pt. 2, no. 1185). He and his family held the advowsons of the parishes of Clapham and Patching and these became centres of passive clerical opposition. A few days after Elizabeth came to the throne, John Wall, the vicar of Clapham, died and his will was patently the last testament of a 'Catholic resister'. He left books to Thomas Stapleton, provided he was ordained a priest, and bequeathed funds to the religious orders that Mary I had re-established in London (WSRO, STC I/10 fol.139). His successor at Clapham, David Spencer, refused to preach and circulated the exiled priest Nicholas Sander's book *The Rock of the Church*, published at Louvain in 1565 (McCann, 1981, 105).

In December 1538 the shrine of St Richard in Chichester Cathedral was ordered to be demolished. The commissioners appointed to oversee its destruction and seize its riches were two West Sussex JPs, Sir William Goring of Burton and William Ernle, the latter commemorated by monuments of this group at WEST WITTERING I and II. Henry VIII signed the instructions to them himself and their appointment was probably intended to test the loyalty of these conservative Sussex gentry. Such was their enthusiasm to find treasure to despatch to the king's jewel house in the Tower, that they wrecked a tomb of a bishop in the Lady Chapel. Ernle's faith, however, was tempered with political realism. Just before the shrine's destruction, he had sent 'a little book' - undoubtedly an evangelical tract - to Cromwell which, he boasted, 'had marvellously aggrieved those papistical fellows in Chichester'. De la Warr was then a prisoner in the Tower, having been caught up in the arrests of the surviving 'White Rose' Yorkist faction at court. Ernle urged 'that the false priest Simon Fowler' should be arrested 'for surely he is in counsel with lord Delawar [*sic*] and other[s] that now be in the Tower for treason'. Fowler, claimed Ernle, 'would disclose much if handled well,' as there had been suspicious visitors to de la Warr's house at Halnaker and 'surely, this riding to and fro by night [is] to put evidences out of the way'. His letter alleged that de la Warr had entertained the exiled traitor Cardinal Reginald Pole at his home, as had George Croft, chancellor of Chichester (LP, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 1062; Fines, 1994, 62). During Cromwell's investigation of de la Warr, Sir Harry Owen, his brother-in-law, recounted how he had heard 'many times lord de la Warr openly say:-

that he liked not this world of plucking down abbeys. He has openly spoken against

sundry statutes passed by Parliament and that a time would come when God would punish this plucking down of abbeys and the reading of these new English books (LP, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 821).

There is a paradox here. Ernle's two monuments at WEST WITTERING - one an Easter Sepulchre - are filled with religious imagery. The first, probably completed just before his demolition of St Richard's shrine, contains a row of saints, one of which was intended to induce worshippers to pray regularly at the tomb. Indeed, there is a local tradition that Ernle secreted some of St Richard's relics within this monument. Ernle's despatch of the Protestant tract to Cromwell and with his scurrilous allegations against de la Warr, were attempts to demonstrate his fidelity to the king and to ingratiate himself with his Minister. His letter also asked that Cromwell's arms be set up on his house at Cakeham, eight km. south of Chichester, as a token of his fidelity. De la Warr was, however, freed after 19 days' incarceration in the Tower on 21 December 1538 on a £3,000 recognisance.

Hampshire replicated the religious affiliations of its neighbour by following the conservative lead of its long-serving diocesan bishop. The radical reforming influence of the port of Southampton was effectively neutralised by the lengthy rule of the profoundly traditionalist Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester 1531-1551 and Catholicism remained surprisingly strong in the county (Haigh, 1995, 21). Gabriel Pecock, warden of the friars observant convent in Southampton, preached on Passion Sunday 1534 at Winchester against the prevalent 'damned heresies' and exhorted his congregation to be steadfast 'even unto death' to their ancient faith. He also referred to St Matthew who had declined to obey his prince's commands when they infringed canon laws. Pecock ended by emphasising the true primacy of Rome. A report on his sermon arrived on Cromwell's desk and John Perchard, mayor of Southampton, sent Pecock off to London. The mayor subsequently wrote approvingly of the warden's 'good behaviour' and his local popularity probably won his freedom as he was back in his community that July (LP, vol. 7, nos. 448-50). Whilst the majority of the Hampshire clergy opposed liturgical change, the county also had several maverick preachers who presaged the fervent unordained puritans of the next century. John Palmes, the married owner of the parsonage of Bentworth, had never taken holy orders but held the benefice and even preached in his local church. His pleas to Cromwell for help as Bishop Gardiner sought repeatedly to eject him, stressed that he was the only man in Hampshire who had preached against the pope. Gardiner bided his time and finally expelled

him in early 1540 (Elton, 1972, 42-43). Robert Vaws, parson of Over Wallop, claimed to have been instituted into the living by the archbishop of Canterbury himself, even though he was married. His radical preaching against candles, saints and images drew Gardiner's wrath and as he could not prove he had been ordained, he was deprived before October 1538 (Elton, 1972, 43-4). During the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, there was a similar lack of enthusiasm for Protestant rites in Hampshire as in Sussex. Robert Horne, consecrated bishop of Winchester in February 1561, found after a visitation of his diocese the following year that churches in that city 'had not be frequented as they ought for common prayer since the Massing tyme'. He also had difficulty in finding ministers who would preach 'sound doctrine' and some priests in the cathedral were still 'inculcating popery and superstition'. The citizens of Winchester, Horne complained, were 'very stubborne, whos reformation wolde helpe the greatest parte of the shere' (Cox, 1903, 74-75).

### **Power structures in Sussex and Hampshire society**

We have seen how the bishops of Chichester and Winchester exercised considerable influence over the religious beliefs of Sussex and Hampshire and ensured resistance to liturgical change through their clergy. In addition, their status and considerable local property holdings assured them of a dominant role in the social structure of these two counties. In secular terms, five noble families had lands and residences in Sussex in this period - the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and the barons la Warr, Bergavenny and Dacre, the last two in East Sussex (but most of Bergavenny's property was in Kent where he was sometimes resident). To these should be added Sir William Fitzwilliam I, earl of Southampton, who stayed infrequently at his new house at Cowdray from 1535 (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 1, 200). Thomas Howard, the religiously conservative third duke of Norfolk, was also non-resident in Sussex, but possessed extensive property in the county, centred on Horsham (Hutchinson, 2009, 109). Norfolk controlled the boroughs of Bramber, Horsham and New Shoreham and his influence ensured the election of his nominees as their MPs such as the pious John Covert, part of the ducal household at Horsham, whose brother George was also a servant of the ninth baron de la Warr (Bindoff, 1982 vol. 1, 719). Sir Edward Bray, whose wife has a tomb of this group at SELMESTON and who was returned as

MP for Lewes in 1529, was also described as a servant of the duke (Swales, 1976, 52). Norfolk was a patron to Sir Anthony Browne I and they both served in the royal army against the northern insurgencies and during the penal aftermath in 1536-7. Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, was another conservative, but he was happy to acquire his ancestral foundation of Arundel College from the Court of Augmentations. Fitzalan was deputy of Calais in 1540-4 and commissioner of array in the southern counties during the invasion scare of the summer of 1545. Two years later he was made lord chamberlain and privy councillor, posts held by him until January 1550 (Lock, 2004, 759). In 1549, Fitzalan suppressed incipient rebellion in Sussex (primarily against agricultural enclosures but also against the English Prayer Book) without bloodshed (Bindoff, vol. 1, 200). Fitzwilliam, half-brother to Sir Anthony Brown I, was treasurer of the royal household by October 1525 but this was largely honorific as he served as captain of Calais Castle in 1526-30. He was thus mainly non-resident, preoccupied with his property and offices in Surrey and he also served as lord admiral in 1536-40 before his death two years later whilst campaigning against the Scots (Robison, 2004, 962-3). In 1539, he assured Cromwell that during a recent journey through Sussex he had tried to 'accomplish' the return of Sir John Gage and Sir William Goring to Parliament and both were elected (Bindoff, vol. 1, 200). Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr (BROADWATER I) was summoned to Parliament in 1482-1523 and was made a Knight of the Garter in 1510 (Comber, 1933, 305). In his first marriage, five sons died without issue but his eldest, Thomas succeeded him in title and estates in 1524 at the age of 40. We have already discussed de la Warr's vicissitudes. He was a JP in Sussex and Hampshire and was sheriff of Sussex in 1524-5. After his release from the Tower in December 1538 he was made responsible for the defences of the Sussex coast in an acknowledgement of the importance of his position in the county. Like his fellow magnates, he exercised some influence in the election of MPs; one of his servants, Robert Trigges, was returned for Chichester in 1529 and probably again in 1536 (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 3, 486).

Further down the ladder of secular ownership, we find the Gages, Brownes, the Shirleys at WISTON and the Brays at Henfield and SELMESTON and the Shelleys at CLAPHAM; all belonging to a closely-knit group, linked by kinship or marriage. Sir John Gage of Firle was pre-eminently a courtier and administrator, who had entered the royal household before

Henry VII's death as an esquire of the body and was appointed lord chamberlain by 1528. He was a JP for Sussex from 1514 and served on a number of local commissions. After his rehabilitation at court, he became one of the most loyal of the king's servants, becoming comptroller of the household and constable of the Tower. He was sent north to replace Fitzwilliam during the campaign against the Scots in 1542 and was afterwards appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. He was ousted from his offices in June 1547 but remained at the Tower, where he treated Princess Elizabeth severely 'more for love of the pope than for hate of her person' (Bindoff 1982, vol.2, 180-1; Potter, 2004, 251-3). Anthony Browne I's career resembles that of his elder half-brother Fitzwilliam. His first wife was Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage. He was made a knight of the body in 1522 and a gentleman of the privy chamber four years later. He served on various ambassadorial missions in France before his appointment as Master of the Horse in 1539. In December 1539, there were rumours that Fitzwilliam and Browne sought to replace Cromwell as Lord Privy Seal with the conservative Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham (LP, vol. 14, pt. 2, 750). Four years later, his [unnamed] chaplain was interrogated by Cranmer during the investigation of the so-called 'prebendaries' conspiracy' against the archbishop (LP vol. 18, pt. 2, 546). Sir Richard Shirley at WISTON was sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1513-4 and 1526-7; MP for Sussex in the 1529 Parliament and a long-standing JP, serving from 1512 until his death in 1540. He was knighted in 1526 during the royal progress through Sussex and was a knight of the body by 1533 (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 3, 316). His sister Beatrix married first Edward Elrington of London and Udimore, East Sussex (PRESTON EPISCOPI) and after his death she became the second wife of Sir Edward Bray and was buried at SELMESTON. Another sister, Jane, married Sir John Dawtrey I of PETWORTH. Sir Richard's cousins included Sir John Gage and Sir William Shelley (CLAPHAM). Sir Edward Bray was a naval and military commander early on in his career, commanding the *Mary Rose* in May 1513 and accompanying Thomas Howard, later third duke of Norfolk, in the campaign in Picardy in August 1522. Between 1523 and 1541 he was a Sussex JP. In the dissolution he bought two former monastic manors in East Sussex and one in Surrey to add to the extensive estates he had purchased from his brother Edmund in south-west Surrey in 1535. Bray served for nine years from 1541 as lieutenant of Calais castle and on his return, settled in Surrey and was returned as senior knight of that shire in the Parliament of October 1553

after Mary's succession (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 1, 490-1). Sir William Shelley was a prominent judge and took part in several high-profile commissions of Oyer and Terminer, including the cases of Bishop John Fisher and three monks of the Charterhouse, (accused of denying the royal supremacy) in 1535; the courtiers accused of adultery with Anne Boleyn in 1536 and the following year, the Yorkshire rebels (Hutchinson, 2008, 10). Shelley remained an active member of the Sussex bench of JPs, which he chaired as *custos rotulorum* from before 1532. He was also a MP from 1529 until his death (Whittick 2004a, 215).

Of the gentry, Richard Sakevyle I (WESTHAMPNETT) was a Fitzalan client, being closely associated with Thomas and William Fitzalan, the tenth and eleventh earls. Through Fitzalan influence, he became MP for Arundel in 1529 and was steward of Arundel College from 1531; high steward at Arundel Castle from 1536 and steward of the Fitzalan lands in Sussex from the same year (Bindoff, 1982 vol. 3, 246). Sakevyle was a JP from 1524 until his death in 1545. In 1533, Bishop Sherborn granted him the manor of Broyle, near Chichester, 'in consideration of his good counsel hitherto given to me and my church and of his administration of the courts of its liberties' (Peckham, 1952, 42). Richard Covert (SLAUGHAM) was sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1523, a position held by Sir John Dawtrey I (PETWORTH) three years later. William Ernle at WEST WITTERING was the third son of Sir John Ernle, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Attorney-General under Henry VII. He represented Chichester in the Parliament of 1542 (Whittick, 2004b, 510) and served as a JP. John Gounter (RACTON) was a fellow JP and both were confronted by a serious riot in Chichester in May 1540, possibly sparked by resentment over religious issues. They reported proceedings at the Chichester sessions 'where evidence was given not only about the riot but about certain burglaries. The jury, nevertheless, by the occasion of three forward persons, of whom one was foreman of the quest, would in no way agree for reformation of justice' (LP, vol. 15, no.681). In 1538 de la Warr, Ernle, Gounter and Sakevyle were appointed commissioners of sewers 'for the sea coast and marsh grounds between Felpham and Emsworth' in West Sussex (LP vol. 13, pt. 2, 502).

Finally there are the local officials. William Royse (CHICHESTER II) was one of the two coroners for the city from 1527 and enjoyed the leases of a number of properties granted by the dean and chapter. Ellis Bradshaw (CHICHESTER III) was a miller and baker.

On 5 September 1528 he was granted the office of baker of the common bread to the dean of Chichester, the canons 'resydencers' and the vicars choral for 41 years at a fee of 40 shillings a year (Peckham, 1959, 15). The following January the dean and chapter appointed him porter or verger of the cathedral with a rent of 20 shillings paid quarterly and a gown worth eight shillings (Peckham, 1952, 79). On Christmas Eve 1535, Bradshaw became receiver and surveyor of the lands, rents and tenements of the cathedral. Three years later he became mayor of Chichester.

On the IOW, where there are five monuments of this group, the most prominent of those commemorated is Lady Margaret Wadham at CARISBROOKE, the daughter of John Seymour of Wolf Hall in Wiltshire, and second wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham, captain of the island and of Carisbrooke Castle, 1509-20. Sir John Leigh (GODSHILL) held the manor of Applecombe and at BRADING III, Oliver Oglander was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey in 1509, serving in that post until 1522.

### **The influence of London**

The gentlemen of Sussex lived near enough to London to be able to frequent the court and visit the city merchants without lengthy absences from home - but far enough away to prevent the county being dominated by the capital (Bindoff, vol. 1, 200). The major roads to the capital were few and notoriously bad in winter, rendering communications difficult. Richard Burré (SOMPTING) left money for repairs to the 'cawsy off Reygate' in Surrey to ease the journey for travellers to and from London (WSRO, STA I/1A, fol.50). As maritime counties, Sussex and Hampshire required efficient government and adequate defence, both provided by a combination of resident noblemen and wealthy gentry (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 1, 200). In 1545 after the French fleet had burnt Brighton and later landed raiding parties at nearby Seaford, the hastily mustered militia, commanded by the local landowner Sir Nicholas Pelham, successfully drove them back to their galleys without need of reinforcement (Lower, 1854, 88).

As discussed above, the opposition to liturgical reform in Sussex required interventions by central government in the 1530s and during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. There is evidence that Thomas Cromwell supervised some of the elections in Hampshire and Sussex for the Parliament of 1539 (LP, vol. 14, pt. 1, 520, 573, 662). In the



previous three years the Minister had been buying land in Sussex, mainly within the barony of Lewes, which may be a reflection of the rivalry and conflict at court between him and Norfolk. However, there is no sign of animosity in their division of the lands of the wealthy Cluniac priory at Lewes in 1537, under which those in Sussex fell to Cromwell and those in Norfolk and Suffolk to the third duke. By 1538, Cromwell had bought more than 30 manors and at least 12 rectories in Sussex and had set up his son Gregory in Lewes as a landowner and JP (Swales, 1976, 53). It is tempting to conjecture that Cromwell's motivation was not only property speculation but also an attempt to influence events in a religiously obdurate county.

For the nobility and the *nouveau riche*, fashion played a major part in dictating their taste in monuments. Sir David Owen at Easebourne asked that the ironwork surrounding his monument should be 'formed after the forme and facon of my lord Dawbeney's tombe at Westminster, where he lyeth, but I will yt be more of substance' (Godfrey 1937, 101). The de la Warrs, who attended court, demanded Renaissance motifs on their monuments at BROADWATER I and BOXGROVE I but it is not until we get to the mid-1540s, when Sir Anthony Browne II ordered his tomb at Battle with its palpable Italianate motifs that we have a monument that comes close to the design of Henry VII's tomb-chest at Westminster Abbey, by Pietro Torrigiano, erected probably in 1515. In Sussex and Hampshire, not only were the requirements of the markets for monuments conservative in their religion, they were traditionalist in their requirements for the appearance and shape of a tomb also (*see* chapter eight).

### **The Reformation in other counties**

In contrast to some other counties, the loyalty in Sussex and Hampshire to the old religion was nurtured by the support of both clerical and secular power for the accustomed rites. It was only when evangelical ideas from Europe began to win favour in the sea ports in the east (such as Seaford and Rye, and Southampton in the west), and obdurate clergy were replaced that Protestantism began to make progress in the dioceses of Chichester and Winchester.

Elsewhere, the dynamics of change were markedly different. In East Anglia, Richard Nix, bishop of Norwich 1501-33, mounted a rearguard action to defend the old

Church against early infiltration of Protestantism from the continent. In 1530, he considered that 'the gentlemen and the comentye be not greatly infected' other than disaffection amongst some Cambridge clerics and 'marchantes and suche that hath ther abiding not ferre from the see' which made Ipswich, and possibly Lynn and Yarmouth, centres of anti-clericalism. The radical preacher Thomas Bilney, who had denounced the veneration of saints and relics, was burnt for heresy in Norwich on 9 August 1531 and his death spawned a fresh wave of iconoclasm against images in the diocese. With the appointment of the 'weakling' William Ruge as Nix's successor in 1533, vigorous grass-roots evangelism began to emerge in Suffolk over the next decade, increasingly supported by the gentry (MacCulloch, 1986, 157-8). Central to this growth of Protestantism was the sympathy of Sir Charles Brandon, first duke of Suffolk, who favoured quicker liturgical reform after his marriage to Katherine Willoughby in 1534, and the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury's peculiar at Hadleigh, Suffolk, where English was introduced into the Mass in 1538 (LP, vol. 15, no. 1027/21). However in the diocese of Norwich, Elizabethan recusant returns indicate a high density of Catholic sympathisers particularly in the south-west, which created a *cordon sanitaire* against the growth of reformed doctrine in Breckland. Elsewhere, there were energetic Puritan communities in the major towns and larger villages and this caused 'great disorder for religion' according to Chief Justice Wray in 1576. Both Catholics and Puritans were presented 'for not coming to church... [and] varying in all points from the Book of Common Prayer'; many were 'obstinate papists but the most of them wilful and undiscreet precisians' (Hassell-Smith, 1974, 201-2).

In Kent, Cranmer and his followers established dominance in the county's churches by the end of 1535, a position unparalleled in any other county. When the orthodox Lord Bergavenny died in June that year, the conservatives of the county lost their leader. Kentish towns took the lead in encouraging radical ideas, such as at Sandwich in the autumn of 1535, when citizens tore down the images in St Clement's church and refused to take part in processions (Clark, 1977, 36-7). Reformist clergy formed the vanguard of attacks on the liturgy and imagery. John Abbey, the curate at Lenham, was advised to 'take the key of the church door secretly from the sexton's house and to go privily into the church and take down [the] image of Our Lady [of] Pity and break her into pieces'. At Walmer, the priest took down the images himself and burnt them and the Canterbury radical John Toftes tore

`down a 'picture' of the BVM in December 1542 'and had her and the tabernacle home to his house and there did hew her all in pieces' (Shagan, 2003 218). The radical Nicholas Ridley, later bishop of Rochester, preached a Lenten sermon before Edward VI after his accession that censured the survival of images. Thereafter these were broken or defaced even in conservative Kent parishes. The inventories of 1552-3 indicate that nearly every Kent church then possessed a copy of the great *Bible* and the *Paraphrase of Erasmus*, in obedience to the injunctions of 1547 (Page, 1926, 78).

## Section 2: The monuments

### 2 – The masons' output

TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF all surviving and known lost church monuments erected in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent and Surrey in the period *c.*1520-*c.*1550 suggests that 32 tombs form the putative series under investigation. Of these, 24 are in Sussex, five in IoW churches, two are in Christchurch Priory, Hampshire and there is a single outlier in south Surrey. The masons responsible for these monuments probably also produced religious panels carved in Caen stone. Four survive in Sussex, Hampshire, Surrey and Kent, and these, together with evidence of their secular and ecclesiastical building work, are considered later.

The attribution of a monument to a specific workshop or carver is ideally derived from one recognized example, the identification preferably based on documentary evidence. Unfortunately, such methodology is inapplicable to these tombs. None can be associated indisputably with a known carver because there are no contracts, cartoons or correspondence relating to their ordering or execution. Neither were any masons' marks or signatures found. Furthermore, no two tombs are exactly alike, apart from the fact that all are carved in Caen stone. Their structures can be grouped into seven distinct categories: 19 are (or were) recessed tombs with flattened arches rising from tomb-chests; three are tomb-chests, (two free-standing); two are chantry chapels; three are small, flat exterior slabs with imagery carved in low-relief; one is a shallow recessed monument inserted into a pier; one is an arched tomb over two Burton alabaster effigies and one is a tomb-chest beneath a reredos bearing imagery and heraldry. There are also two fragments which fall into the first category. The only 'trademark' common to those with effigies is the use of stab marks on the mounds upon which the figures kneel or stand, a crude, stylised indication of grass, beginning with CHICHESTER I, *c.*1520 and ending at CLAPHAM, *c.*1550. This idiosyncrasy also appears on some of the small figures on the chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I. There are, however, stylistic characteristics that run through the series. Decorative motifs are replicated on a number of tombs, demonstrating that the same pattern book was used as a source of inspiration, such as the Renaissance strapwork found on CHICHESTER III,

BROADWATER II, WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM; the grapevine frieze at MICKLEHAM, CARISBROOKE, PETWORTH, GODSHILL and RACTON, (adapted to decorate spandrels at HAMSEY and SELMESTON) and the Tudor roses on the tomb-chests at GODSHILL, CARISBROOKE, BRADING I and II, GODSHILL, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II and SELMESTON and beneath pendants at BOXGROVE I, SLAUGHAM, PETWORTH and RACTON. Pure Gothic figures of angels with outspread wings support shields at CARISBROOKE, SOMPTING, GODSHILL, and BOXGROVE I and appear on the exterior panels at CHICHESTER I and II with stylised feathers. Renaissance-inspired low-relief figures of angels, again holding shields, are found later in the series at WEST WITTERING I. Similar roundels bearing the initials of the deceased are at RACTON and WEST WITTERING I and more decorated versions contain heraldry at BROADWATER II and CLAPHAM. Effigies kneel within some of the niche tombs, their presence and size deliberately made subsidiary to the heraldry displayed by the monuments, except at WISTON where the larger effigy of the husband stands full-face between two kneeling wives. All are crudely-carved with almost bovine features and with inordinately large feet, stiffly portrayed long arms and clumsy hands. The only finesse is the delicate cross-hatched detail in the wives' head-dresses to take pigments (CARISBROOKE, PETWORTH, CHURCH NORTON, RACTON, WESTHAMPNETT and WISTON). Armour bears little comparison with real harnesses of the period and is intended to demonstrate status rather than an accurate portrayal. The figures kneel at almost identical tall prayer desks with low narrow ogee arches at the base (CHURCH NORTON, PETWORTH, WESTHAMPNETT, RUSTINGTON II, RACTON, WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM). Only the supporters of the heraldic panels at BOXGROVE I, PETWORTH and the religious iconography at RUSTINGTON II display any real competence at figure sculpture; the work at the former suggesting the hand of a carver specially brought in for a commission from a member of the nobility. The same mason produced heraldic panels of equal quality at PETWORTH and RACTON. Religious iconography at CHURCH NORTON, KINGSTON BUCI and CHICHESTER II stand on similar shelf-like corbels with baluster bases; the examples at WISTON are lost. At MICKLEHAM and SLAUGHAM, London-made brasses were inserted into Caen stone slabs at the back of the recessed tombs, contradicting the received wisdom that brasses were always inserted into a monument in the marblers' workshop before delivery to the patron's church. There is documentary evidence for this practice elsewhere during this period; two letters sent to

Honor Lisle, widow of Sir John Basset in 1533/4 detail the 33s 4d paid for the engraving of the plates in London by the 'Gyfford' workshop; the transport by carrier to Atherington, Devon and the 'pyctures of Master Bassettes Tumb bith laid... by the hands of Oliver Tomlying' a local mason (Byrne, 1981, vol. 1, 620, vol.3, 50). Prayer scrolls are noticeably curly. Some inscriptions and scrolls must have been painted - there are lines still perceivable at BRADING III - but carved versions begin the series with raised Gothic miniscules with long descenders. A specific point of comparison is the sacred abbreviation for Christ, 'IHS'. From 1533 an angular humanist script was introduced, found at SELMESTON, PETWORTH and CHURCH NORTON. There are also similarities in construction methodology and the dimensions of the monuments and their components, discussed in chapter five. No absolute certainty can be claimed for these attributions, but these stylistic characteristics engender an acceptable degree of confidence for the monuments' inclusion. The basis for each attribution is discussed in *TABLE 4*, pages 51-5.

### Church monuments

*TABLE 3* lists the tombs identified thus far. Where more than one memorial exists at one location, they are numbered 'I', 'II' etc. In some cases, dates will differ from those published earlier because of typological analysis and application of other date indicators, such as styles of armour, costume or female head-dress, the extent of Renaissance detail present and inscription content. Justification for re-dating is given in *TABLE 5*, pages 56-62.

*Table 3*  
**List of attributed church monuments**

<b>NO.</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
01	c.1520.	<b>Preston Episcopi</b> , St Peter, Sussex.	Tomb chest.	Edward Elrington (d. 1515).	Originally a recessed canopy tomb, north wall, chancel, now destroyed. Re-used as main altar of church.
02	c.1520.	<b>Mickleham</b> , St Michael, Surrey.	Recessed canopy tomb.	William Wyddowsoun (d. 1513) & wife.	Figures in brass let into Caen stone blocks in back panel of tomb.
03	c.1520.	<b>North Mundham</b> , St Stephen, Sussex.	Exterior tomb.	Unidentified Civilian [John...] & wife.	Small mural panel with figures in shallow relief and separate inscription below.
04	c.1520- 47.	<b>Slaugham</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopy tomb.	Richard Covert (d. 1547) in armour & 3 wives.	Inclusion of monumental brasses in design (with a Resurrection), inserted in various development phases.

<b>NO.</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
05	c.1520.	<b>Carisbrooke</b> , St Mary, IoW.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Lady Margaret Wadham (d. in or before 1519).	Figures of six crippled figures, three on either side of kneeling effigy.
06	c.1520.	<b>Brading I</b> , St Mary, IoW.	Tomb chest.	William Howlys.	No figures. Purbeck marble cover. Cusped panels with inscription on shields.
07	c.1520.	<b>Brading II</b> , St Mary, IoW.	Tomb chest.	Elizabeth Howlys.	No figures. Purbeck marble cover. Inscription on shields. Erected at same time as no. 06 with inscription running on from that on no. 06.
08	c.1524.	<b>Broadwater I</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, (d.1525).	Figures of saints effaced. Some religious iconography removed as defensive measure.
09	c.1525.	<b>Chichester I</b> , St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester, Sussex.	Exterior tomb.	Thomas Royse & wife in civilian dress.	Small mural panel with figures and religious iconography in shallow relief.
10	c.1525.	<b>Christchurch Priory I</b> , South quire, Hants.	Chantry chapel.	Robert Harys, 13th. vicar of priory.	Bears rebus with an 'R' associated with a carved hare with a label in its mouth with letters 'Y' and 'S' representing 'R Harys'.
11	c.1525.	<b>Sompting</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopy tomb.	Richard Burré (d. 1527).	Religious iconography removed, aside from angel holding a shield. Partially reconstructed.
12	c.1526.	<b>Rustington I</b> , SS Peter & Paul, Sussex.	?Recessed canopy tomb.	Thomas Cooke & wife.	Fragment of fascia of tomb chest. Tomb erected after death of wife.
13	c.1529.	<b>Godshill</b> , All Saints, IoW.	Canopied tomb with recumbent effigies.	Sir John Leigh (d.1529) in armour & wife.	Main effigies in Burton alabaster are by a skilled hand from the Midlands school of carvers.
14	c.1530.	<b>Christchurch Priory II</b> , North quire aisle, Hants.	Recessed canopied tomb.	?	Appropriated for Robert White; will dated 19 March 1619.
15	c.1530.	<b>Kingston Buci</b> , St Julian, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	?Edward Lewkenor, (d.1527).	Religious iconography smashed.
16	1532.	<b>Boxgrove I</b> , SS Mary & Blaise, Sussex.	Chantry chapel.	Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr (d.1554) & wife.	Chantry chapel with vault beneath completed in lifetime of patron.
17	c.1533.	<b>Selmeston</b> , (dedication unknown), Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Beatrix Bray (2nd. wife of Sir Edward Bray, d.1558).	Restored. ?New inscription on back wall to replace missing religious imagery.

<b>NO.</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
18	c.1535.	<b>Petworth</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Sir John Dawtre I (d.1527) in armour & wife.	Religious iconography removed; sacred monogram inserted probably in Victorian period.
19	1536.	<b>Brading III</b> , St Mary, IoW.	Tomb chest.	Oliver Oglander (d. 1536) in armour & wife.	Figures of elderly and infirm people on north, or public, side of tomb.
20	1537.	<b>Church Norton</b> (or Old Selsey), St Wilfred, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	John Lews, alias Lewis, in armour & wife.	Canopy and base restored. Two religious iconography panels survive.
21	c.1538.	<b>Hamsey</b> , St Peter, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	?Edward Markewyck (d.1538).	Religious iconography missing - ?moveable images.
22	c.1538.	<b>West Wittering I</b> , SS Peter & Paul, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	William Ernle (d.1546) & 1st. wife, Elizabeth d.c.1530.	Second tomb (West Wittering II) added alongside c.1545 to commemorate Ernle's second wife.
23	c.1538.	<b>Racton</b> , St Peter, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	John Gounter (d.1557) in armour & 2nd. wife, Jane.	Religious iconography intact. Recent restoration to finials.
24	c.1540.	<b>Chichester II</b> , St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester, Sussex.	Exterior tomb.	?William Royse (will dated 1540) & wife.	Large mural panel with figures and images in relief. Iconography defaced.
25	c.1540.	<b>Westhampnett</b> , St Peter, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Richard Sakevyle in civilian dress & wife.	Religious iconography partially smashed.
26	c.1540.	<b>Rustington II</b> , SS Peter & Paul, Sussex.	Mural panel in arch.	Richard Covert in armour & wife.	Heads of figures smashed; 'Man of Sorrows' battered.
27	c.1540.	<b>Wiston</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Fragments.	Sir Richard Shirley (d.1540) in armour & 2 wives.	Moved and reconstructed during Victorian restoration. Originally recessed canopied tomb.
28	c.1545.	<b>Chichester III</b> , South aisle, Chichester Cathedral, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	?Ellis Bradshaw (d.1545).	Simple box-like tomb inserted into pier. ?Raised blackletter ulc inscription, now effaced. ?Free-standing religious iconography gone.
29	c.1545.	<b>Broadwater II</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, (d.1554) & wife.	Moved from south aisle in 1826. Central panel with effaced Trinity. Two large flanking figures of BVM and St George, turned inwards and plastered over ?in 1549.
30	c.1547.	<b>West Wittering II</b> , SS Peter & Paul, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	William Ernle (d.1546) & 2nd.wife, Bridget, d.1558.	Second tomb added to one of c.1538. (West Wittering I) Moved in 1844 from original position.



<i><b>NO.</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>TYPE</b></i>	<i><b>NAME</b></i>	<i><b>COMMENTS</b></i>
31	c.1547.	<b>Boxgrove II</b> , (SS Mary & Blaise), Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	?Thomas Myles, last prior of Boxgrove.	Rebuilt with ?spurious additions during Victorian restoration.
32	c.1550.	<b>Clapham</b> , St Mary, Sussex.	Recessed canopied tomb.	Sir William Shelley, (d.1548), in judge's robes & wife.	No religious iconography. Figures look towards main altar of church.

This is a much greater number of tombs than that suggested by earlier writers and aside from the importance of their religious iconography and the evidence they provide on Protestant iconoclasm, they form a significant and sizeable group within the corpus of sixteenth century church monuments in England and Wales.

Three further West Sussex monuments (two of which are now lost) may belong to this group but are not included because of uncertainties on attribution. The first was at Parham (TQ 0596 1408) (discussed in the chapter on iconoclasm) and is being considered because of the rituals associated with the tomb requested in the will of the deceased. However, we have no evidence that this monument was constructed, let alone destroyed. The second, more likely, candidate is at Slindon (SU 9610 0835) where the construction of an organ chamber in 1866 in the north wall of the chancel destroyed a recessed tomb, with a flat, four-centred arch, that contained the London-carved oak effigy of Sir Anthony St Leger, in armour, 157.5 cm. in length, who died in 1539 (Jackson, 1867, 132). This rather bare antiquarian description of the lost tomb matches others in this series at HAMSEY, RACTON and elsewhere. Happily the effigy survives in the south aisle on a modern tomb-chest. Although there is evidence of sub-contracting activity at SLAUGHAM and MICKLEHAM (insertion of London-made brasses) and at GODSHILL (recumbent effigies in Burton alabaster on a tomb-chest) the evidence at Slindon is insufficient to comfortably merit its inclusion in the group. The final possible candidate is at Singleton (SU 8780 1303) where a Purbeck marble tomb-chest on the south side of the chancel is traditionally attributed to Sir William Fitzalan. He held the manor there in the sixteenth century and died in 1544 at a hunting lodge at Downley, on Hat Hill, within the parish. A Purbeck slab at the back of the tomb has the indents of five brass plates: an unusual truncated cross, 29.2 cm. in height; an inscription (probably three lines) and three shields, the lower retaining its lead plug and a distinctive copper spade rivet, a clue that they may have been engraved by the 'Fermer'

group of marblers in London, operational from 1546 (Hutchinson & Egan, 1993, 169). Around the monument are moulded jambs and a crenellated pediment in Caen stone. This surround has not been appropriated from another tomb or added in a later restoration; it was clearly made to fit the vertical slab holding the brasses (fig. 1 below) and its date seems contemporaneous with that of the tomb-chest, which approximates to Fitzalan's death. It has not been included in the list of tombs attributed to this group of masons as its very deep mouldings do not appear in other monuments of the group.



▲ Fig. 1: Purbeck marble tomb-chest and slab bearing the indents of brasses with a Caen stone pediment and jambs; supposedly the monument of Sir William Fitzalan, d. 1544, at Singleton, West Sussex. The tomb-chest panel matches the design of a Purbeck slab once built into a cottage at Corfe. The brasses were restored recently. Scale: 50 cm.



▲ Fig. 2: *Major portion of the front of a tomb-chest with octofoil panels and a carved Tudor rose at centre. The slab is now lying loose at the east end of the north quire aisle of Christchurch Priory. Scale: 20 cm*

There may be conjectural evidence for one, possibly two, further examples in the form of fragments now lying loose at the east end of the north quire aisle of Christchurch Priory, Hampshire (SZ 1600 9245). The first is a fragment of a tomb-chest fascia, with two and a half octofoil panels remaining, with two shields originally emblazoned with painted coats of arms and a central carved Tudor rose, 11.4 cm. in diameter. It measures 87.5 cm. in length; 33.4 cm. in height and 8.6 cm. in depth and perhaps can be dated to *c.*1520. The fragment, in cream Caen stone, may have been part of a stand-alone altar tomb *c.*100 cm. in width, or a recessed canopy monument with a tomb-chest. The skill in carving suggests that it may be a member of this series and superficially resembles RUSTINGTON I, *c.*1526, but the dimensions of the octofoils are substantially smaller than any other of this group. The evidence is insufficient to permit positive attribution (fig. 2 above). The second fragment is still more problematical. Alongside the fragment of the tomb-chest fascia in the north quire aisle at Christchurch is a block of yellowish Caen stone, 58.4 cm. in length, 33 cm. in height and 11 cm. in depth, with one and half portions of a deeply-cut quatrefoil with a diamond centre, flanking a wide, shallow niche (fig. 3, page 47). The carving is of poor quality; does not seem to be associated with the tomb-chest and may be of an earlier date. There is also doubt whether it is even monumental. Therefore, it has not been included.



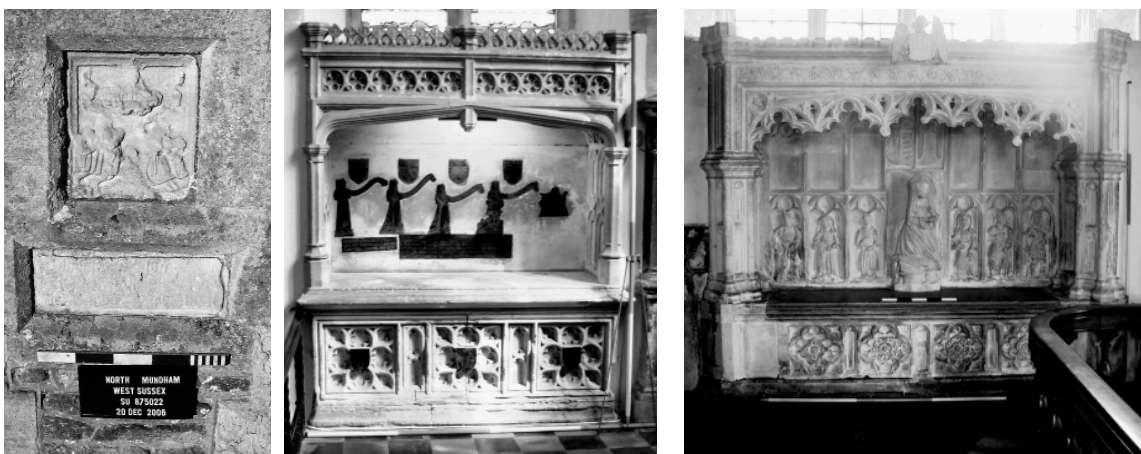
▲ Fig. 3: *Fragment of yellowish Caen stone with deeply carved quatrefoil with diamond centre and a fat niche. East end of the north quire aisle, Christchurch Priory. Scale: 50 cm.*

### The monuments surveyed

To provide an overall picture of this corpus of monuments, each example is shown below in a series of pictures in chronological order, as listed in *TABLE 3*, pages 41-4:-



▲ Fig. 4: **Left:** *Number (1) PRESTON EPISCOPI, c.1520, the remains of a recessed canopy tomb, now used as an altar. Scale: two metres. Right:* *(2) MICKLEHAM, c.1520, recessed canopy tomb with brasses and a Purbeck marble coverstone on the tomb-chest. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 5: (3) *Small exterior mural panel at NORTH MUNDHAM, c.1520. Scale: 50 cm.* (4) *Recessed canopy tomb with brasses at SLAUGHAM, c.1520-47. Scales: two metres.* (5) *Recessed canopied tomb with figures of mendicants, c.1520, at CARISBROOKE. Scales: two metres and 50 cms.*



▲ Fig. 6: (6) *Tomb-chests with Purbeck coverstones, c.1520, at BRADING I and (centre) (7) BRADING II. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.* (8), *A tomb to the nobility, BROADWATER I, c.1524. Scale: two metres..*

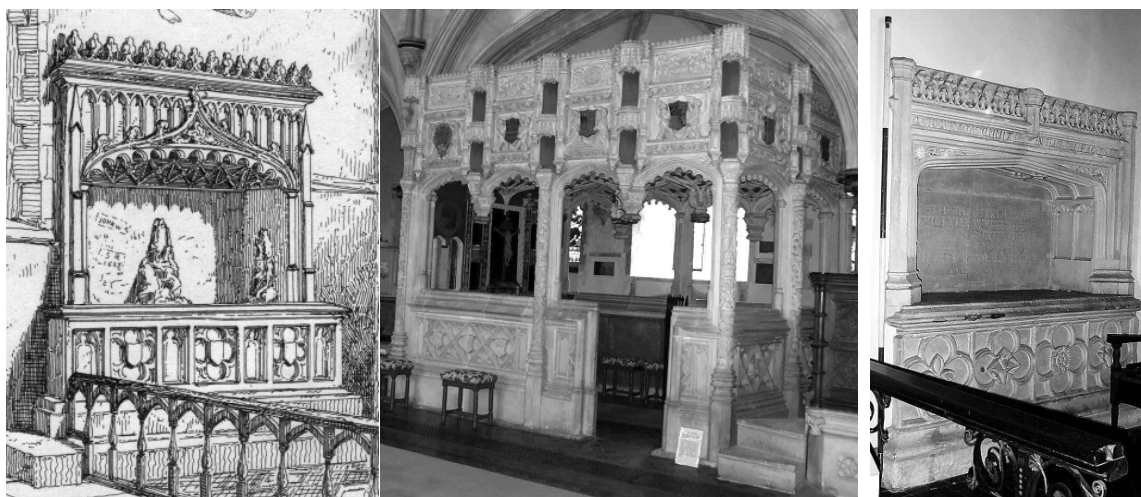


▲ Fig. 7: *Ridiculous to the sublime: (9) Exterior mural panel, c.1525, at CHICHESTER I. Scale: 50 cm. (Centre) (10) Chantry chapel to Robert Harys, c.1525, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I. Scale: two metres.* (11) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1525, SOMPTING. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*





▲ Fig. 8: (12) *Fragment of tomb-chest, c.1526, RUSTINGTON I. Scale: 50 cm. (Centre) (13) Canopied tomb with Burton alabaster effigies, c.1529, GODSHILL. Scale: two metres and 50 cm. (14) Recessed canopied tomb, c.1530, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II. Scale: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 9: (15) *Antiquarian drawing, dated 1851, of KINGSTON BUCI, c.1530, after Nibbs, 1851. Height: 289 cm. (Centre) (16) Chantry chapel, dated 1532, at BOXGROVE I. Height: 366 cm. (17) Recessed canopy tomb, c.1533, SELMESTON. Scale: two metres.*



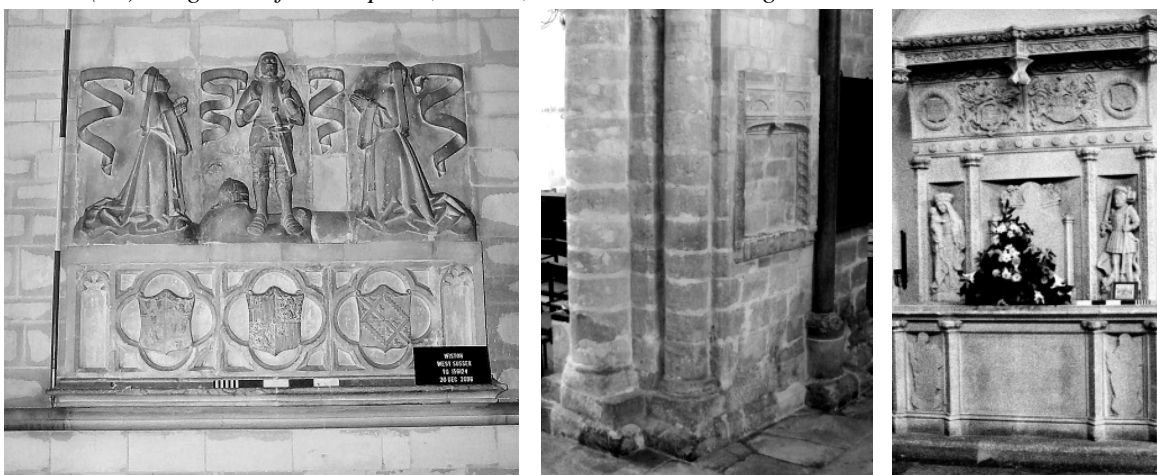
▲ Fig. 10: (18) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1535, PETWORTH. Height: 334.2 cm. (Centre) (19) Tomb-chest, 1536, BRADING III. Scales: two metres and 50 cm. (20) Recessed canopy tomb, 1537, CHURCH NORTON. Height: 177 cm.*



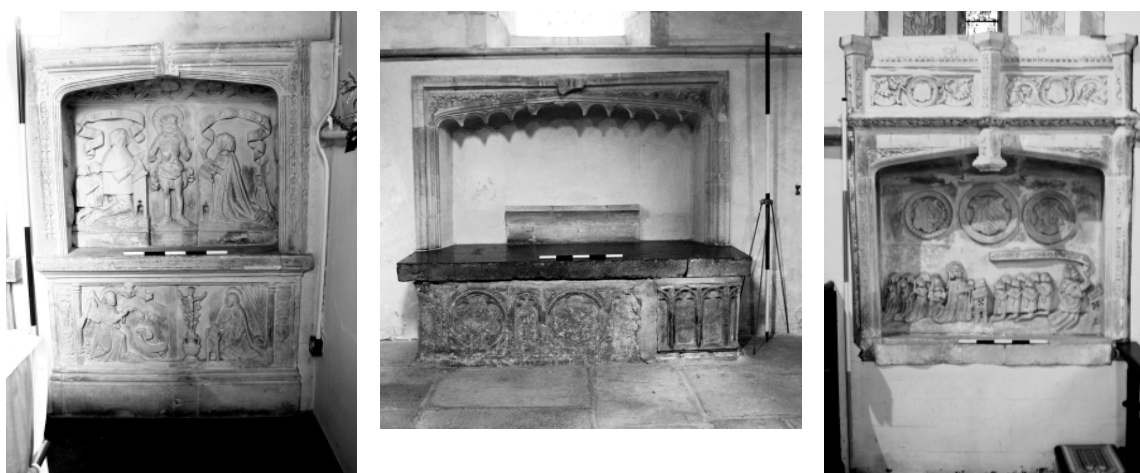
▲ Fig. 11: (21) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1538, HAMSEY. Scale: two metres and 50 cm. (Centre)* (22) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1538, WEST WITTERING I (frieze lost from above). Scales: two metres and 50 cm.* (23) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1538, RACTON. Height: 270.5 cm.*



▲ Fig. 12: (24) *Exterior mural panel, c.1540, CHICHESTER II. Height: 79 cm. (Centre)* (25) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1540 with restored canopy, WESTHAMPNETT. Scales: two metres and 50cms.* (26) *Fragment of mural panel, c.1540, RUSTINGTON II. Height: 81 cm.*



▲ Fig. 13: (27) *Remnants of recessed canopy tomb, c.1540, WISTON. Scales: two metres and 50 cm. (Centre)* (28) *Modest mural monument inset into pier, c.1545, CHICHESTER III. Height: 118.2 cm.* (29) *Canopied tomb, with reredos, c.1545, BROADWATER II. Scale: 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 14: (30) *Recessed canopy tomb, c.1547, WEST WITTERING II (frieze lost above). Scales: two metres and 50 cm. (Centre)* (31) *Remains of recessed canopy tomb, c.1547, BOXGROVE II. Scales: two metres and 50 cm. (32) Unfinished tomb, c.1550, CLAPHAM. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### The evidence for attribution

Evidence for membership of specific monuments in this group is discussed in **TABLE 4** below. As described earlier in the ‘Methodology’ section of the Introduction, confidence values have been attached to the attributions. Twenty-three, or 72% of the total, were awarded the highest level and eight the next highest. The remaining monument - CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I - is rated at ‘three’, the lowest to permit inclusion in the series.

*Table 4*  
**Evidence for attribution of monuments**

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>CONFIDENCE</b>	<b>BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION</b>
<b>Preston Episcopi.</b>	c.1520.	4.	Raised blackletter script and panels, on surviving tomb-chest with Purbeck marble coverstone similar to BRADING I and II. Recessed canopy monument destroyed in Victorian restoration.
<b>Mickleham.</b>	c.1520.	5.	Leaf cresting matches others in group; grapevine panels resemble GODSHILL, MICKLEHAM, and PETWORTH. Brasses are sub-contracted work.
<b>North Mundham.</b>	c. 1520.	5.	Similar exterior tomb to CHICHESTER I, with blackletter inscription and religious iconography. Note how stiffly the legs of the effigies are carved and the treatment of Christ in Majesty, as at CHICHESTER I and II.



<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>CONFIDENCE</b></i>	<i><b>BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION</b></i>
<b>Slaugham.</b>	<i>c.1520-47.</i>	5.	Cresting and quatrefoil roundels in frieze resemble those at HAMSEY and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, as does the blind arcading on the side panels beneath the depressed arch. The diamond pattern of the soffit has affinity with the decoration on the back wall of the recessed canopy tomb at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II.
<b>Carisbrooke.</b>	<i>c. 1520.</i>	4.	Design of cresting, cusping and panels closely resemble GODSHILL. Figures of sick and lame have affinity with BRADING III. Angel with shield motif at GODSHILL, SOMPTING and KINGSTON BUCI. Carving of main figure has affinity with ladies' effigies at PETWORTH and WISTON. The grapevine frieze is similar to GODSHILL and BRADING III. Greenish Purbeck coverstone, as at BRADING III.
<b>Brading I.</b>	<i>c. 1520.</i>	4.	Blackletter script and style of panels, with Gothic Kentish cusps, on tomb-chest with Purbeck marble coverstone, are similar to PRESTON EPISCOPI and BRADING II. Tudor rose motif resembles that at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II and SELMESTON.
<b>Brading II.</b>	<i>c. 1520.</i>	4.	Blackletter script and the design of the panels, with Gothic Kentish cusps on tomb-chest, with a Purbeck marble coverstone, are similar to PRESTON EPISCOPI and BRADING I.
<b>Broadwater I.</b>	<i>c.1524.</i>	5.	Triple crocketed ogee arches resemble the single arch at KINGSTON BUCI. Frieze similar to some panels on BOXGROVE I and the lost friezes at WISTON and WEST WITTERING I and II.
<b>Chichester I.</b>	<i>c.1525.</i>	5.	Same as the exterior tomb at NORTH MUNDHAM, with raised blackletter inscription, religious iconography and similar stiff carving of legs of effigies and treatment of Our Lady of the Assumption. Carving of angel wings like KINGSTON BUCI. The 'spotted' stab marks on the mounds between the two figures are associated with other kneeling effigies at RACTON, PETWORTH, CHURCH NORTON, WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM.
<b>Christchurch Priory I.</b>	<i>c.1525.</i>	3.	Raised blackletter inscription similar to other early monuments of group, such as BRADING I. Design of the side-panels and the execution of spandrels and finials of the small canopies above niches resemble those carved on BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER I.

<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>CONFIDENCE</b></i>	<i><b>BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION</b></i>
<b>Sompting.</b>	<i>c.1525.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb (although partially reconstructed) of same type as other monuments of this group. Single angel motif, bearing a shield, like those at GODSHILL and CARISBROOKE and KINGSTON BUCI. The wide cinquefoil niches on tomb-chest are similar to those at KINGSTON BUCI.
<b>Rustington I.</b>	<i>c.1526.</i>	4.	Carving style and quality suggests it belongs to this series. Remainder of monument was destroyed during the Reformation.
<b>Godshill.</b>	<i>c.1529.</i>	4.	Cusping and panels resemble CARISBROOKE. The use of an angel bearing shield has an affinity with CARISBROOKE, KINGSTON BUCI and SOMPTING. Tomb-chest similar to others in series. The grapevine frieze is similar to those found at CARISBROOKE and BRADING III
<b>Christchurch Priory II.</b>	<i>c.1530.</i>	4.	Tomb reconstructed/repared after ?1550 and appropriated in 1619. Diamond pattern decoration similar to soffit at SLAUGHAM, as are roundels on frieze. Purbeck marble coverstone as used at BRADING I, II, and III, PRESTON, CARISBROOKE and at MICKLEHAM.
<b>Kingston Buci.</b>	<i>c.1530.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb, unusually with Gothic crocketed ogee arch (which resembles the triple arch at BROADWATER I). The structure is very similar to other tombs of this group at HAMSEY, SLAUGHAM, SOMPTING and SELMESTON. Motif of an angel bearing shield mirrors usage at CARISBROOKE, GODSHILL and SOMPTING. Corbels bearing religious iconography in side walls of recessed tomb resemble those at CHICHESTER II and CHURCH NORTON.
<b>Boxgrove I.</b>	1532.	5.	Some panels with cherubs and pelicans resemble friezes at PETWORTH and RACTON. Renaissance strapwork flanking the interior altar reredos similar to that found at CHICHESTER III and CLAPHAM and WEST WITTERING II. The design of side-panels, the execution of the spandrels and the finials of canopies resemble those carved on CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I and BROADWATER I.
<b>Selmeston.</b>	<i>c.1533.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb, similar to HAMSEY, SLAUGHAM, SOMPTING and KINGSTON BUCI. Grapevine and flower trails in spandrels.

<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>CONFIDENCE</b></i>	<i><b>BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION</b></i>
<b>Petworth.</b>	<i>c.1535.</i>	5.	Cherubs and flowers on frieze resemble those at BOXGROVE I. Grapevine architrave similar to MICKLEHAM and RACTON. The 'spotted' stab marks beneath the figures are found at RACTON, CHURCH NORTON and CLAPHAM.
<b>Brading III.</b>	1536.	4.	Purbeck marble coverstone, as at CARISBROOKE, BRADING I and II and MICKLEHAM. Figures of sick and lame have affinity with CARISBROOKE. Grapevine frieze similar to GODSHILL. Tomb-chest similar to others in this series.
<b>Church Norton.</b>	1537.	5.	Recessed canopy tomb, top now restored, resembles WESTHAMPNETT. The 'spotted' stab marks on the mounds beneath the two figures also at RACTON, PETWORTH, CLAPHAM and WEST WITTERING II.
<b>Hamsey.</b>	<i>c.1538.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb, very similar to SELMESTON, SLAUGHAM, SOMPTING and KINGSTON BUCI. Cornice resembles that at PETWORTH. Blind arcades in side panels have affinity with WESTHAMPNETT and WEST WITTERING I.
<b>West Wittering I.</b>	<i>c.1538.</i>	5.	Roundels containing initials like those at RACTON and with heraldry at PETWORTH. Blind arcades in side panels have affinity with WESTHAMPNETT and HAMSEY.
<b>Racton.</b>	<i>c.1538.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb, similar to other tombs of this group at SELMESTON and KINGSTON BUCI. Cherubs and pelicans resemble friezes at PETWORTH and BOXGROVE I.
<b>Chichester II.</b>	<i>c.1540.</i>	5.	Similar to exterior monuments at NORTH MUNDHAM and CHICHESTER I. Corbels supporting personal saints as at KINGSTON BUCI, CHURCH NORTON and WISTON (lost).
<b>Westhampnett.</b>	<i>c.1540.</i>	5.	Recessed canopy tomb (top restored) similar to CHURCH NORTON. The blind arcades in the side panels beneath the depressed arch have affinity with HAMSEY and WEST WITTERING I. 'Spotted' stab marks on the low relief mounds, as found at RACTON, PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM.
<b>Rustington II.</b>	<i>c.1540.</i>	5.	Carving of sons similar to the single son at WESTHAMPNETT. The prayer desks resemble those at RACTON and WESTHAMPNETT.

<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>CONFIDENCE</b></i>	<i><b>BASIS FOR ATTRIBUTION</b></i>
<b>Wiston.</b>	<i>c.1540.</i>	5.	Antiquarian drawings show original state before destruction in Victorian period (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 31; Lower, 1852, 13). Lost frieze similar to BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER I and the two WITTERING tombs. Two lost image corbels resemble those at CHURCH NORTON, KINGSTON BUCI, CHICHESTER II.
<b>Chichester III.</b>	<i>c.1545.</i>	5.	The spandrels resemble those at BOXGROVE II, PETWORTH, WITTERING I and WITTERING II. Renaissance strapwork has affinity with that flanking reredos of BOXGROVE I, and at WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM.
<b>Broadwater II.</b>	<i>c.1545.</i>	5.	The trailing flower decoration resembles those on BOXGROVE I and the roundels containing arms resemble PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING I and CLAPHAM.
<b>West Wittering II.</b>	<i>c.1547.</i>	5.	Small recessed canopied tomb of similar type to others in the series. The Renaissance strapwork has affinity with CHICHESTER III and CLAPHAM. Idiosyncratic 'spotted' marks on the mounds below the two figures, as found at RACTON, PETWORTH, WESTHAMPNETT and CLAPHAM.
<b>Boxgrove II.</b>	<i>c.1547.</i>	5.	Recessed canopied tomb with depressed arch, ?reconstructed from oddments in Victorian restoration of church. Spandrels resemble carvings at PETWORTH and WEST WITTERING I.
<b>Clapham.</b>	<i>c.1550.</i>	5.	The 'spotted' stab marks on the mounds beneath the family groups are also at RACTON, PETWORTH, WESTHAMPNETT and WEST WITTERING II. Roundels containing arms resemble those at PETWORTH and WEST WITTERING I, BROADWATER II. The Renaissance strapwork has an affinity with that at BOXGROVE I, CHICHESTER III and WEST WITTERING II.

The five monuments on the IoW might be considered a discrete group as they have similar features and motifs, particularly the portrayal of mendicants on the two tombs at CARISBROOKE and BRADING III and the almost identical tracery on the ogee arches at CARISBROOKE and GODSHILL. Were they therefore produced on the island? Probably not; it seems implausible that a masons' workshop could successfully operate there when the universe of potential patrons on the mainland would always be greater than any local demand. Moreover, as the table above suggests, these tombs have affinities in their iconography and stylistic characteristics with others in the group. It may be that in a small island community, existing monuments were simply copied by those ordering new tombs.

Finally, as *MAP 1* on page 72 indicates, these tombs are located in or very near ports on the IoW which were operational in this period. This circumstantial evidence implies that patronage was influenced by the convenience of sea transportation. However, a small doubt must remain in my mind; hence the confidence value of four attached to the attribution of these monuments.

### Review of dating evidence

A combination of typological analysis and documentary evidence enables the published dates of these monuments to be reviewed and sometimes challenged. This dating is occasionally vague, frequently wildly inaccurate - symptomatic of the lack of attention paid to these monuments. Happily, a number of wills of those commemorated survive in TNA or the WSRO and these sometimes allow dating to within a year, or confirms that a tomb was already erected, as at SOMPTING, BROADWATER I and II and RACTON. The results of this dating review have been incorporated in *TABLE 3*, on pages 41-4 and the arguments supporting these changes are provided in *TABLE 5* below. Of the 32 examples, 23 have been re-dated more closely to their likely construction. The dates of the remainder are unchallenged.

*Table 5*  
**Evidence for re-dating monuments**

<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>ACCEPTED DATE</i>	<i>NEW DATE</i>	<i>JUSTIFICATION</i>
<b>Preston Episcopi.</b>	1515. (Thomas-Stanford, 1924, 73).	c.1520.	Date of death of 7 July 1515 provided by a <i>post-mortem inquisition</i> at Steyning (Atree, 1912, 81). In Elrington's will (TNA, PROB 11/18 fol.12), proved on 18 November of that year, he requests his executors to 'cause a stone or ells a tombe to be laid upon me, as my executrix and overseers shall thynk most convenient'. His widow, Beatrix, re-married Sir Edward Bray in 1516 (Thomas-Stanford, 1924, 80) and was buried at SELMESTON in 1532. The tomb-chest, originally part of a recessed canopy tomb which stood against the north wall, resembles BRADING I and II and is therefore re-dated.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ACCEPTED DATE</b>	<b>NEW DATE</b>	<b>JUSTIFICATION</b>
<b>Mickleham.</b>	1513. (Stephenson, 1970, 368).	c.1520.	Date of death of wife only given on inscription. Tomb erected by her husband afterwards. Physical evidence suggests that brass figures, inscription and shields were probably supplied loose by the London brass workshop and were rebated into Caen stone slabs but shields fixed straight flush to the stone. Lead plugs for the rivets are smaller than those used by London marblers at this period – supporting conjecture that these plates were fixed locally, as at SLAUGHAM. The monument has affinity with GODSHILL and SLAUGHAM but has a slightly earlier look.
<b>North Mundham.</b>	1497. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 275). c.1575. (Mosse, 1933, 131)	c.1520.	The earlier published date (no citation provided) is too early. The costume and the religious iconography has affinity with CHICHESTER I - but this panel seems a little earlier. The later dating is hopelessly too late, because of the religious iconography and the pre-Reformation beginning of the inscription: 'Of your charity...'
<b>Slaugham.</b>	c. 1525. (Stephenson, 1926, 514 and Mosse, 1933, 154-6)). c. 1547. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 607).	c.1520-47.	This monument's development phases can be unravelled by careful stylistic analysis. (1) Tomb erected c.1520 with London-made brasses depicting Richard Covert, two wives, and a Resurrection. (2) In c.1535 the plate portraying Jane Covert, the third wife, added with anachronistic pedimental head-dress to match the earlier wives – a desire for symmetry or antiquarianism? (3) After Covert's death in 1547 his fourth wife Blanche added an inscription plate with 'Script 4' lettering - the last dated example of this script (Page-Phillips, 1999, 43). Inscription re-used: on reverse, another to '[Elizabeth]... [s]eamstres to Kyng Henry the viii & to his sister... [Margaret, wife of James IV of Scotland]. Discovered by the author and Bryan Egan in 1974. The older inscription is probably spoil from a London monastic church.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ACCEPTED DATE</b>	<b>NEW DATE</b>	<b>JUSTIFICATION</b>
<b>Carisbrooke.</b>	c.1520. (Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006, 114).	c.1520.	Unchallenged.
<b>Brading I.</b>	c.1520. (Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006, 92).	c.1520.	Unchallenged.
<b>Brading II.</b>	c.1520. (Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006, 92).	c.1520.	Date of death was 1520. Unchallenged.
<b>Broadwater I.</b>	1527. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 391).	c.1524.	Wrong date of death. The eighth baron d. 11 October 1525. His will (TNA, PROB 11/22, fols.11-14) dated 8 October 1525, proved 12 February 1526, asked for burial 'in the Tombe of freestone within the Chauncell of ... Brodwater' – implying it was already erected. His wife Eleanor, in her will (TNA, PROB 11/25, fol.308) in 1536, asked to be buried 'in the tombe' with her husband.
<b>Chichester I.</b>	'Early sixteenth century'. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 169; Salzman, 1935, 161).	c.1525.	The weathered inscription has been transcribed to identify this exterior monument as commemorating Thomas Royse and his wife Joan - probably the parents of William Royse, (CHICHESTER II). No will for the commemorated is extant. The style of costume of the figures and the monument's clear affinity with NORTH MUNDHAM supports this new dating.
<b>Christchurch Priory I.</b>	1525. (Pevsner & Lloyd, 1967, 175).	c.1525.	Date of death. Unchallenged.
<b>Sompting.</b>	1527. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 332).	c.1525.	Richard Burré in his will dated 4 August 1527 (WSRO, STA I/1A, fol. 50), refers to 'my tombe in the chaunsell of the church of Sowntyng' which like BROADWATER I, implies it had already been erected.
<b>Rustington I.</b>	Not published.	c.1526	The will of Joan Cooke, widow and executrix of Thomas Cooke (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol. 22v) dated 26 April 1525 and proved 12 February 1526, asked for 'the making of a Tombe in the said Chauncell in the dore places going up to the R[o]d Lofte in the wall... wherein I will my husbandes body be putt'.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ACCEPTED DATE</b>	<b>NEW DATE</b>	<b>JUSTIFICATION</b>
<b>Godshill.</b>	1529. (Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006, 155).	1529.	Unchallenged.
<b>Christchurch Priory II.</b>	‘Early sixteenth century stone recess’. (Pevsner & Lloyd, 1967, 174).	c.1530.	Tomb was repaired, c.1550 (fragment of <i>mensa</i> with a consecration cross was used as a patch) and the monument was appropriated in 1619. The new heraldry replaced a panel probably with religious iconography in the wall of the recess. Stylistically, the original construction fits into the series at this date.
<b>Kingston Buci.</b>	‘Late Perpendicular’. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 252-3). c.1500. (Lower, 1870, vol.2, 6); c.1540. (Steer, 1965, 7).	c.1530.	Almost certainly this is the tomb of Edward Lewkenor III, d. 1528, who in his will (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.309v) dated 1 October 1527 (proved 7 November 1528) asked to be buried ‘where my wife semeth most necessary before the image of Saint Mighell yf any shall happen to be in the same church’. Whilst this is inconclusive, the presence of the Lewkenor arms, <i>Argent, three chevrons azure</i> , originally in the window adjoining the monument, on the church chest and formerly on the roodscreen, adds weight to the traditional attribution of this monument to Edward Lewkenor. The presence of Tudor roses and a pomegranate (the device of Catherine of Aragon) may be additional dating evidence as the tomb was clearly erected before Henry’s marriage to Anne Boleyn in 1533. His father, Edward Lewkenor II, d. 1522 is another candidate, but the design and style of the monument better fits the son.
<b>Boxgrove I.</b>	1526 and 1536. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 117).	1532.	The wrong de la Warr has been identified – the father rather than the son. De la Warr’s wife Elizabeth did not die in 1536 – she was alive in 1539 (LP vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 228). In March 1536, de la Warr told Cromwell about his having built ‘a power chapel to be buryed in’ (BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra E IV, fol. 234). Work on this began after improvements to his house at Halnaker and to the priory church 1528-33 (Thorn, <i>s.i.</i> , 20). The chantry chapel is dated 1532 on the inscription in raised blackletter ulc.



<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ACCEPTED DATE</b>	<b>NEW DATE</b>	<b>JUSTIFICATION</b>
<b>Selmeston.</b>	'Late Perpendicular'. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 604-5).	c.1533.	Beatrice Bray d. 1532 and on stylistic grounds, the monument is likely to have been erected soon afterwards.
<b>Petworth.</b>	1542. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 295) 1527. (Arnold, 1864, fn. 61)	c.1535.	'1542' is date of death of Sir John Dawtrey II. '1527' is the date of death of Sir John Dawtrey I who is identified by the heraldry on this tomb Its affinity with BOXGROVE I in the panels of the frieze supports the new dating.
<b>Brading III.</b>	1536. (Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006, 92).	1536.	Date of death of man. Unchallenged.
<b>Church Norton.</b>	1537.	1537.	Date of death of wife. Unchallenged.
<b>Hamsey.</b>	c.1538.	c.1538.	Date of death. Unchallenged.
<b>West Wittering I.</b>	1545. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 377).	c.1538.	Erected after the death of Ernle's first wife, Elizabeth <i>née</i> Legg, probably just before his second marriage to Bridget Spring on 15 August 1538 (Done, 1965, 16). The tomb's Perpendicular ornament is in stark contrast with the Renaissance decoration on the adjacent monument, WITTERING II.
<b>Racton.</b>	c.1520. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 311); 1557. (Mosse, 1933, 140)	c.1538.	'1557' is the known date of Gounter's death. The tomb commemorates his second wife, Jane, daughter of Henry Aylward who died before 1543. The tomb's design has affinities with HAMSEY and SELMESTON and the skill shown in the carving of its heraldic panels resemble BOXGROVE I and PETWORTH.
<b>Chichester II.</b>	'Early sixteenth century'. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 169; Salzman, 1935, 161).	c.1540.	From careful transcription of the battered inscription, this exterior monument has been identified as commemorating William Royse (Chichester city coroner) and his wife. Royse's will (WSRO, STC I/3/fol. 1) is dated 11 April 1540 and he probably died shortly afterwards (Hunnisett, 1985, xxxv).

<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>ACCEPTED DATE</b></i>	<i><b>NEW DATE</b></i>	<i><b>JUSTIFICATION</b></i>
<b>Westhampnett.</b>	c.1535. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 373, Salzman, 1935, 178).	c.1540.	The blind arcades in the side panels beneath the depressed arch have affinity with HAMSEY and WEST WITTERING I but the monument has a slightly later feel.
<b>Rustington II.</b>	c.1540. (Mosse, 1933, 147-8) c.1550. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 316-7).	c.1540.	The earlier date is unchallenged. The later date is unlikely because of the religious iconography of the panel which would have been very provocative to religious reformers active during the reign of Edward VI.
<b>Wiston.</b>	1540.	c.1540.	Date of death. Unchallenged.
<b>Chichester III.</b>	c.1530-40. (Salzman, 1935, 145).	c.1545.	Bradshaw, in his will dated 10 May 1544 (TNA, PROB 11/30, fol.239) and proved 25 June 1545 asked to be buried 'under a marble stone with a Crucifx graven in the same to be layde in the middle of the processional sowthe ile w[i]t[h]in the Cathedral Church of Chichester Immediately agenst the Iron Dore going to saint George's chappell w'th a picture to be graven in Laten or free stone to be sett in the great pyllar on the Northe side of the same ile'. His executors patently fulfilled his wishes.
<b>Broadwater II</b>	1554	c.1545.	Date of death. Sir Thomas West II's will (TNA, PROB 11/40, fol.100v) refers to the 'power Remembraunce that I have made [in Broadwater church] in the sowthe syde'. It is likely the tomb was erected following his move from his house at Halnaker to Offington, near Broadwater, after his wife died. Her remains were transferred from Boxgrove to Broadwater.
<b>West Wittering II.</b>	1545. (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 377).	c.1547.	William Ernle's will (TNA, PROB 11/31 fols.19v-20v), is dated 15 January 1546 and was proved a month later. His second wife Bridget married Sir Henry Hussey and was buried alongside him at Slinfold, Sussex, in 1558. The absence of an effigy of West's eldest son Francis (d. September 1547) by his first wife may be a dating indicator.

<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>ACCEPTED DATE</i>	<i>NEW DATE</i>	<i>JUSTIFICATION</i>
<b>Boxgrove II.</b>	Not published.	c.1547.	Thomas Myles, the last prior, became rector of New Shoreham in 1545 and in 1548, aged 70, held the chantry in that church (Salzman, 1954, 28; Ray, E., 1931, 58). However, the shelf in the back wall of the tomb, apparently used for moveable religious imagery, seems incongruous for 1548, given the prohibitions of that year. It appears on Grimm's drawing of the 1780s (BL, Add. MS. 5,675, fol. 77) so is not a spurious addition made during the Victorian restoration. The monument therefore may have been erected in the last years of Myles' lifetime.
<b>Clapham.</b>	1548.	c.1550.	Date of death: 1548. Tomb unfinished in 1550. His son John's will (TNA, PROB 11/34, fols. 88v-90v) sought its completion, but he d. 15 December 1550 and his 'Fermer' style brass was not erected until c.1555 (Hutchinson & Egan, 2003, 70).

Given the cautionary rider that we are dealing only with surviving monuments, production rates appear roughly consistent during the 30 years that these tombs were erected with a slight decline in the last decade, perhaps caused by uncertainty in the minds of potential patrons. Of their original locations within churches, 16 were erected in or near chancels - a reflection of the number intended for dual use as Easter Sepulchres, as well as the social status and piety of the deceased - and nine in side chapels. Of the remainder, two are chantry chapels; two are in the nave and three are exterior monuments, intended to prompt passersby to offer casual intercession for their souls.

The religious climate of the late 1540s and early 1550s, with the advent of a Protestant regency, constrained and then destroyed demand for these tombs. The concept of purgatory disappeared from the English liturgy and with it went the requirement for prayers for the soul. It is significant that the last monument in the series at CLAPHAM commemorating the judge Sir William Shelley, d. 1548, is religiously neutral in its iconography. Two years after his death, there is a clause in his son's will requesting that 'my fathers Tombe be made upp & perfitlye fynisshed with all thinges belonging to the

same as shalbe thought mete by my Executours' (TNA, PROB 11/34, fo.90v). It was therefore then only partly erected and it is arguable that the monument was never completed. There is no tomb-chest and the front of the shallow coverstone is only roughly scalloped, seemingly a decorative compromise. There is also no inscription, except for two sets of the initials 'W S' in sixteenth century capitals scratched on this scalloping - the only means of identifying the deceased, aside from the judicial coif and robes worn by the effigy. Based on this evidence, we can speculate that the workshop was winding down at this time and that CLAPHAM supplies a plausible *terminus ante quem* for its operations, which may confirm the impact of the Protestant regime of Edward VI on their business. Eighteen monuments are anonymous because inscriptions were painted on the chamfers of the tomb-chests and this lettering is now lost.

With the exceptions of the de la Warr memorials, it cannot be argued that these tombs are shining examples of the best English monumental art of the sixteenth century. The two saints at BROADWATER II are crisply cut (?were they re-cut in the Victorian period) and are excellent examples of Renaissance carving, particularly in the case of the BVM and child, which is lifelike and has inherent emotion. Overall, however, these masons relied on colourful paintwork and the architectural framework of the tombs to achieve the image of high status that their clients desired, rather than on their skill in carving effigies of the commemorated.

## Religious panels

Typological evidence permits conjecture that the masons responsible for this group of monuments also supplied small religious panels in Caen stone for a variety of devotional purposes. The iconoclasm during the peak of the Protestant Reformation of 1548-53 probably ensured that only a small number has survived, as listed in **TABLE 6** below.

*Table 6*  
**List of attributed religious panels**

<b>NO.</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>CONFIDENCE</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>COMMENTS</b>
<b>01</b>	c.1520.	Royal Chantry, Chichester Cathedral cloisters.	5	Donors' panel.	Members of the Mortimer family.	Image of BVM below arms of Henry VII and above figures of donors.

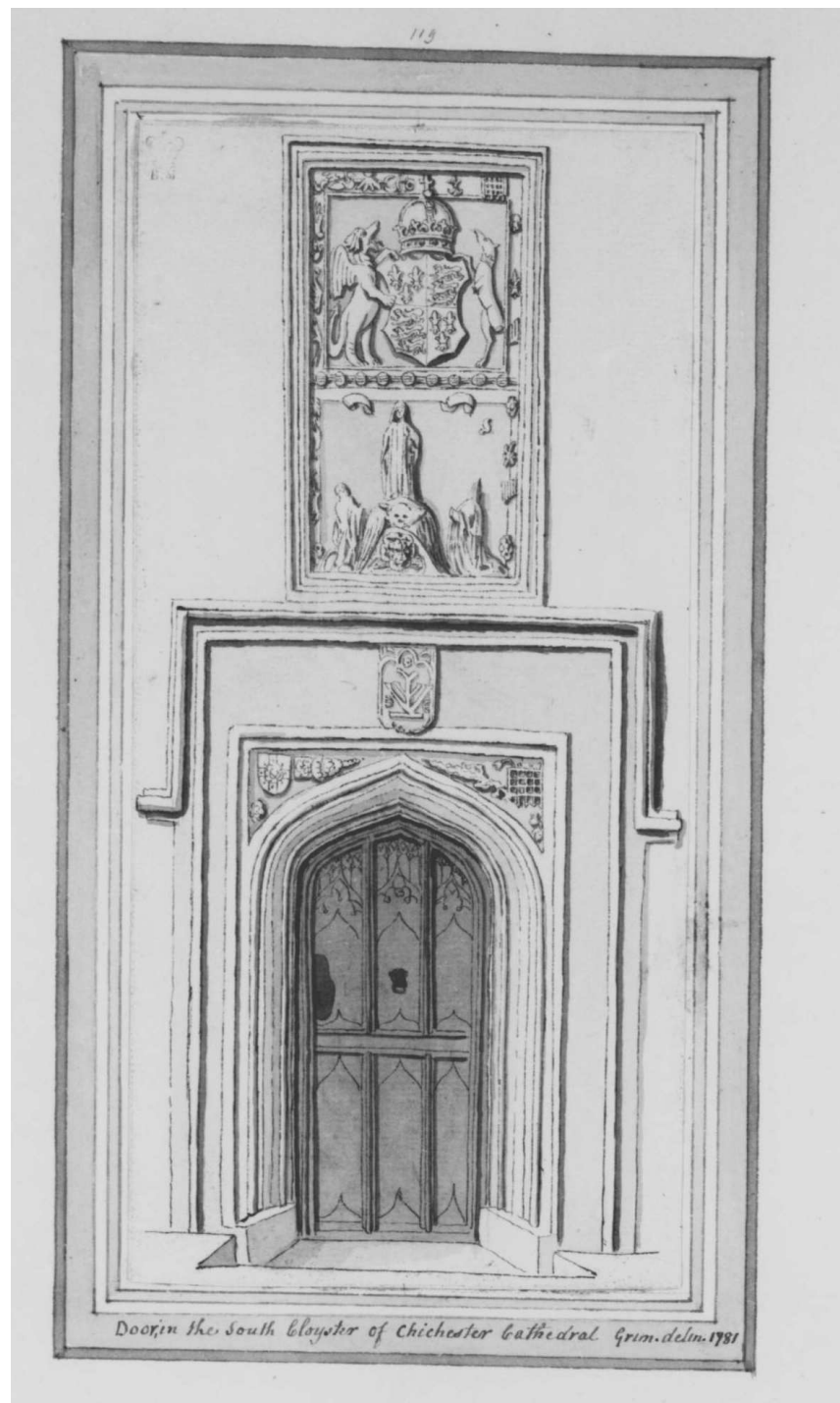
<i><b>NO.</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>CONFIDENCE</b></i>	<i><b>TYPE</b></i>	<i><b>NAME</b></i>	<i><b>COMMENTS</b></i>
<b>02</b>	c.1520.	<b>Mickleham,</b> St Michael, Surrey.	4	Statue niche	?Associated with William Wyddowsoun.	Triple canopy, with crockets next to recessed canopy tomb with brasses.
<b>03</b>	c.1530.	<b>Stoke Charity,</b> SS Mary and Michael, Hants.	5	Mass of St Gregory.	?Associated with Waller family.	Large mural panel with Christ as 'Man of Sorrows' above figures of St Gregory and a deacon.
<b>04</b>	1537.	<b>Goudhurst,</b> St Mary, Kent.	5	Panel with kneeling figures and religious imagery.	Sir Alexander Culpeper, d. 1541, in armour & wife.	Associated with London-made painted wooden effigies on tomb-chest.

The first example is a large panel in creamy Caen stone showing a now-defaced figure of the BVM, standing full-face, with associated kneeling figures of donors, beneath the arms of Henry VII supported by a dragon and a greyhound. It is similar in style and execution to the three exterior monuments of the group. This panel, 160 cm. in height and 109 cm. in width, was inserted early in the sixteenth century into the north wall of the south cloister of Chichester Cathedral (now known as the Royal Chantry), above a Caen stone doorway with a flattened arch, probably built concurrently by the same masons (figs. 15-16, pages 65-6). From 1413, two royal chaplains were accommodated here to say Masses for the souls of kinsmen of Henry V, including Nicholas Mortimer who was buried at Chichester (Tatton-Brown, 1994, 236). Doubtless, this panel commemorates the donors who funded improvements to the structure and who were probably members of the Mortimer family, who had family ties with the de la Warrs. The two kneeling figures are in robes and that on the left holds a rosary. Both heads have been smashed, as has that of the saint. At lower centre is an angel supporting a rose. Along the sides of the panel are a number of heraldic devices. On the left are a chained swan, a fiery beacon, a buck with a crown on its breast, a swan and another beacon. On the right are a rose, a portcullis, a fleur-de-lis and another rose. The white rose and the fleur-de-lis were Mortimer badges and the swan may refer to a marriage alliance with the de Bohun family.



▲ Fig. 15: *Lower portion of panel over the entrance to The Chantry in the cloisters of Chichester Cathedral with the ?BVM or a female saint, with kneeling effigies of two donors, the remains of two prayer scrolls, and lower centre, an angel holding a rose. The white rose was one of the Mortimer heraldic badges. Height of female saint: 42 cms.*

The second example is a statue niche, now filled with a modern wooden figure, on the east wall of the north chapel of St Michael's church, Mickleham in Surrey (fig.17, page 67). It is adjacent to the recessed canopied tomb, with kneeling brass figures, of c.1520 on the north wall to William Wyddowsoun and wife and seems not only associated with the monument but coeval with its construction. The niche, purely Gothic in design, is 160 cm. in height and has a triple ogee arch with crockets above, 57.5 cm. in height and 37 cm. in width. The trefoil heads and mullions are destroyed. Unfortunately, no wills survive for those buried in this tomb, but based on other testamentary requests of this period, Wyddowsoun probably wished to be interred near a light set before such an image, probably that of a favourite saint, which was destroyed in 1550-3 and now replaced by a modern substitute.



▲ Fig. 16: Drawing by S. H. Grimm in 1791 for Sir William Burrell, the Sussex antiquary, of the Caen stone panel and doorway inserted into the Royal Chantry, c.1520, in the south cloister of Chichester Cathedral. (BL, Add. MS, 5,675 fol. 43, © British Library Board).



▲ Fig.17: Statue niche on east wall of the north chapel at MICKLEHAM, showing **right**, its position in relation to the monument of William Wyddowsoun, c.1520 and **left**, a close-up of the triple-arched canopy with the crocketed canopies. Niche is 167 cm. in height, and the canopy, 57.5 cm. in height.

The third panel, the crudely-carved Mass of St Gregory, 114.4 cm. in height, must have been purchased as a bespoke item to adorn the north chapel at Stoke Charity, Hants. (fig.18, page 68). It was probably carved in c.1530 when the freestone monument to John Waller esquire, d. 1526, was erected<sup>1</sup> as an Easter Sepulchre in space previously occupied by the fifteenth century Hampton family chantry. A new window was also inserted in the north wall; a squint cut through (providing visual access from the nave) and existing medieval glazed floor tiles reset around the new tomb (Roffey, 2007, 93), providing

<sup>1</sup> There were doubts about the subject of the panel until it was established in 1901 (HRO 77M84/PW18). When the tomb was dismantled in 1995 for conservation, a small jeton was found. This was identified at the British Museum as the work of Hans Krauwinkel II of Nuremburg, active 1586-1635 (HRO, 77M84/PW53). This seems unreliable dating evidence for the construction of the tomb which is incontrovertibly of c.1530, so it must have been inserted in a crack at a later date, perhaps by some mischievous young parishioner.



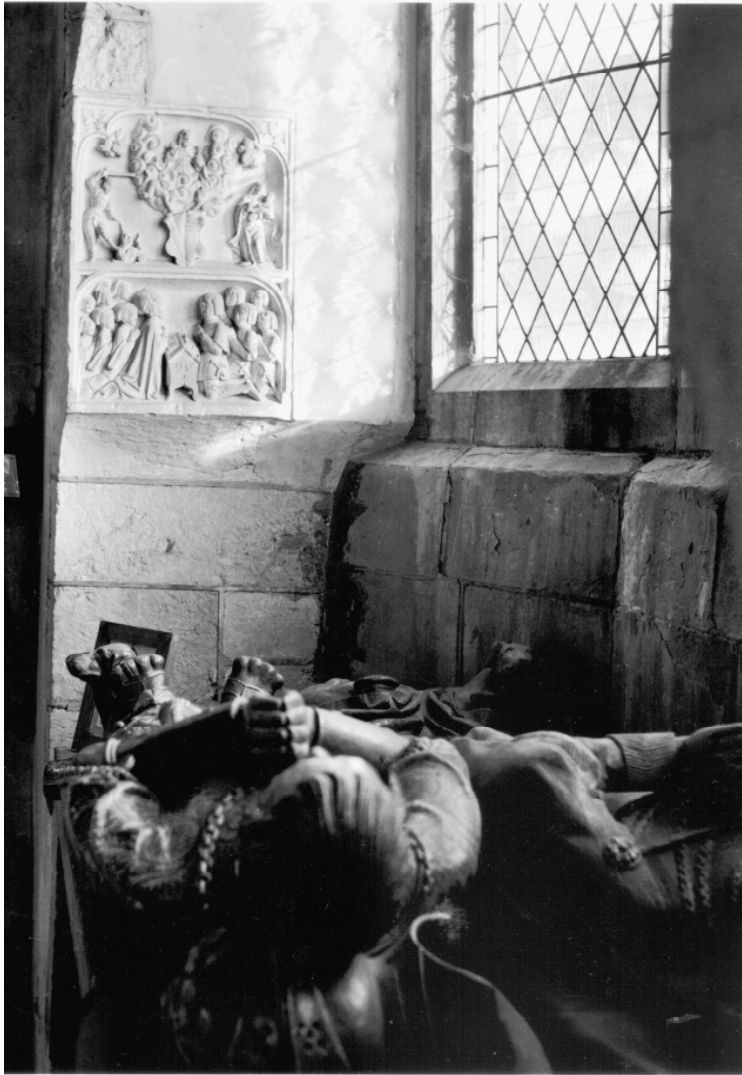
confirmation of the date of the work. The panel's original location may have been on the east wall of the chapel, perhaps flanking the reredos of a side altar. Was there originally a second image on the other side?



▲ Fig.18: Religious *panel* of c.1530 depicting the *Mass of St Gregory at Stoke Charity, Hants*. Height of panel: 114.4 cm.

The panel at Goudhurst, 69 cm. in height and 54 cm. in width (fig. 19, page 69) was also a customised order, with the purchaser himself choosing the subject-matter, as the monument was erected during his lifetime and the panel bears the date '1537'. The life-size oak effigies of Sir Alexander Culpeper and his wife Constance Agnes, richly coloured with paint and gesso, on top of a Bethersden marble tomb-chest in the south aisle are positioned to gaze up at the panel, located opposite on the splay of an adjacent oriel window, which was inserted as part of the setting for the monument. Culpeper died sometime after 21 June 1541 and his wife two years later, as suggested by the dates of their wills (TNA, PROB 11/28, fol.236 and PROB 11/29, fol. 90v). The carving is unusually

elegant and fluid for this group of masons and is discussed in the chapter on religious iconography. I believe the existence and nature of these four bespoke items support my conjecture that this group of masons undertook commissions to produce religious iconography and may have had a reputation for specialising in this area of sculpture.



◀ Fig. 19: *Religious panel, dated 1537 at GOUDHURST on the east splay of an oriel window in the south aisle, associated with the carved and painted wooden effigies of Sir Alexander Culpeper and wife, seen in the foreground on a Bethersden marble tomb-chest. Panel measures 69 cm. in height and 54 cm. in width. (English Heritage, National Monuments Record, NMR AAO 79942).*

There is one final piece of archæological evidence relating to these masons' production of religious images. When the vault of Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, was opened in early in 2009 during building operations to create a new floor surface in Broadwater church, a small Caen stone corbel was seen on the south wall of the structure, immediately above the skeletons of West and his wife Elizabeth. She pre-deceased her husband sometime after 1540 and must have been reinterred in the vault

which was probably built at the same time as their monument of c.1545. This was adjacent to the entrance to the vault at the east end of the south aisle, but was moved in 1826. The corbel, which looks similar to those on some of the tombs, must have supported a small image of a favourite saint, possibly the BVM, which was probably stolen when a new east wall was inserted during nineteenth century alterations.



▲ Fig. 20: Burial vault of Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr and his wife Elizabeth, east end of the south aisle of Broadwater church, Sussex, looking east. Note the Caen stone corbel low down on the south wall which was designed to bear a religious image. The two skeletons lie amid the remains of wooden coffins covered with leather and brass nails. One skull can be seen at the centre lower edge.

The east wall dates from the nineteenth century and lies across the feet of the skeletons. It was probably erected when the monument, BROADWATER II was moved from its adjacent position in 1826.

The photograph was taken through a small hole made in the west wall of the vault. (Photograph by courtesy of George Anelay of West Sussex Archaeology Ltd.).

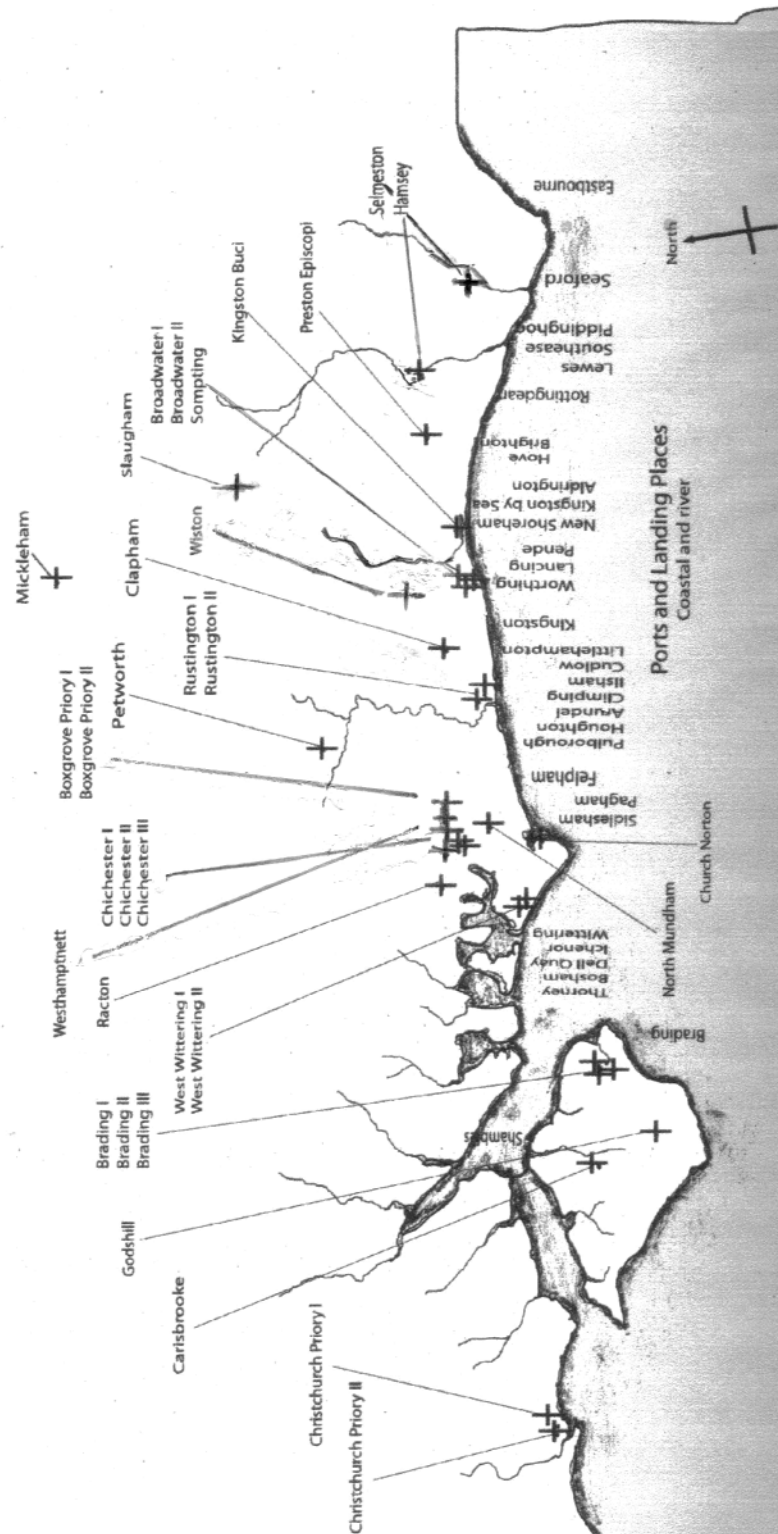
### 3 – Distribution

ANALYSIS OF THE LOCATIONS of these monuments shows a significant cluster situated in and around the city of Chichester, indicative that the masons' workshop operated there, as discussed in the next chapter. These locations are shown on *MAP 1* on page 72 which covers Sussex, Hampshire (and the IoW) and part of southern Surrey. Ports and landing places along the coast, (identified by vertical text) and navigable rivers have been included to suggest possible modes of transportation. *MAP 2* on page 73 shows the locations of the three monuments and one religious panel situated within the centre of Chichester itself.

The distances of the churches containing these tombs from Chichester Cathedral close are provided in *TABLE 7* below. The distances, in kilometres, are of necessity line-of-sight measurements because of the paucity of reliable information about the extent and condition of the network of post-medieval roads throughout the three counties.

*Table 7*  
**Distances of monuments from Chichester in kilometres**

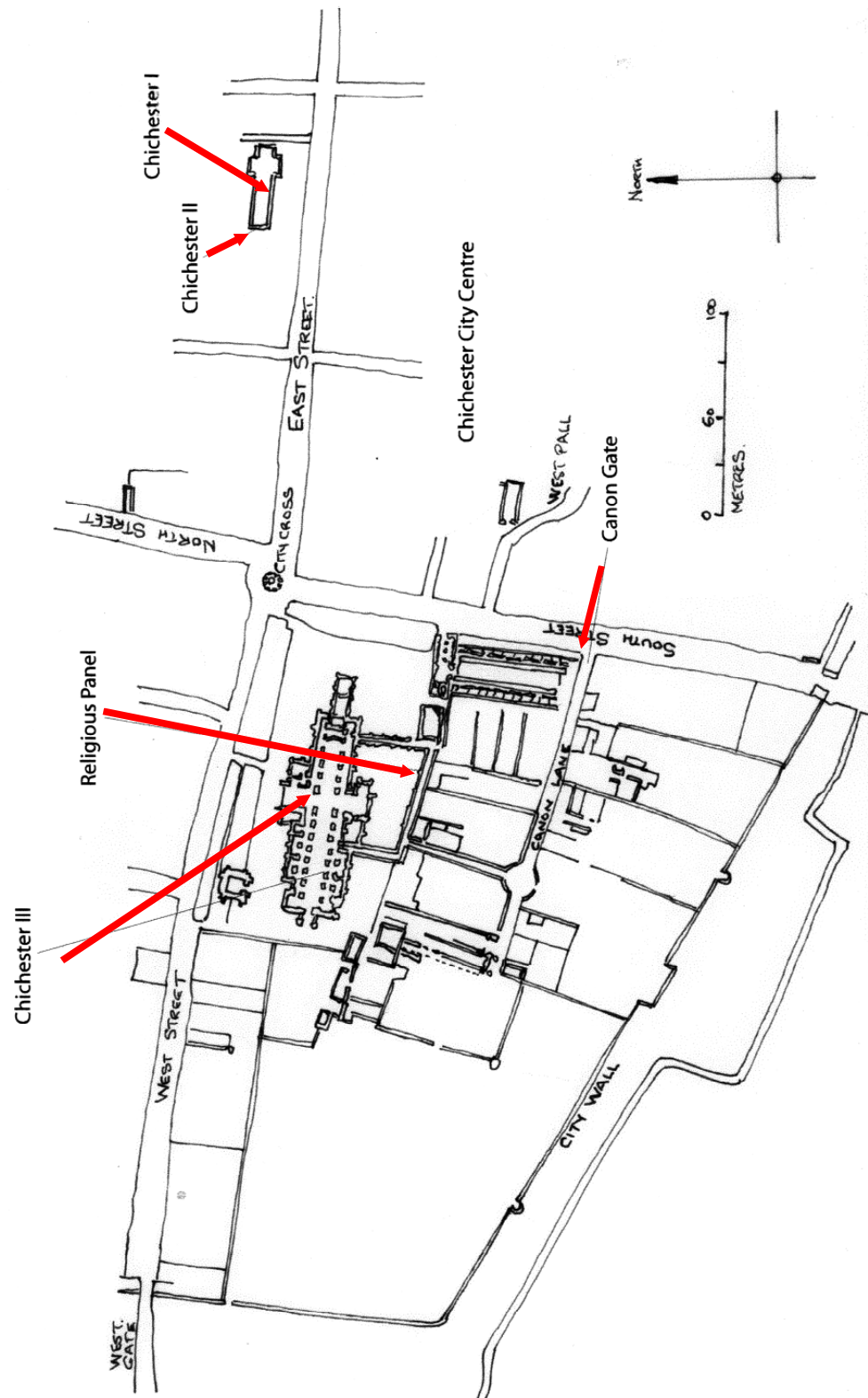
<i>DISTANCE</i>	<i>No. OF TOMBS</i>	<i>LOCATIONS</i>
0-5	5	Chichester I, II, II (city centre); North Mundham (5 km.); Westhampnett (3.5 km.).
5-10	2	Boxgrove I and II (7.2 km.).
10-15	4	Racton (10.5 km.); West Wittering I and II (12.6 km.); Church Norton (13.5 km.).
15-20	0	0
20-25	1	Petworth (24.6 km.).
25-30	3	Rustington I and II (27.5 km.); Clapham (27.2 km.).
30-35	2	Broadwater I and II (32.7 km.).
35-40	1	Sompting (35.4 km.).
40-45	2	Wiston (40.4 km.); Kingston Buci (42.6 km.).
50-65	5	Brading I, II and III (52.2 km.); Preston Episcopi (52.9 km.); Carisbrooke (54.4 km.).
65-105	7	Godshill (60.7 km.); Slaugham (62.1 km.); Hamsey (64.7 km.); Selmeston (71.9 km.); Mickleham (82.7 km.); Christchurch Priory I and II (102 km.).



Map 1: Distribution of Monuments, c.1520-50

Drawn by R Turner

**Map 2: Distribution of Monuments, c.1520-50, Chichester city Centre**



Drawn by R Turner



Chichester sits in the middle of this scatter of monuments with seven tombs, or 21.88% of the total, located inside a circle with a radius of 7.2 km. of the cathedral and 11, or 34.38%, within 13.5 km. Although these findings support the theory that Chichester was the workshop location, ease of communications may also be a defining factor. Traditionally, Sussex had a notorious reputation for the poor quality of its roads, but there is scant evidence on the extent and condition of the network in this period, apart from presumptions that remnants of the old Roman routes of Stane Street (heading north-west from Chichester) and the east-west Greensand Way were still being used. The masons' first choice for transportation would always be by sea and river. This was cheaper and facilitated efficient movement of the tombs, broken down into components. Dell Quay and Bosham, 2.5 km. and 6.3 km. south of Chichester respectively, provided convenient harbours for docking coastal trading ships as well as for landing Caen stone from Normandy. (Customs accounts for Rye (TNA, E 122/36/13, fols.8-9), lists the cargo of one ship in 1546 which included seven components of a tomb and 'vij grate tablets of images on glase' - probably painted glass for a church - as well as 'smal beeds of jette' and other trading items).

It is significant that apart from the three tombs and one religious panel in Chichester and those at WESTHAMNETT, NORTH MUNDHAM, RACTON and BOXGROVE (all less than ten kilometres of the cathedral) more than 20 monuments are in churches near the coast, a port, or within easy reach of a navigable river. Ports or landing places along the Sussex coast in the post-medieval period (Leslie & Short, 1999, 42-3) would have enabled landing of components for WEST WITTERING I and II, CHURCH NORTON (Pagham), RUSTINGTON I and II (Littlehampton); CLAPHAM, BROADWATER I and II, SOMPTING (Worthing); KINGSTON BUCI (Shoreham); WISTON (River Adur); PRESTON EPISCOPI (Brighton) and HAMSEY (River Ouse). SELMESTON, the most far-flung Sussex location, is near the River Cuckmere. Only PETWORTH, SLAUGHAM and MICKLEHAM demanded long road journeys by convoys of wagons. The most distant site, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY, is within 100 metres of the Hampshire town's harbour. Sailing east from Chichester, a cargo ship would head into the prevailing winds and face two adverse tides in the Solent. Therefore, unless the passage was precisely timed to catch a flood tide, it would have had to sail around the southern coast of the Isle of Wight. Blessed with favourable weather conditions, it could have reached Christchurch in about 26 hours. On the IoW, BRADING

was a prosperous harbour until it silted up around 1620, and the Medina River, in the centre of the island, had a port called the Shambles in the sixteenth century, south of East Cowes. CARISBROOKE and slightly further afield, GODSHILL, would not have been daunting overland destinations for carts carrying the tombs after docking there.

Nearby port facilities would also be necessary to land supplies of Caen stone - and its proven importation would provide useful evidence for identification of the workshop location. Building materials used in Chichester Cathedral close are known to have been landed at Dell Quay. In 1534, supplies of Welsh blue stone sufficient for 28,600 slates arrived in the port. Unloading the hewn blocks (later split *in situ*) took William Helyar two days at 7d. a day, with an additional penny per load for drink (Thomas, 2002, 176; Fines, 1994, 54). A search for Caen stone imports was made in the King's Remembrancer's customs accounts rolls in the TNA Exchequer series for the port of Chichester from 1521 through to the first half of Edward VI's reign. In the sixteenth century, the Chichester collectors of customs enjoyed jurisdiction over all south coast ports from Hythe and Folkestone in Kent, including Rye, Winchelsea, Lewes, Arundel and Shoreham in Sussex. Unfortunately, surviving accounts for Chichester itself are fragmentary and only cover small portions of the regnal years 1529-30, 1533-35, 1546-47 and 1550-51. One record of the landing there of a cargo of Caen stone survives, however. In the Bosham harbour ledger for 8 April 1533, John Probert, deputy to the collector, records an 'alien' ship laden with 'xx ton cane stone', on which customs dues of '1xj<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>.' were paid (TNA, E 122/200/6, fol. 20v). This stone may have been ordered for construction work in Chichester, possibly at the cathedral, but 20 tons is too small a quantity for a large building project - even if the Caen stone was only used for windows and doorways. If stockpiled, it would be enough to carve and build five or six monuments. It is tempting to speculate that SELMESTON, c.1533 and PETWORTH, c.1535, could have been among them. Although further documentary evidence for shipments does not survive, it may be safe to speculate that other cargoes of Caen stone were landed at the Chichester ports. On the balance of probability, the evidence of this ledger entry adds weight to the belief that these tombs were carved in Chichester, tentatively proposed elsewhere (Shilliam, 1986, 179).



#### **4 – The location of the masons' workshop**

IN THE LAST CHAPTER the distribution of the identified tombs in this group was discussed and it was asserted that Chichester was a credible location for the masons' workshop. As with the London marblers (Saul, 2009, 82), availability of sea and riverine transport and the existence of a ready, pious local market with close-knit kinship ties were probable factors in encouraging the establishment of such a business in the city. There is further circumstantial evidence supporting this conjecture. At least one mason was a member of the 'works organisation' that maintained the fabric of Chichester Cathedral during the first half of the sixteenth century - a retained group of craftsmen who were paid an annual wage and on whose labour William Samford, communar of the dean and chapter, had first call. Creation of this cathedral works organisation must have been a sixteenth century innovation; in 1474, a mason was paid two shillings for 'four days [work] about the church' (Peckham, 1952, 114). There was no formal job demarcation between these artisans as they were expected to undertake more commonplace tasks outside their skill base, such as weeding, clearing gutters and erecting scaffolding (Thomas, 2002, 174). As the amount of labour required from each employee varied over the seasons and from year to year, they were permitted to take on additional work, outside the close, to earn extra income.

It is proposed here that this cathedral mason, with his apprentice, was responsible for the 32 monuments identified in this dissertation, assisted by additional skilled craftsmen hired temporarily to fulfil specific orders. An indenture of 10 November 1517 names Denys Hycke, 'bryckleer' as one of these Chichester Cathedral craftsmen. Under this agreement, the dean and chapter leased one of their properties to Hycke, namely:-

the second house of the church that stands to the north-west of the Cross in the Pallant, to dwell in for his life.

At a week's warning, he shall be ready, at the communar's commandment, to do every sort of work on behalf of the dean and chapter and to continue at it as long as they think fit.

When on the work of the Church, he shall be content with 6d. a day, winter and summer. He shall suffer no weeds to grow about the church walls and when any snow falls, he shall be ready to cast it from the leads and to see that the gutters are always clean so that the water may have its course.

When there are great rains, he shall be in the vaults of the church.

He has plighted faith and troth for the performance of this (Peckham, 1952, 86).

As a bricklayer, he may have learnt his masonry at Chichester through work experience. Hycke is later described as a mason in the chapter accounts (being commissioned in 1533-4 for 35 days' work) so it seems more likely that he was an itinerant journeyman who took on bricklaying as a temporary job, as it provided a house and prospects of advancement. His daily rate was increased to 9d. a day - but still less than his comrades, William Helyar, (roofer) and Thomas Fryan (tiler), who were paid 3d more per day and Richard Gardiner, the haulier, who received an extra penny (Thomas, 2002, 174). The chapter's communitarian was a hard taskmaster: Hycke was paid for 'five days at Whitsun to point the steeple, except one hour when he and [his assistant or apprentice] John were at the Deanery' for which his pay was docked one halfpenny (Thomas, 2002, 175).

As this periodic commitment to the cathedral allowed ample time for other work, can it be mere coincidence that the suggested date of the first monuments in this series comes three years after Hycke began work at Chichester as a humble bricklayer? Another workshop, apparently working under similar terms and conditions, was established at Winchester, where the mason Thomas Bertie worked under the patronage of Bishop Fox on tombs and fittings within the cathedral, as well as carving monuments in several Hampshire churches (Riall, 2007, 143-167). In 1532-3, he was retained to repair the fabric of Winchester Cathedral for 13s 6d a year (James, 2003, 17). This work-practice model also matches the conclusions in Cockerham's study of Cornish monuments in the period c.1560-c.1660 which associated one craftsman (and possibly an apprentice) with one group of monuments, with tomb-making unlikely to be the carver's sole occupation (2006, 127 and 129). Moreover, his assertion that Cornish masons' income and standing was similar to that of a lesser yeoman or a more prosperous husbandman, seems to apply to Hycke's apparent social status and levels of pay (2006, 129).

It is estimated that carving a tomb-chest with a large effigy occupied approximately 500 man-hours, exclusive of the hewing of the stone, its dressing and erection of the tomb (Hunt, 1974, vol.1, 116). In calendar terms, this must have consumed slightly less than three months, based on an eight-hour day for five and a half day working week, allowing a maximum of four or five tombs to be completed in one year (Cockerham, 2006, 129). The production peaks during the three decades of this workshop's existence resemble such output. Thirteen monuments were produced in the 1520s, ten in the 1530s and nine in the

1540s, demonstrating that an uncertain market created periods of 'feast or famine'. Based on surviving examples, average production was roughly one tomb a year, so the masons frequently had little or no work; for example in 1523/4; 1527/8, 1534 and 1541-4. Hence the need for the workshop's diversification into allied activity such as religious panels and jobbing masonry. Other years show spikes in demand that needed additional masonry skills to fulfil the orders. This was the case for large, complex projects such as BROADWATER I, BOXGROVE I and CARISBROOKE where the size of the tomb and chantry chapels required perhaps three or four extra masons for carving figures, heraldry and motifs; pre-fabrication of components in the workshop and finally construction *in situ*, assisted by local unskilled labour. Like freestone, Caen stone is easily worked and demands less skill in carving than the dense and intractable Purbeck marble (Blair, 2001, 42) so the potential number of masons who could work competently in this stone would be greater than in projects using other stones requiring specialist expertise. The hand of an unusually skilled carver is clearly discernable at BOXGROVE I whose work is repeated on the panels at PETWORTH and RACTON but not elsewhere in this series. Perhaps he was another itinerant mason, paid on a piece-work basis, specially brought in. Therefore, the size of the workshop may only have been Hycke and his apprentice during periods of low activity, rising to perhaps five masons plus the assistant to complete larger orders.

Were many more produced? Bayliss' study on the Burton-on-Trent tombmakers Richard and Gabriel Royley (1991, 36-40) attributes 106 monuments to their workshop in the period c.1525-c.1600. This seems a higher productivity rate and suggests that the Chichester masons could have carved more tombs that are now lost to us, possibly including those at Slindon and Parham (*see* page 44). However, the Royley workshop was active for 75 years, compared to the three decades of this workshop and 29 of their memorials were incised slabs which would have been quicker to produce than recessed canopy tombs. Furthermore, from 1560 onwards, the growth of an affluent merchant/gentry class increased demand for high status tombs. It is probably more relevant to compare the Chichester output with that of Richard Parker, another Burton-on-Trent carver. Bayliss (1990, 41-42) lists 30 tombs attributed to the Parker workshop in the period 1532-70 - mostly effigies on tomb-chests. Compare this also with the output of a Devon workshop which produced 29 examples in c.1442-1529 (Faunch, 1998, 50, 149). With this level of

output over broadly the same time span - and given their secular work and their subsidiary business of carving religious panels - it is arguable that the Chichester masons probably did not produce many more tombs than the 32 identified in this dissertation.

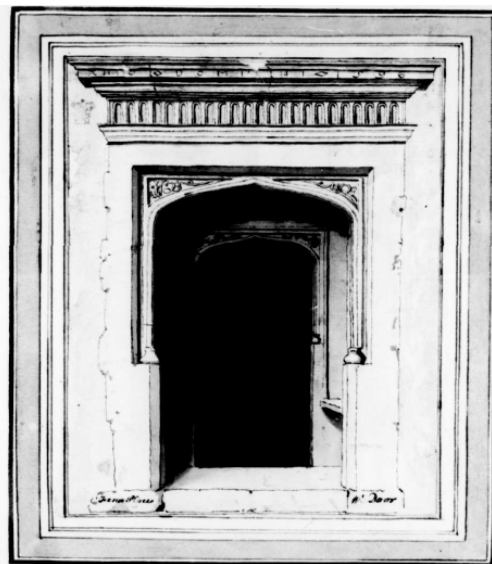
As discussed in chapter one, the production decline in the 1540s may have stemmed from uncertainty amongst potential patrons caused by liturgical reform, but another more prosaic factor may have been an acute shortage of masons available for *ad hoc* work. During 1539-47, a number of artillery forts were constructed to defend the south coast from Deal in Kent to St Mawes in Cornwall, with 11 built in the Solent-Spithead area alone. These projects, together with large-scale improvements to the Calais defences, took many masons away from their normal work (Llewellyn, 2000, 164); for example, Thomas Bertie, the Winchester mason, was appointed master mason for the forts at Calshot and Hurst in 1539 (James, 2003, 16). Moreover, Hycke may have died sometime around 1544 as that year a mason named Wolsey was paid 15d. for repairing a tomb - probably that of Bishop Gilbert, d. 1304, damaged 'when the commissioners were here from the [Privy] Council searching for treasure' [in St Richard's shrine] (Fines, 1994, 54). If Hycke was dead, perhaps Wolsey took over his business? Around this date, the quality of the tombs improves, so perhaps a more skilled mason was running the workshop.

### **Secular work**

Construction of several structures in Chichester Cathedral close, such as Bishop Sherborn's brick-built north-west wing of the episcopal palace, suggests that skilled masons worked there during the first three or four decades of the sixteenth century. One of these was a Caen stone doorway, 228.5 cm. in height and 209 cm. in width, inserted into the north wall of the lodgings of the Royal Chantry priests, off the cathedral cloisters. Its spandrels bear the same portcullis arms as the religious panel of c.1520 placed immediately above (fig. 15, page 65 and fig. 16, page 66) and must have been constructed concurrently. The arms in the spandrels have been re-cut. To the south, in Canon Lane and still in the cathedral close, is another doorway marking the southern entrance to the Chantry. This has similar heraldry in the spandrels and is 231 cm. in height and 163 cm. in width (fig. 21, page 80). It is surmounted by an escutcheon with the initial 'e' and an unidentified device that resembles a

► Fig 21: *Early sixteenth century doorway in Canon Lane, Chichester, the southern entrance to The Chantry. Scale: two metres.*

**Right,** *the unidentified device above the flattened arch of the doorway. Height of doorway, 231 cm. Height of escutcheon: 25 cm.*



◄Fig. 22: **Left,** *Doorway in south porch in Hamsey church of c.1540. Scale: two metres.* **Right,** *drawing by Grimm in 1780s, of doorway at Fenn Place. The spandrels have similar motifs to the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I. (BL, Add. MS, 5,671, fol. 23. © British Library Board).*

merchant's mark. Other secular work may have been undertaken at HAMSEY where a Caen stone doorway with blank shields in the spandrels of a flat Tudor arch was inserted into the south wall of the church in c.1540, perhaps just after the erection of a tomb there. A Grimm sketch of the 1780s (BL, Add. MS., 5,671 fol. 23) of the now demolished Fenn Place in East Grinstead shows another doorway, probably of Caen stone, with a face and trailing flower motif similar to those in the frieze decorating the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I.

Patronage extended further than the dean and chapter. The bishops of Chichester,

particularly Robert Sherborn, were great patrons of the arts. Sherborn recruited the artist Lambert Barnard who decorated the vaulting in the cathedral's Lady Chapel and produced two huge paintings of the bishops of the diocese and the kings of England in the north and south transepts. He also decorated the bishop's fortified manor house at Amberley with portraits of mythological British warrior queens, the survivors of which are now in the Pallant Gallery, Chichester. On 23 December 1533 the chapter, at Sherborn's prompting, recognised Barnard's 'long and good service in his art given to the bishop in the past and to be given to the bishop and the dean and chapter in the future' and granted him a life annuity:-

of £3 6s 8d, charged on our manor or farm of Lathorne, lately acquired by the bishop and by him granted to us, to be paid by us or our receiver, at Lady Day and Michaelmas.

If hired by the bishop in his lifetime, or at his charges after his death to work at painting, or by the dean and chapter, or a residentiary [canon] or anyone else at the cathedral, he shall have for his pay and keep, and for the servant whom he hires to help him in his art, £14 8s a year, paid monthly, besides the cost of the colours and the gold and silver needed and shall give faithful service.

His employment shall be for a year at least and he shall have six months' warning of it. He shall not, save of his free will, be required by the dean and chapter, or by the canons, to work outside the cathedral close or on meaner work than he has been wont to do (Peckham, 1952, 93-4).

Sherborn's artistic tastes were shared by his close friend Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, The bishop persuaded him to pay for Barnard's painting of eight heraldic panels in the wooden ceiling of his palace to commemorate his father Sir Thomas West I in c.1530 (Steer, 1958, 6-7). Barnard had probably just finished painting the vaulting in the quire of Boxgrove Priory, creating a display of de la Warr's proud lineage indicated by complex heraldry displayed amongst a veritable jungle of vines and flowers (fig. 23, page 82). Some plants are repeated on the carved panels of BOXGROVE I. He used the same pattern books as the masons who carved the chantry chapel and later tombs in the series, as some have the same flower ornamentation. De la Warr also inserted two wooden galleries in the transepts of the priory church and three additional windows in the north wall of the quire, work also probably undertaken by the Chichester masons. Two Caen stone shields bearing the la Warr arms of *within the Garter*, quarterly 1. and 4. *Gules, crusily fitchy, a lion rampant*, or (LA WARR) impaling 2. and 3. *Azure, three leopard's heads inverted jessant-de-lis*, or (CANTELUPE) were placed high up on the walls of the church, (fig. 24, page 82) in a



▲ Fig. 23: Part of the vaulting at Boxgrove, painted by the bishop's painter, Lambert Barnard for de la Warr in c.1525-30. The stylised flowers and foliage appear on his chantry chapel (BOXGROVE I) at PETWORTH, c.1535 and on BROADWATER II.



▲ Fig. 24: Painted arms of LA WARR inserted c.1530 into the walls of Boxgrove Priory, probably by the Chichester masons.





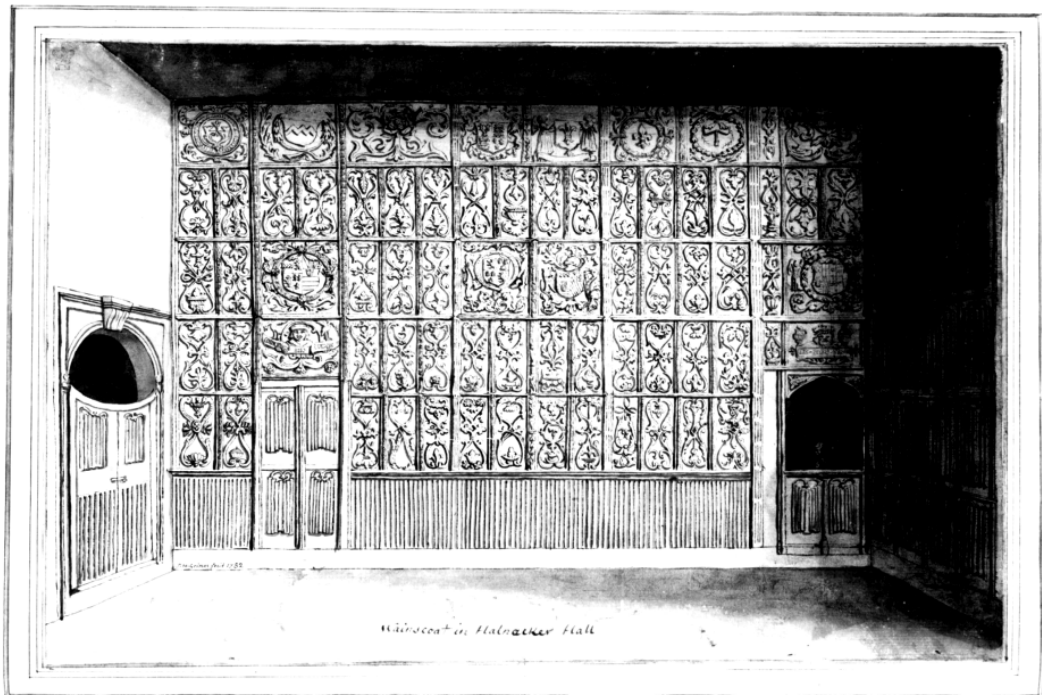
▲ Fig. 25: Arms carved in Caen stone in the splays of the window in the east wall, above the tomb of Elizabeth Ernle, c. 1538, at WEST WITTERING I. *Left*, the arms of ERNLE, Argent, on a bend, sable three eagles displayed or, on the bend in chief, a mullet for difference, and *right*, BOND, Argent, on a chevron, sable three bezants. The insertions into the splays are clearly visible.

similar fashion to those above the tomb of William Ernle's first wife at WEST WITTERING I, c.1538 (fig. 25, above). The custom of inserting a donor's arms into a structure when improvements had been made was common but the incidence of these two examples linked to adjacent monuments is suggestive that the work was undertaken by the same group of masons.

### Decorative woodwork

The de la Warr improvements were not confined to Boxgrove Priory. The ninth baron also launched an extensive re-modelling of his fortified manor at nearby Halnaker House (SU 9083 0886) adding oak wainscot panelling to the Great Hall, which was still there when Grimm sketched it in 1782 (BL, Add. MS, 5,675, fol. 73; Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 31, fol. 426). His drawing shows panels with Renaissance decoration (fig. 26, page 84) which resemble the motifs found on the de la Warr chantry of 1532 at BOXGROVE and on WEST WITTERING II, CHICHESTER III, CLAPHAM and BROADWATER II. Four may survive in St John's church, Patching, West Sussex (TQ 0871 0659) where three panels are incorporated into the nineteenth century pulpit and another is under lock and key in the vestry (fig. 27, page 85). Could those masons who carved the chantry also have carved the Halnaker



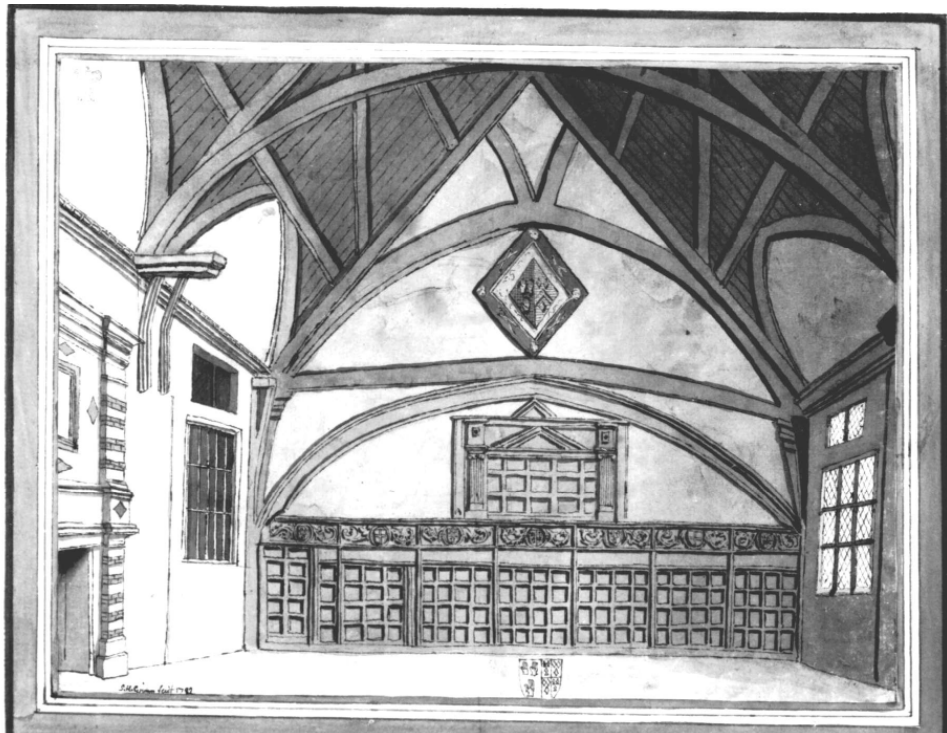


▲ Fig. 26: *Interior of the Great Hall of Halnaker House, with the wainscot added by Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, in the 1530s.* (B.L. Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 73. © British Library Board).

decorative wooden panels? Although later in the sixteenth century the Dutch refugee tomb-maker Garat Johnson was sued by the Joiners' Company for turning out work in their material, it is unusual for masons to work in wood. It is axiomatic that the universality of religious or secular woodcuts in the sixteenth century provided inspiration to craftsmen in a number of mediums. One of the panels on BOXGROVE I has three naked figures fleeing from a two-headed dragon, a design also used by the carver of one of the misericordes in Bristol Cathedral (Anderson, 1971, 215) so it is entirely possible that the panels of Halnaker were copied from Renaissance motifs found from the same sources. Another Grimm drawing, dated 1782 (BL, Add. MS, 5,675, fol. 42), this time of the 10 m. square hall of Racton House (SU 7823 0905), a fifteenth century house destroyed in 1841, shows upper panels of the wainscot apparently painted light blue and containing shields and scrollwork, very similar to the friezes on these monuments (fig. 28, page 85). Presumably these panels were inserted by John Gounter whose monument is in the nearby church. Again, similar pattern books may have been consulted. Finally, at Steyning, West Sussex, St Andrew's church (TQ 1791 1140) has an oak screen, dated 1522,



▲ Fig. 27: Sixteenth century wooden panels, possibly from the destroyed Halnaker House, now in St John's church, Patching. The three on the **left** are now fitted to the pulpit, and the fourth is loose. Scale: 50 cm.



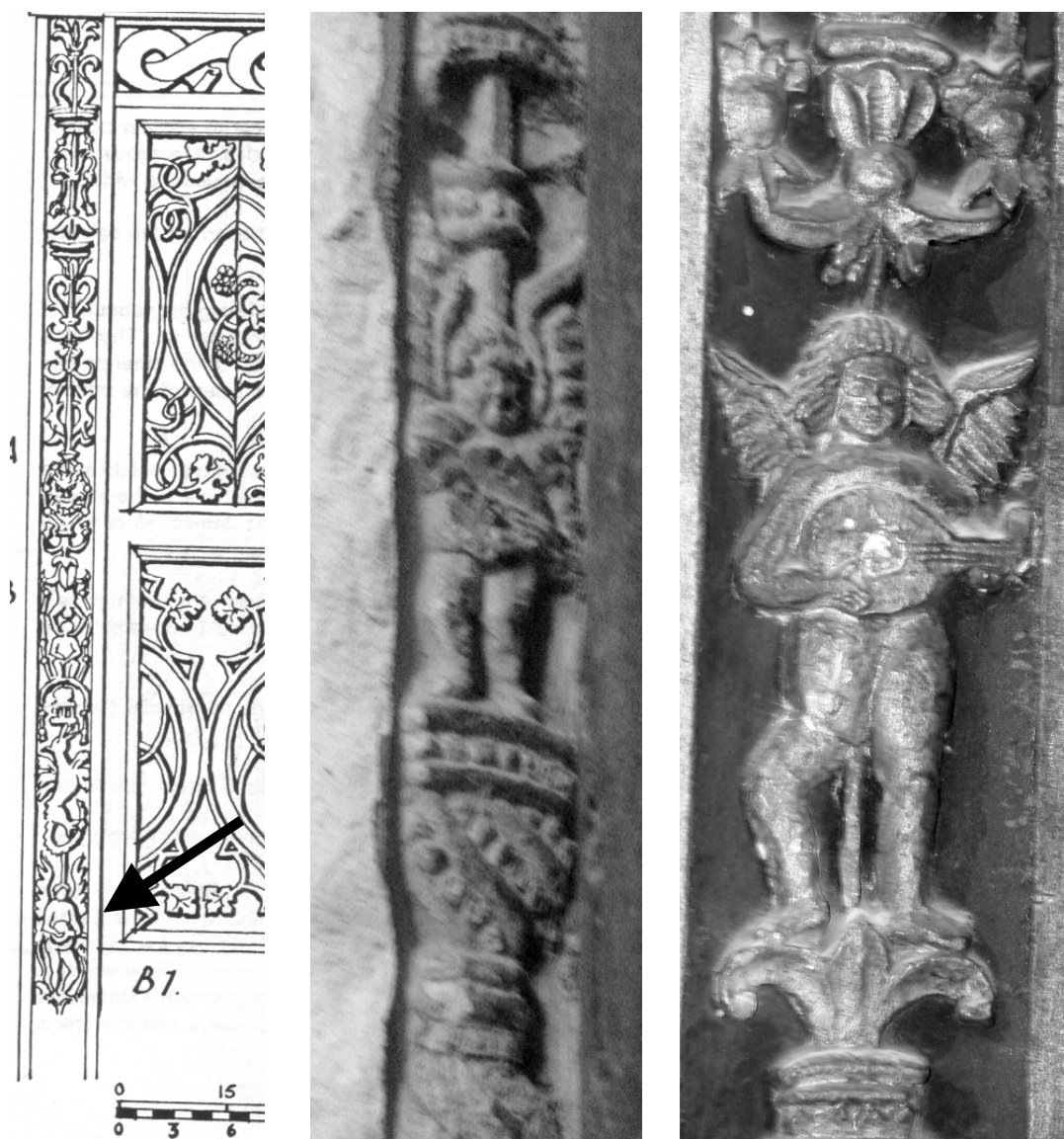
▲ Fig. 28: Interior of the hall of Racton House, demolished around 1841. The upper portions of the wainscot are decorated with heraldic panels and scrollwork similar to friezes on some of the monument. (B.L. Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 42. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 29: Oak screen, 4.2 m. in height. from the sixteenth century vicarage at Steyning, now serving as a reredos in St Andrew's church, Steyning.

now serving as a reredos, 2.4 m in height and 4.2 m. in length, which was introduced into the fabric in 1983. It came from the dining room of the old vicarage, a sixteenth century building in Church Street now known as the Old Priory. It contains 47 panels and the cornice has a series of scrolls, four of which have an inscription in Latin which provide the date and the invocatory statement in humanist script **DA GLORIA (M) / DEO / QVI**  
**FECIT / HEC / OMNIA** and **AN (NO) / D (OMI) NI / MILLESI (MO)**  
**QUINGENTESI (MO) / VICESIMO SECU (N) DO /** Translated: 'Give Glory  
 to God who made all things. 1522'. There is also a scroll bearing the words  
**RIC(ARD)I FITZ / JAMES NVP (ER) LONDON / EP (PISCOP)I ARMA -**  
 'Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London'. The screen also contains the arms of Fitzjames,

bishop of Chichester in 1504-06 and then translated to London. He died in 1522. These are: *Azure, a dolphin naiant argent between three mullets or, pierced gules*, impaling *Gules, two swords in saltire, or*, the arms of the diocese of London. There are also Tudor roses and pomegranates, the latter the heraldic badge of Katherine of Aragon. On each side are vertical strips containing Renaissance ornamentation similar to those on the monuments; the same pattern books had been used by the carvers in both wood and stone. A comparable screen was at Bromley in Kent but was later transferred to Minehead,



▲ Fig. 30: **Left:** Drawing of left-hand portion of screen at Steyning (after Ford, 1993, 11, by kind permission of Steyning Museum Trust) showing at base the angel playing with a lute with similar motifs, at **centre**, on CHICHESTER III and **right**, on the reredos at BOXGROVE I.

Somewhere Fitzjames was vicar in 1485-97. There is similar carving on a sixteenth century door in the house called St Mary's in Bramber, Sussex (Cox, 1950, 426-7).



▲ Fig. 31: **Left**, a section of the right-hand vertical decoration on the screen at Steyning, showing top, a naked cherub supporting a motif and below, two long-necked birds (after Ford, 1993, 21, by kind permission of the Steyning Museum Trust); **centre**, similar birds alongside the image of St. George, on *BROADWATER II* and **right**, a naked cherub on *WEST WITTERING I*.

It is suggested here that this woodwork was probably carved by another arm of the sixteenth century cathedral works organisation at Chichester. Their Renaissance ornamentation was derived from the same sources as the masons - woodcuts in *Books of Hours* held by the cathedral library (*see* chapter 11). This was not an isolated co-operative

venture; Wells-Cole has pointed out that joiners were associated with masons in provincial towns in the early seventeenth century. At Exeter, for example, members of the Garrett or Hermon family of Netherlands' immigrants worked closely with the mason and tomb-maker John Deymond and shared his decorative motifs (1997, 172, 190). We have cause to visualize this associated group of masons, wood-carvers and painters at Chichester as being a 'centre of cultural excellence', serving the local gentry's needs for decorative and monumental art until the reforming government of Edward VI constrained demand for church ornament and sculpture.

## 5 – Materials and construction

THIS CHAPTER EXAMINES the raw materials and construction methods employed, including the use of paint to decorate the tombs - an important part of the patron's desire for a showy monument, indicative of wealth and status.

### Caen stone

These 'Chichester' monuments and religious panels were all carved in Caen stone, a fine-grained yellow/white precipitate limestone (calcium carbonate) from the Bathonian formation, laid down in the Jurassic period in lower Normandy. It has been quarried around Caen since at least the Gallo-Roman period and is found close to the surface in layers six to eight metres deep. It was used to construct the church of Saint-Étienne at the Abbaye-aux-Hommes, founded by William the Conqueror on the east side of the city in 1064, and for the church of La Trinité, at his queen's complementary Abbey-aux-Dames (Juignet, 1992, 245-6). Caen stone is found in several pre-Conquest churches in Sussex, such as the arch at Ford, near Arundel, dating from *c.*1040. After the Norman invasion it was imported to enhance high-status buildings, both military and ecclesiastical; the White Tower (within the Tower of London), derives its name from the Caen stone used in its fabric. A number of Norman churches on the Sussex coastal plain contain Caen stone architectural features, such as Amberley, Clymping and Old and New Shoreham and it was employed in the keep at Arundel Castle. Because shipping costs were expensive during this period, the stone was frequently carved to set patterns drawn on parchment or canvas, which were sent over to the quarries in advance and worked there (Harvey, 1971, 20-1). Local stones began to supersede its use in Sussex around the middle of the fourteenth century.

Later in the Middle Ages, new subterranean quarries were opened up along the Rivers Orne and Ordon, near Caen, and the stone was exported from the port of Ouistreham, 15 km north of the city. Because Caen stone is relatively homogeneous, it is now possible to determine which of five active medieval quarries supplied material for a particular site or purpose (Holmes & Harbottle, 1994, 25-39). For example, investigation by neutron activation analysis suggests that stone forming the south side of the nave of

Norwich Cathedral probably came from the Mondeville quarry, six km. west of Caen (Holmes & Harbottle, 2003, 199, 206 and 216). This technique points the way to future research which may prove useful in achieving accurate typological analysis across a range of features or monuments.

The stone was shipped either as '*parpayns*' - worked plainly on two parallel faces - or in rough blocks (Salzman, 1952, 135). In June 1496 the prior and convent of Canterbury decided to complete 'a great tower' and 'other buildings affecting the honour of God and the use and beauty of our church' and instructed their agent, William Feraunt of Caen, to purchase stone from the 'quarries [from which] it is well known that our whole church was built of old' and ship it to Sandwich, Kent. Over the next three years, £388 15s 6½d was spent on 'canestone, with carriage, cartage and customs, 1,132 tons at various prices'. In 1532 Caen stone was supplied for building work at Westminster, with £11 0s 6d paid to 'William Neale of Cotevell in Normandie, marchaunte, for xlix tonne of Caen stone rough, every tonne cont' xvj fote' at 4s 6d the ton' (Salzman, 1952, 136-7). There seems no reason to doubt that the same system of agents and lading applied to the cargoes of stone which were imported for these monuments *via* the port of Chichester.

Stone colour varies considerably and has been affected by coats of whitewash applied to some tombs in the eighteenth centuries and now scrubbed off. (In c.1790, the antiquary Samuel Lysons complained to Richard Gough about the 'brutal whitewashers' and their 'savage proceedings' against the tombs in Tewkesbury (Bodleian Library MS Gough Maps 2228\* fols.13-4). It ranges from the white of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I to the pale yellow of HAMSEY and cream of KINGSTON BUCI. The deeper yellow tint at RUSTINGTON II may be damp staining caused by the panel's burial beneath the chancel floor. At BROADWATER I and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, two different coloured stones are used in the same monument, suggesting the use of several quarries or, given their size, multiple shipments. Whilst hardly a scientifically valid test, colour seems to distinguish the monuments into two discrete groups: the grey-white of BOXGROVE II, GOUDHURST, PETWORTH, SLAUGHAM, WESTHAMPNETT and WISTON predominates, but another group has lighter, creamier stone - BOXGROVE I, CHICHESTER II and III, HAMSEY, RACTON, SELMESTON and WEST WITTERING I. This suggests that supplies came from at least two quarries in France. After an interregnum beginning with the reign of Edward VI, Caen stone was



again employed for monumental sculpture in the 1570s. In Sussex, a mason called Flynton carved, for £30, the elegant Renaissance monument, 335.5 cm. square (fig.32, below) to Richard Covert, d. 1579, at Slaugham (Dengate, 1929, 32). At Hangleton, in the same county, there is a curious panel in shallow bas-relief to Richard Bellingham, d. 1597, and family, also carved in Caen stone *c.*1585 but with considerable naivety and less skill. In Hampshire, Caen stone was employed for the tomb of Sir Francis Dawtrey and his wife Blanche at Swaythling, *alias* South Stoneham, on the outskirts of Southampton, dated by Nairn and Pevsner (1967, 573) as *c.*1540 but clearly later. Although it has a purely classical design, the soffits are made up of Gothic niches, and it should be re-dated to on or after Dawtrey's death in 1568.



◀ Fig. 32: *Monument in Caen stone to Richard Covert, d. 1579 and family in the south chapel at Slaugham, carved by a mason called Flynton for £30.*

### The process of ordering a tomb

The procedures for ordering a monument began with discussions with the masons over its type and ornamentation, guided by their drawings and pattern books. Details of heraldry would be supplied in sketch form by the family to be copied for shields and crests. Once the

monument's size and design were settled, the timing of the work would be negotiated. Many testators (or their executors) required that the monument would be completed in time for Masses to be said for the souls of the deceased at the 'year's mind'. Standard payment practices provided an incentive to the workshop to meet this schedule. A deposit was handed over on signature of the agreement, further sums paid midway through the work and the balance after the tomb was satisfactorily erected in the church, although a few careful patrons held back the bulk of the fee until the last moment to ensure timings were met (Llewellyn, 1983, 143). Some of those commemorated by these tombs ordered their monuments in their lifetimes, perhaps not trusting executors to fulfil their aspirations. The existence of an empty tomb may also have been a deliberately pious reminder of mortality. This was the case at MICKLEHAM, where the husband erected a tomb in c.1520 after his wife's death in 1513 and at also SLAUGHAM, BROADWATER I and II, BOXGROVE I, SOMPTING, WEST WITTERING I and RACTON. Curiously, at RACTON, the frieze at the east end was not carved and the marking-out lines remain. Sometimes, however, there was a lengthy interregnum between death and monument completion - such as at PETWORTH, where the tomb was probably finished eight years after Sir John Dawtrey I's death. At RUSTINGTON I, Thomas Cooke's monument had not been started when his wife wrote her will in 1526. The next issue was cost. The contract specified the materials to be used and the agreed fee for making, setting up and decorating the tomb, with the charges varying according to the quality of the materials and the volumes required (Llewellyn, 1983, 142). Whether detailed decisions on ornamentation - such as the Renaissance motifs on later monuments - resided in the choice of the patrons or the masons must remain a matter of conjecture. After everything was settled, both parties would sign the agreement for the work, possibly with a drawing (or cartoon) of the finished memorial appended, to help the patron or his agent establish on completion whether the tomb-maker had fulfilled his obligations. The contracts were probably *pro forma*: the carvers Bartholomew Atye and Isaac James are cited in two unsigned contracts dated 1600/1 which have exactly similar wording, probably drawn up by the same scrivener (Llewellyn, 1983, 134). Such agreements are unfortunately rare, although the few survivors provide a reasonable idea of what the process involved. A late fifteenth century indenture details structural work to be undertaken in Broxbourne church, Hertfordshire. The freemason Robert Stowell was also to provide two tombs, described in

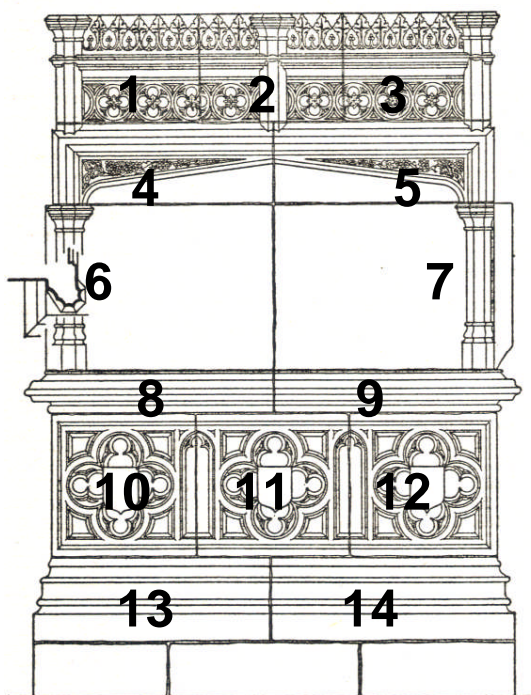
an agreement with Sir John Say, and was instructed to seek the advice of a marbler about the height of the side panels of one monument, an altar tomb (the second being a floor slab). This marbler clearly could dictate its overall design (Salzman, 1952, 537-8). One portion of the indenture, dated 25 June 1476, is worth quoting:

The seyd Robert shall make a new pilor and an arche on the south side of the high awter under nethe that arche to make a Cestren [a lined grave] and a Tombe of Fre Stone [? vij] fote of lengtht at the lest and [ij and *interlined*] an half of brede and ij fote of height or more as it can be thought good by thadvyce of a marbler w[i]th moldyng theupon and a range of caters [quatrefoils] and scochyns [shields] to be made to ley a stone of marbyll thereupon.

Also he shall make another Cestren afor the awter of the same the for to leye a marbyl stone upon to be leyd flat upon the ground... (TNA, E 210/2638).

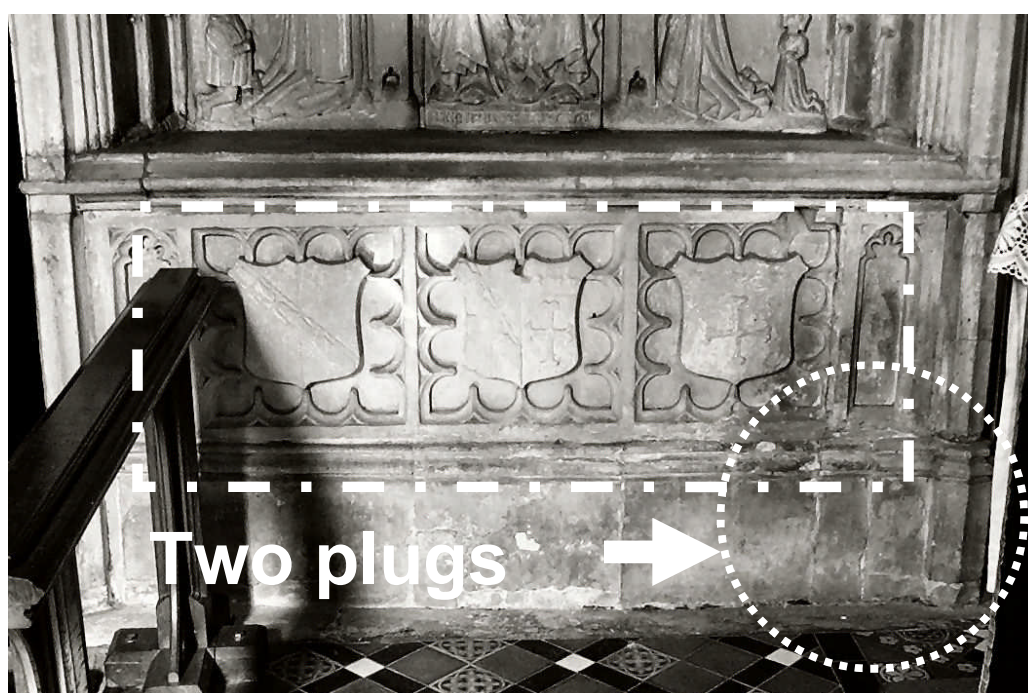
### Construction methodology

Study into how tombs were constructed appears to be another *lacuna* in the literature of church monuments. Examination of these memorials suggests that each one was probably pre-fabricated in the workshop and then broken down into relatively small and easily handled components for transportation to the designated church for final assembly *in situ*.



◀ Fig. 33: An architectural drawing of the Markewyck tomb at HAMSEY showing how the tomb was constructed. The drawing is annotated to indicate longitudinal components but excludes the elements forming the back wall. (After Harvey, 1929, 53.)

At HAMSEY (fig. 33, page 94), PETWORTH and RACTON, the tomb-chest is in three pieces, joined at the centre of each of the shallow vertical niches. However, at KINGSTON BUCI, SLAUGHAM, SELMESTON and RUSTINGTON I, the tomb-chest is in two parts, divided equally, with a join in the middle of the central shield in the three-panelled fascia. WITTERING II has a thin vertical plug inserted between the two panels bearing the religious iconography of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary in the Annunciation scene. Similarly, there is a short plug inserted into the centre of the cover-stone to the tomb-chest at PETWORTH. Were these insertions the result of measurement errors in the workshop? Throughout, the base sections of the columns are integral parts of the tomb-chest. The front fascia is all in one piece at PRESTON EPISCOPI, SOMPTING, WITTERING I, WISTON and at WESTHAMPNETT. The decision to use one large and heavy section of tomb-chest at WESTHAMPNETT was perhaps influenced by the church's proximity to the workshop in Chichester. The front has three panels carved in one fascia, complete with a blind niche on the left, with a small portion with another niche added on the right. (See fig. 34 below). However, its construction seems to have been problematical with two thin vertical stone 'plugs' inserted in the base



▲ Fig. 34: The tomb-chest at WESTHAMPNETT includes one module comprising three panels with carved shields, leaving only one niche with a small portion of the right-hand column and a section of the side of the monument forming a separate component. However, two vertical plugs (seen within circle) were inserted into the base (arrowed).

to match the recessed tomb's width - was this again the result of poor measurement or a piece broken in transit and having to be replaced? Similar plugs are found elsewhere, for example on the base of BROADWATER I. There may also have been construction problems with the vaulting at WESTHAMPNETT with three slabs employed. Whether the roughly cemented joints are original or the result of the nineteenth century restoration of the recessed canopy of the tomb can only be a matter of speculation, although coarse cementing is also on the interior side panels. Having suggested that weight might be a consideration, there seems little sense in the way these tomb-chests were broken down into their components. Logic dictates that the further the tombs had to travel, the smaller the components - for ease in hoisting off vessels, or heaving on or off wagons: indeed, those churches near the sea or to river access have tomb-chests all in one piece. But SELMESTON, the furthest away in Sussex from the likely masons' workshop at Chichester, has its tomb-chest in two parts, as does another outlier, SLAUGHAM, high in the Sussex weald. At MICKLEHAM, Surrey, the tomb-chest is all in one piece. Yet, at RACTON, only 10.5 km. away from Chichester, it is in three parts. Structural integrity requirements must have over-ridden the need for ease of handling during transportation. At BOXGROVE I, the structure was stressed by wrought iron bars placed in a criss-cross pattern from corner to corner, on top of the chantry chapel. There is no sign of scratches or numbers providing the sequential steps for assembly on any of the tombs but this does not preclude these being hidden on the underside of blocks. Shallow marking-out lines remain on the top of the tomb-chest at



▲ Fig. 35: *Shallow tenon and mortise (arrowed) method of fixing on the east face of the tomb-chest at RACTON. Scale: 50 cm*

RACTON to assist the positioning of the columns supporting the heavy entablature. Each component was probably secured to its neighbours by wrought iron or wooden dowels inserted in drilled holes, (on the evidence of RACTON, possibly done on site) with mortar securing vertical panels. The methodology of fixing may have evolved; at RACTON there is an angled tenon and mortise system to secure the side panels to the top of the tomb-chest (fig. 35, page 96). The logistics of transporting components and construction must have been complex processes, as shown by the number of parts that were pre-fabricated in the workshop and assembled at the church destination. The components making up a selection of monuments are analysed below in *TABLE 8*.

*Table 8*  
**Number of components of selected monuments**

<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>NUMBER OF COMPONENTS</i>
<b>Altar tombs</b>		
Brading I, IoW.	c.1520.	14.
Brading II, IoW.	c.1520.	12.
Brading III, IoW.	1536.	14.
<b>Recessed Canopies</b>		
Mickleham, Surrey.	c.1520.	21.
Slaugham.	c.1520.	14 (excluding brass plates).
Broadwater I	c.1524	At least 69, plus 12 blocks for footings; blocks for the sides and in the recess.
Sompting.	c.1525.	33.
Kingston Buci.	c.1530.	39.
Selmeston, East Sussex.	c.1533.	14.
Petworth.	c.1535.	34, plus two lost heraldic figures.
Hamsey, East Sussex.	c.1538.	20+.
West Wittering I.	c.1538.	29.
Racton.	c.1538.	35.
Westhampnett.	c.1540.	24.
West Wittering II.	c.1547.	13.
<b>Canopied Tomb</b>		
Godshill, IoW.	c.1529.	40, plus two Burton on Trent-produced alabaster effigies.
<b>Chantry Chapel</b>		
Christchurch Priory I, Hants.	c.1525.	At least 95.

From this data, it appears that the masons' output fell into five main groups, apart from the very large edifices at GODSHILL, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I and BOXGROVE I. The three tomb-chests at Brading drop easily into a discrete cluster but the recessed canopied

tombs split into three, based on the number of components used at each site. Firstly there are SLAUGHAM, SELMESTON and WEST WITTERING II with around 14 components; secondly, MICKLEHAM, WESTHAMPNETT and HAMSEY with 20-25 and thirdly, SOMPTING, PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING I and RACTON with 29-35 components. KINGSTON BUCI and GODSHILL have 39 and 40 components, excluding the two Burton effigies at the latter. The exterior monuments were carved from single slabs. In an attempt to establish whether the size of the tomb has any correlation with these groupings, the dimensions of these same monuments are set out in *TABLE 9* below:-

*Table 9*  
**Dimensions of monuments**

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>HEIGHT</b>	<b>WIDTH</b>	<b>DEPTH</b>
<b>Tomb-chests</b>			
Brading I.	94.5 cm.	169 cm.	88.5 cm.
Brading II.	93.4 cm.	149.2 cm.	73.5 cm.
Brading III.	116.5 cm.¶	164.5 cm.	72.5 cm.
<b>Recessed canopy tombs – Group 1</b>			
<i>Slaugham</i>	218 cm.	186 cm.	59.5 cm.
<i>Selmeston</i>	198 cm.	178 cm.	67 cm.
West Wittering II	182.5 cm.	134.4 cm.	40.5 cm.
<b>Recessed canopy tombs – Group 2</b>			
<i>Mickleham</i>	275 cm.	153.5 cm.	84 cm.
<i>Hamsey</i>	250.4 cm.	181 cm.	60.5 cm.
<i>Westhampnett.</i>	199 cm.	188 cm.	45 cm.
<b>Recessed canopy tombs – Group 3</b>			
<i>Sompting.</i>	218 cm.	186 cm.	59.5 cm.
<i>Kingston Buci.</i>	289 cm.	217 cm.	50.5 cm.
<i>Petworth.</i>	334.2 cm.	229.2 cm.	43.6 cm.
<i>West Wittering I.</i>	193.5 cm.§	217.6 cm.	40.5 cm.
<i>Racton.</i>	270.5 cm.*	199 cm.	56.5 cm.

**KEY:**

¶ - Brading III. This is the height from the floor of the Oglander chapel.

§ - West Wittering I. This omits the height of the lost cornice or frieze shown in Grimm's drawing.

\* - Racton. This measurement is to the height of the finials of the columns. The height to the top of the cornice is 235.5 cm.

NB: Those monuments which served as Easter Sepulchres are identified by italics.

With the exception of the sepulchres at SLAUGHAM and SOMPTING with identical dimensions, no obvious pattern emerges and the only safe conclusion to draw is that each monument was very much a bespoke item, customised to the patron's wishes and made to fit the space available in the church. Apart from the two monuments named above, even

those tombs intended for use as Easter Sepulchres have little correlation in their dimensions.

Study of the measurements of fascia panels, shown in *TABLE 10* below, suggests the two earlier tomb-chests at BRADING were constructed from identical patterns, as they differ only by a few centimetres. Similarly, whilst allowing for small variations or errors in marking out the stone, the tombs at CHURCH NORTON, SLAUGHAM and WESTHAMPNETT and another grouping of GODSHILL, PETWORTH and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II and perhaps MICKLEHAM, seem to have been constructed from fixed sets of measurements, although in all cases the panels differed in the designs of the fascias.

*Table 10*  
**Measurements of tomb-chest panels**

<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LEFT</i>		<i>CENTRE</i>		<i>RIGHT</i>	
		<b>Height</b>	<b>Width</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>Width</b>	<b>Height</b>	<b>Width</b>
Brading I.	c.1520	45.6	42	45.6	43	45.6	44.5
Brading II.	c.1520	46.5	46	46.5	44.5	46.5	46
Mickleham.	c.1520	51	51	51	49.5	50.1	51
Slaugham.	c.1520	43	43	43	43	43	43
Sompting.	c.1525	39	38	39	37.3	38.3	37.3
Rustington I.	c.1526	N/A.	N/A.	50	50	N/A.	N/A.
Godshill.	c.1529	52	46	52	46	52	46
Christchurch Priory II.	c.1530	51.5	43.4	51.5	43.4	51.5	43.4
Kingston Buci.	c.1530	41.6	39.9	41.6	39.5	41.9	39
Selmeston.	c.1533	44	87	N/A.	N/A.	44	89.5
Petworth.	c.1535	51	47.3	51	48.3	51	48
Church Norton.	1537	43	44.5	43	43	42.5	43.5
Hamsey.	c.1538	52	47	52	43	52	47
Westhampnett.	c.1540	45	43	44	43	44	43.5
Wiston.	c.1540	46.4	63.1	46.2	44.2	46.1	63.5
<b>Other monuments</b>							
Trotton, Sussex. §	1421	N/A.	N/A.	52	54	52	54
Stoke Charity, Hants. ¶	1526	41.8	42	42.2	42.2	41.5	41.9
East Tisted, Hants. Ψ	c.1540	56.5	53.5	56.5	53.4	56.5	53
Trotton, Sussex. †	1543	47	22	47	22	47	22
Singleton, Sussex.*	1544	N/A.	N/A.	43.2	37	43.2	37

**KEY:**

§ - Purbeck tomb-chest with brasses to Lord Camoys and wife in centre of chancel.

¶ - Freestone monument to John Waller, north wall of north chapel.

Ψ - Caen stone monument, carved by the Winchester mason Thomas Bertie to Richard Norton and

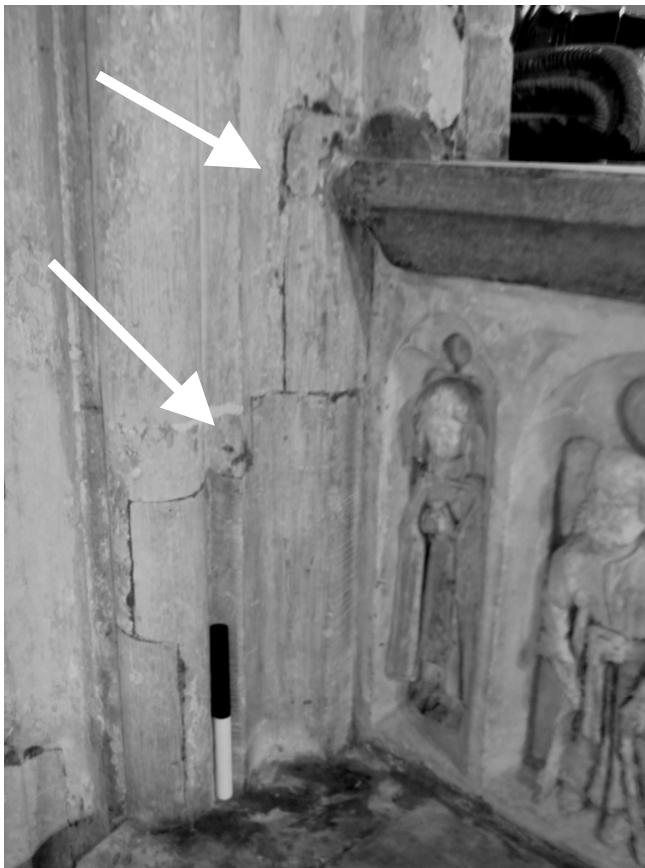


wife, d.1556, moved from original position on north wall of chancel.

† - Purbeck marble monument to ?Sir Roger Lewkenor, south wall of nave.

\* - Purbeck and Caen stone monument to ?Sir William Fitzalan. The left panel is too perished for accurate measurement, south wall of chancel.

This analysis also suggests that measuring out the tomb-chests started from the left, as in seven instances (BRADING I and II, SELMESTON, PETWORTH, CHURCH NORTON, HAMSEY and WISTON) adjustments were made either to reduce or widen the width of the centre or right-hand panel in order to make the fascia fit the dimensions of the whole monument. This must have been standard practice, as this was also the case with other masons' work such the freestone monument at Stoke Charity and the Caen stone tomb at East Tisted.



◀ Fig. 36: Repair patches inserted into the moulding of a fifteenth century pier on the south side of the chancel after the erection of BRADING III in 1536. Scale: 20 cm.

Erection of these monuments sometimes involved structural alterations to the church to squeeze the tomb into the space available. At BRADING III, the tomb-chest was built on the existing footings of the thirteenth century walls of the chancel, reduced to knee height when arcading was inserted in the late fifteenth century for the construction of the Oglander family chapel immediately to its south. The eastern edge of the monument cuts

into this pier which was also damaged during its erection, as suggested by the three carefully carved patches in Caen stone inserted into its vertical moulding (fig.36 on page 100). There seems little doubt that these repairs are contemporary with the erection of the tomb-chest, as they extend from the top of the reduced footing to above the top of the Oglander monument. At the western end, the masons were confronted with the difficult task of constructing the tomb on a different floor level in the Oglander chapel as well as positioning the north fascia on top of the cut-down wall of the chancel. This was achieved by cutting into the wall and adding a moulded corner stone at the western end to conceal and make-good the insertion of the monument (fig. 37 below).



◀ Fig. 37: *insertion of the BRADING III tomb-chest on top of and alongside the cut-down thirteenth century chancel wall, with a moulded corner stone added to make good the construction work. The purpose or cause of the square slot on the step below are unknown. Scale: 20 cm.*

At BOXGROVE I, the problem was more acute during the assembly of the de la Warr chantry in 1532. Its insertion into the south side of the quire required the removal of a pier and the reconstruction of one bay of the arcading. Even so, the chantry barely fitted into the

space created and there are some tight fits for some of the upper canopied niches - a problem encountered earlier at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I (fig. 40, page 103).



▲ Fig. 38: *Squeezing in the de la Warr chantry at BOXGROVE I: This necessitated removing one of the Caen stone and Purbeck marble piers in the arcading and rebuilding the arch above. The chantry remains a tight fit beneath the new arch. Scales: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 39: *The cornice of BOXGROVE I only just fits within the new bay of the arcading, rebuilt to accommodate the chantry chapel.*

On several monuments, there are small patches neatly cut into the sharp or rounded edges of mouldings on tomb-chests, for example at SOMPTING and WEST

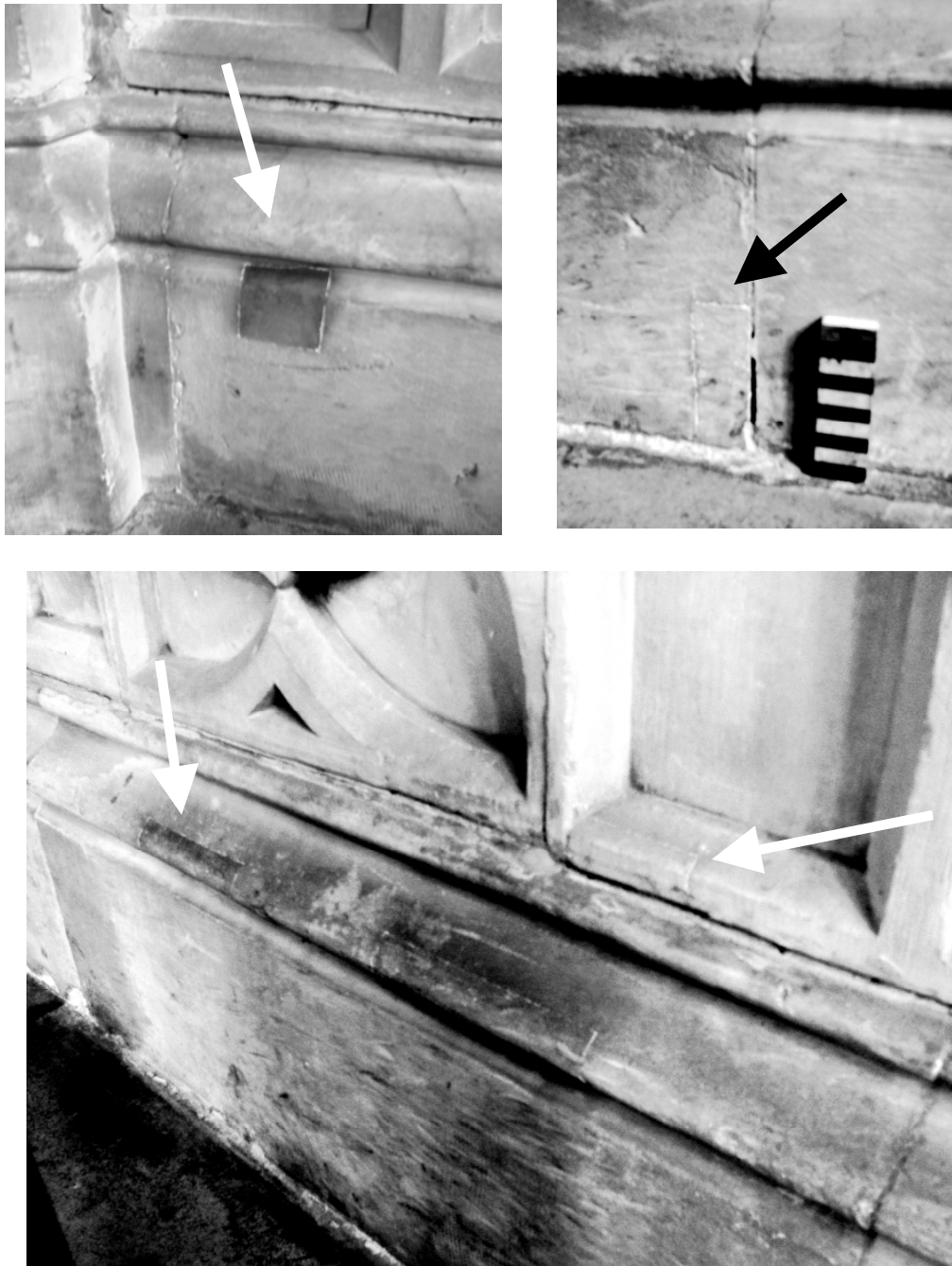
WITTERING II. These must be repairs to damage caused in transit, or alternatively, by a bad slip of the chisel in the workshop. At SOMPTING, there are six small sections,



▲ Fig. 40: Another tight fit – this time at *CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I*, where the canopied image niches ends just beneath the arcading of the quire.

between 4.8 cm. in height and 4.1 cm. in width and 13.4 cm in length and 6.8 cm. in height along the inside edges of the left and centre panels. They are distinguished by their different colour (fig.41, page 104). Either a different piece of Caen stone was used - from oddments lying around the workshop - or (and this is less likely) the insertion has weathered at a different rate. These seem contemporaneous with the monument's erection, as they bear the same marks of dressing by a claw chisel or riffler file as the stone surrounding them. Even on grander monuments, such as *BROADWATER I*, there are insertions to hide damage caused in transit or during carving. On the fascia of the tomb-chest, small sections of mouldings

were replaced, almost certainly during the erection of the memorial *in situ*. It is worthwhile to note that both SOMPTING and BROADWATER I were erected during the lifetime of those commemorated by these tombs.



▲ Fig. 41: *Repairs to the sharp edges of mouldings at SOMPTING: the patches have the same dressing marks as the surrounding stone, so probably are contemporaneous with the erection of the monument. Scale: ten cm.*



▲ Fig. 42: *Repairs to BROADWATER I c.1524, probably at the time of its erection in the church. Left to right: Patch inserted into the left pier; replacement moulding on the bottom edge of the tomb-chest and a bodged job on the base of the right-hand tomb-chest panel. Scales: ten and 50 cm.*

### Paint on the monuments

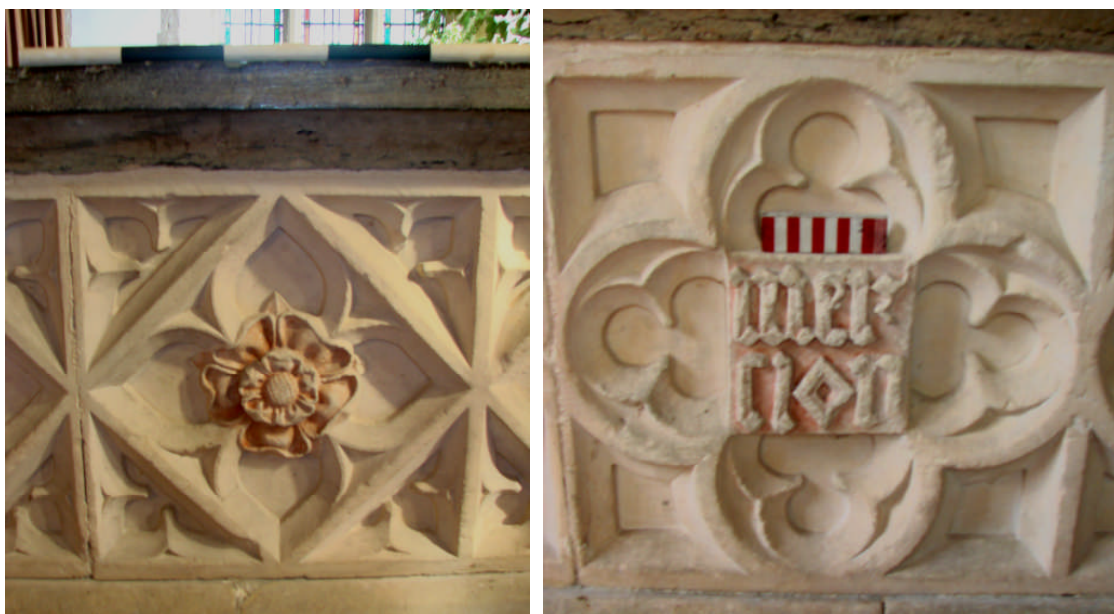
Very few pre-Reformation monuments retain more than a few vestiges of the bright polychrome colours they were painted in when they were erected. Perhaps because of this, there has been little research undertaken into the chemistry and practical aspects of this final stage in the process of manufacture. A pioneering work on the fifteenth century Caen stone effigies of William Fitzalan, ninth earl of Arundel and his wife in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, demonstrated the complexities of pigmented sculpture, with up to ten layers of polychromy laid on the effigies (Broderick & Darrah, 1986, 65-94). Many of the monuments now being researched - certainly the interior ones - were painted; BROADWATER I is claimed to have been richly painted and gilded (Harrison & Leeney, 1933, 126). Most pigments were destroyed by whitewash applied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and subsequent attempts to clean this off. Some have been repainted in recent restorations as at PETWORTH and GODSHILL. With the exception of BOXGROVE I, we now have only a dim inkling of the magnificence of these tombs when newly erected. BRADING III has traces of turquoise, red and black pigments on the grapevine frame to the figures on the south side and BRADING II retains quantities of scarlet on its Tudor rose motif



and on the background to the somewhat terse inscription on the shields on the faces of the tomb-chest. Elsewhere, it is only within various nooks and crannies that paintwork



▲ Fig. 43: *Turquoise, red and black pigmentation remaining on the grapevine frame on the south side of the tomb-chest at BRADING III.*



▲ Fig. 44: *Traces of deep red and scarlet paints on the side panels of BRADING II.*



▲ Fig. 45: *Traces of dark blue colouring on back panel of WISTON, below lower portion of male effigy.*

survives, such as the black remaining within the niches on a side panel at HAMSEY and within the tracery on the front of the tomb-chest at WEST WITTERING II. Traces of black pigment also remain within the humanist lettering of the inscription on the entablature at SELMESTON, and at MICKLEHAM one shield retains a brown-red undercoat on which the deceased's arms were painted. At WISTON, despite the harsh treatment meted out to the monument by the Victorians, traces of a dark blue pigment survive on the back wall behind the lower portion of the male figure. Elsewhere on this tomb there are traces of a brown undercoat filling the scratches caused by a riffler file to create a key for the layers of pigment. The happiest survival is at BOXGROVE I. Despite a repaint earlier than the first quarter of the eighteenth century and a subsequent 'touching up' of the exterior panels in the first half of the twentieth century, much of the paint is coeval with the chapel's erection. Turquoise emulsion was also applied to the exterior niches, particularly on the north side, about 15 years ago. A report in June 2003 of analysis of nine samples of paint





▲ Fig 46: *The reredos at the east end of the interior of the chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I. Paint analysis in June 2003 shows that much of this pigmentation is original, but the remainder of the interior was repainted either late in the seventeenth century or early in the eighteenth.*



▲ Fig. 47: *Left hand image niche flanking the reredos at BOXGROVE I and arms within the Garter on the east end of the chantry chapel which contains original paint.*

from the interior of the chantry, in and around the reredos at the east end, indicates that much of the pigmentation in this section is original. These areas were first given a buff ground of lead white and yellow ochre and those parts to be gilded or silvered were then

painted with a yellow or brown undercoat of lead white, with more yellow ochre. The samples included gold in the blue background colour on the pinnacles to the reredos, in the gold paint on the reredos and the red pigment on its plinth. Silver was found in the red pigment at the back of the canopy, overlaid with crimson lake, used as a glaze. Oxidised silver leaf was found on the roses on the corbel. Azurite, mixed with lead white, was discovered in the blue of the heraldic shield on the east. White and lead white were found in the sample from the blue back of the pinnacles of the reredos. The vermilion on the base of the plinth of the reredos was also thought to be original. The remainder of the paint scheme, in the interior walls and the vaulting dates from the first repaint in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, because of the use of blue verditer, a pigment rarely used after the invention of Prussian blue (Hassell, 2003, unpaginated results section, 6).

## 6 – Graffiti

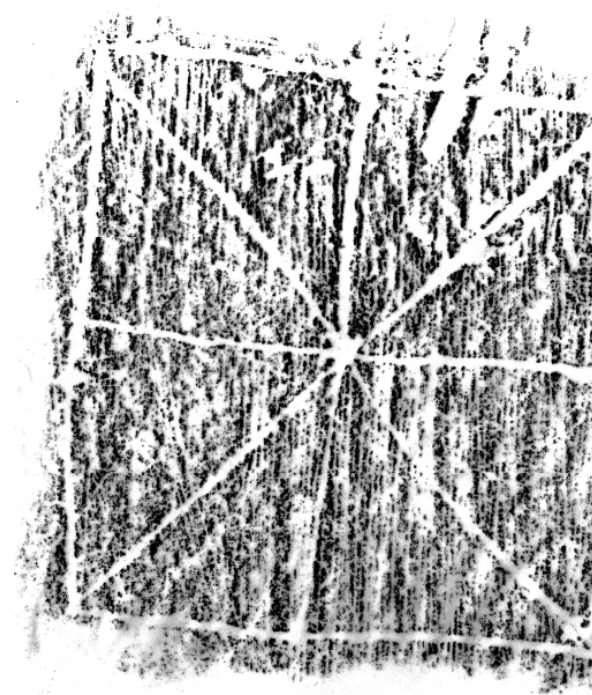
BY ITS VERY NATURE, Caen stone is soft and easily worked and thus is an ideal medium for those seeking their own brand of immortality by scratching their names or initials into its surface. As the study of graffiti is becoming recognised as important, one of my research objectives was to record all significant ancient graffiti on these monuments during the search for masons' marks. The latter are usually to be found on obscured areas, often at each end. They resemble medieval merchant's marks in that a single letter, coupled with a geometric pattern, was frequently used. Most would fit inside a 2.5 cm. square (Jones-Baker, 1996, 255). Unfortunately, no marks were found. The graffiti recorded on each monument is contained in *APPENDIX I* in volume two.

Many have collections of names and initials scratched in graffiti upon them dating from the early seventeenth century through to the two names of 'Chas Lock' and 'Capt. H. Philby' dated 1784 and 5 August 1789 respectively on the east end of the tomb-chest at MICKLEHAM and 'M.M 1819' on the east column of BROADWATER I. Most are scratched on the coverstone or the back panels of recessed canopied tombs. KINGSTON BUCI has a large collection on the back wall, all of early-to-mid seventeenth century date and one is tempted to speculate that the motivation to deface this area with its battered image of the Resurrection, stems from folk memories of the religious (or 'popish') power of the Easter Sepulchre. There is a small assemblage on the lower interior walls at BOXGROVE I, some with triangles scratched above, forming an outline of a house (fig. 48, page 111). Giles Standing (2006, 41) described similar examples dating from 1669 in New Shoreham church and suggested these shapes represented 'house churches', scratched by Puritans departing Sussex for the religious freedom of New England. He has found similar house-shaped graffiti in Chichester Cathedral, in the choir and cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral and in the Henry VII chapel in Westminster Abbey.

The motivation for scratching other examples is equally obscure. On the coverstone at HAMSEY is a seven-point star within a circle which may have some symbolic or religious meaning, or less dramatically, may be merely the idle scratchings of a seventeenth century schoolboy. A five-point star is incised on the prayer desk in front of the female effigy at WESTHAMPNETT with the possibly associated initials 'L.E.' scratched upside down beneath.



▲ Fig. 48: *Graffiti on the lower sections of the interior wall at BOXGROVE I. Left, a rectangle with shapes at each corner and right, a 'house' shape: do the confused scratchings in the triangle represent vaulting, as found in the priory church? Height: 16 cm. and 15 cm.*



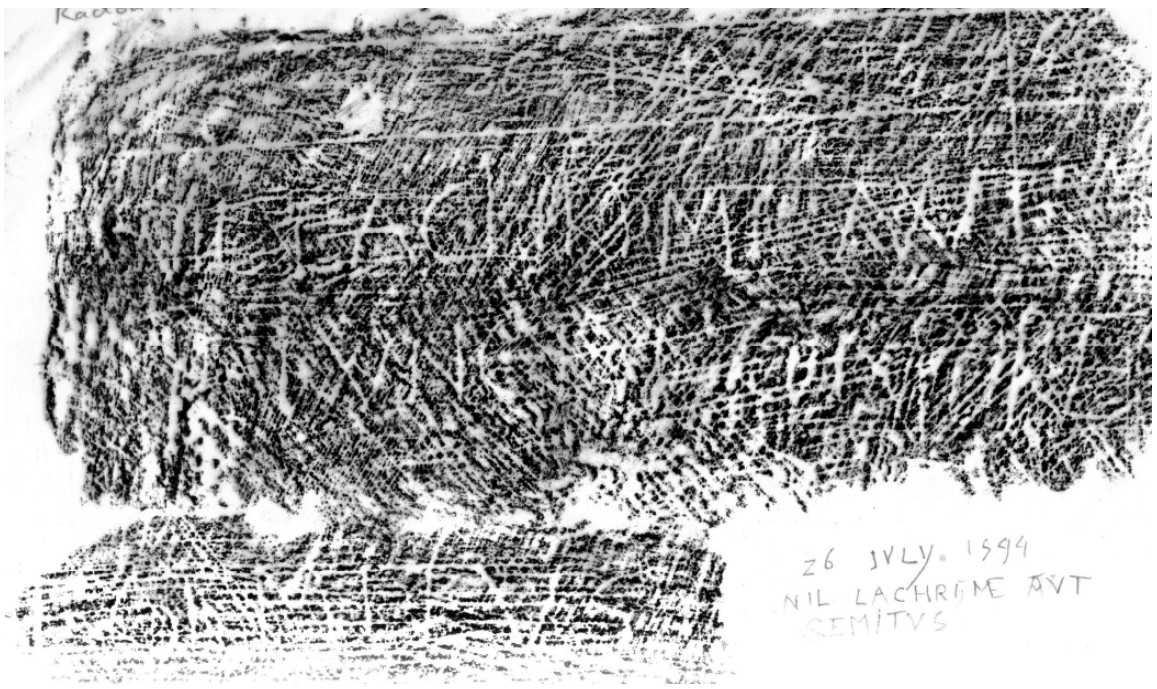
▲ Fig. 49: *Design scratched upon the coverstone at RACTON. Was this a game, similar to Nine Men's Morris? Height of graffito: 12.5 cm.*

On the coverstone at RACTON is a rectangle which may be some form of game, similar to Nine Men's Morris, perhaps played with counters (fig. 49, above). On the blank east end of

the same tomb there is a five-line inscription which contains a religiously-motivated statement commenting on the iconography of the monument:-

26 IVLY 1594  
 NIL LACHRI ME AVT  
 GEMITVS  
 DEFVNCTA CORPORE  
 PRESEVNT

Translated from the dog Latin, it reads: 'Tears and groans are no benefit to a dead body'.



▲ Fig. 50: Graffiti with probable religious content, applicable to the iconography of the monument, inscribed at RACTON. Width: 26 cm.

This forthright statement must be a reflection of the late sixteenth century Protestant liturgical rejection of Masses being said for the departed after their deaths. The most interesting assemblage of graffiti was found on the seat running in front of the eastern front fascia of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I. Here, scratched into the Caen stone coverstones, are a number of outlines of shoes and hands – by their shape, clearly right hands. Another example is prominent at CARISBROOKE. Shoe outlines/footprints have been found inscribed in the lead roofs of medieval churches, with examples at Puxton and Hewish, Somerset, on the twelfth century roof at Wetton, near Ashbourne, Derbyshire and a collection on the roof

of Maids Moreton church in Northamptonshire (formerly Buckinghamshire) with initials and dates ranging from 1619 to the late seventeenth century. They have also been found carved into a fireplace of c.1650 in a house at Stanford in the Vale, Oxon, and as graffiti on gravestones in Oswestry, Shropshire (pers. comm., Rebecca Shawcross, 2007). Most examples inscribed on church structures were left by plumbers or builders in a variation on the medieval superstition involving concealment of shoes in a new-built home in the so-called 'weak' points, above doors or windows or by the chimney, in the belief that they warded off evil spirits. During the Middle Ages and for two centuries in the post-medieval period, a shoe was regarded as the only article of clothing that became imbued with the spirit of the wearer. A child's shoe was believed to be propitious if hidden in a dwelling as the owner's spirit was considered pure and thus more powerful. The outlines of shoes are also not uncommon on seats in cathedral cloisters, with examples at both Canterbury and Chichester, which may commemorate visits by pilgrims (pers. comm., Dr Doris Jones-Baker, 2007). There is a shoe incised vertically onto a column at New Shoreham in Sussex (Standing, 2006, 42).

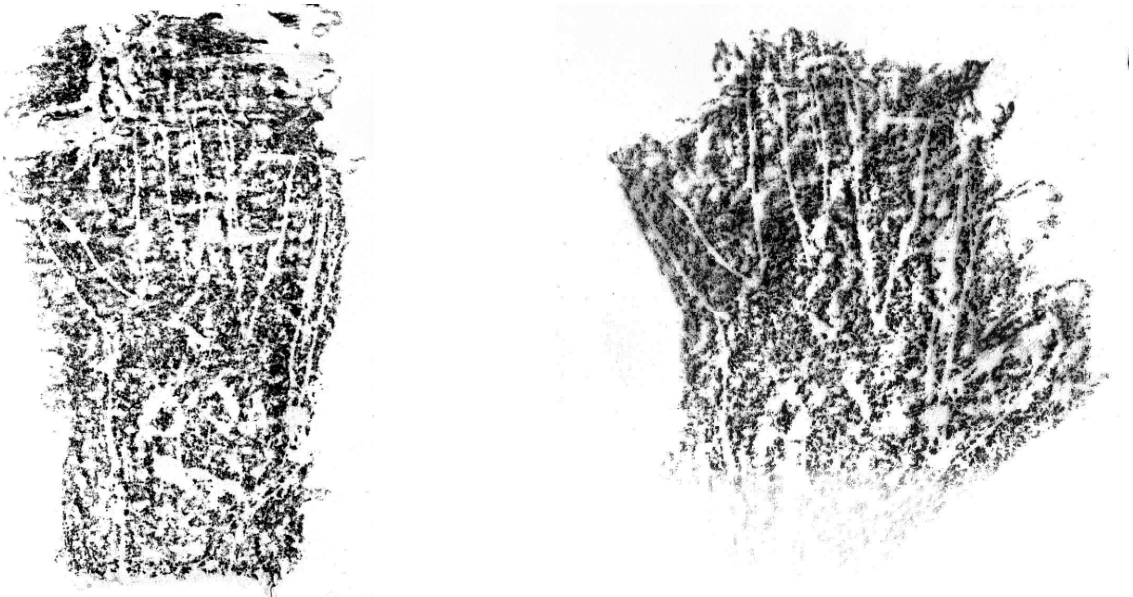
The outlines of five left hands of different size with fingers widely outstretched at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I may indicate that these were marks scratched by those erecting the chantry chapel as both shoes and hands can also be personal marks of builders, although one, at least, looks very small, like a child's. Rebecca Shawcross believes it is 'highly likely that the [shoe] sole is a combination of a contemporary *I was here/built the chapel* mark and an element of superstition'. The shape of the shoe, with its pointed toe and symmetrical and shaped waist, suggests a date of the first half of the sixteenth century, coeval with the erection of the chantry and 'it is quite possible the graffiti was done at the time the chapel was built or just after'. Later sixteenth century shoes 'have much rounder toes whilst earlier shoes have a generally more pronounced toe point and a shaped or very nipped in sole waist' (pers. comm., Shawcross, 2007). Dr Jones-Baker found a large concentration of hand-marks behind the panelling of the state rooms at Hampton Court palace, revealed after a fire there several years ago. She reports that 'it looked like each of the workmen who were builders left drawings of his hands there'. It is strangely satisfying to consider that these marks could be the legacy of those who erected the Harys chantry at Christchurch. However, there is one piece of physical evidence that damages this



theory. Within the Salisbury chantry of c.1530 at Christchurch, inside one of the empty image niches on the south side of the interior, is another hand in graffito, dated 1775.



▲ Fig.51: Two shoes from the seat or step on the eastern side of the chantry at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, c.1525. **Left:** 23.5 cm. in height; eight cm. across the widest part. **Right:** 27 cm. height, nine cm. in width. The initial 'N' is inscribed in the middle of the sole.



▲ Fig. 52: Outlines of left hands scratched on the eastern seat or step of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I. **Left:** 16.5 cm. in height, 10.5 cm. in width - is it a child's hand? **Right:** 16.5 cm. in height, outstretched to 14 cm. in width with the initials 'S.S' inscribed on the back of the hand.

Of course, his is in too prominent a position for the hand to be that of a mason or builder, with the date added much later: the hand and initials and date seem contemporary. Therefore, only one thing is certain: that this form of graffiti survived well into the eighteenth century and may not, after all, be associated with the personal marks of one of our masons.



◀ Fig. 53: *Hand in graffito on an image niche on the interior south wall of the Salisbury chantry chapel in Christchurch Priory, with the initials 'F B' and the date '1775'.*



## Section 3: Patronage

### 7 - The social status of those commemorated

THOSE COMMEMORATED BY these monuments can be divided into three broad groups. The first comprise the nobility and gentry whose patronage accounts for more than half the tombs erected. The second group includes those such as merchants, who aspired to greater things, or whose status is uncertain. A tiny third group, the clergy, probably enjoyed the patronage of the great and good. An analysis of the social rankings of those buried beneath these monuments is given in *TABLE II* below. The high-status group spans groups 1–5. This analysis can be compared with the results of the survey of all monuments erected in Sussex and Hampshire 1510-550, laid out in the next chapter in *TABLES 12* and *13* on pages 126-7 and 129 where similar trends are evident.

*Table 11*  
**Social status of those commemorated  
by these tombs**

<i><b>SOCIAL STATUS</b></i>	<i><b>NUMBER</b></i>
1 Baron	3
2 Knight, or wife of a knight	5
3 Judge	1
4 Esquire	9
5 Gentleman	2
6 Monastic Clergy	2
7 Merchant	2
8 Mayor	1
9 Coroner	1
10 Uncertain status	6
<b>Total</b>	32

The high-status group is headed by Sir Thomas West I and II, the eighth and ninth barons de la Warr respectively, whose tombs are at BROADWATER I and II and the nugatory chantry

chapel, BOXGROVE I. The eighth baron instructed his executors to sell his 'Colar of golde of garters, my chayne I usuall we[a]re, my great Basyn and Ewer of silver, ij of my greatest pottes of silver and iij great goblettes with the Covers' to pay for his funeral (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol. 11). He held lands in Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Devon. Edward Lewkenor (KINGSTON BUCI) was among the witnesses to his will. The ninth baron married twice - firstly to Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Mortimer of Hampshire (connected with the Chichester religious panel?) and secondly to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Bonville. De la Warr was childless and in 1549 he placed a private bill before Parliament to disinherit his nephew William (son of his half-brother, Sir George West, d. 1538) who had tried unsuccessfully to poison his uncle in an attempt to claim his estates. The baron was buried at Broadwater in 1554 in the vault alongside the tomb at the east end of the south aisle that he had already erected. His funeral was described by Henry Machyn, the London mercer and 'undertaker':

The x day of October was bered the good lord De la Warr in Sussex with standard, banar of armes, banar-roll, [coat] armour, target, sword, elmet, with harolds of armes. Then cam the corsse with iiij banars borne about hym. [He] was the best howssekeper in Sussex hin these days and the mone [moan] (was greater) for hym for he died withowt essue. And ther wher mony morners in blake and ther wher a goodly hersse of wax and pensels and viij dosen skochyons and ther was a grett dolle of money and met [meat] and drynke as was (ever known in) that contrey (Nichols, 1858, 71).

De la Warr had bought tenements in Sompting and Cakeham, Sussex, from Sir Richard Shirley at WISTON and was one of the overseers of his will. Sir Richard was the eldest son of Ralph Shirley, an esquire of the body to Henry VII, and Joan, daughter of Thomas Bellingham of Lyminster, Sussex (Berry, 1830, 172.) Richard's sister Beatrix became the second wife of Sir Edward Bray after the death of her first husband Edward Elrington, who has another tomb by these masons at PRESTON EPISCOPI, c.1520 and whose executors were Sir Thomas West I and his father-in-law, Sir Richard Shirley (TNA, PROB 11/18, fol.13). Beatrix's own monument from this series is at SELMESTON dated c. 1533. Another of Shirley's sisters, Jane, married Sir John Dawtrey I and is depicted on a tomb by this workshop at PETWORTH. Sir Richard's first wife was Anne, daughter of John Shelley I of Michelgrove, across the South Downs from Wiston, and thus he was a brother-in-law to Sir William Shelley of CLAPHAM, as well as his distant cousin. Shirley was sheriff of Sussex in

1515 and 1525 (Bindoff, 1982, 316). He became a knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1529. Among the overseers of his will were Sir Thomas West II (BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER II) and Shelley. The last named was the son of John Shelley I, a member of a London family of mercers and aldermen, and his wife Elizabeth, posthumous daughter of John Faulconer, *alias* Michelgrove in Clapham (Whittick, 2004a, 214). Around 1498 he married Alice, daughter of Harry Belknap of Knell, near Rye. He became an under-sheriff of London in 1514 and was later appointed Recorder. Shelley represented the city of London in the Parliament of 1523. In November 1526 he was appointed fourth Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and the following year, at the age of 48, succeeded to his father's estates. From 1529 until his death, he was summoned to Parliament by writ of assistance and he remained an active member of the Sussex bench of JPs, which he chaired as *custos rotulorum* from before 1532 (Whittick, 2004a, 215). As well as acting as overseer to Sir Richard Shirley's will, Shelley was appointed an arbitrator to resolve 'any doubts or ambiguities' in the will of Richard Covert at SLAUGHAM (TNA, PROB 11/31 fol.379) in 1547.

John Gounter at RACTON was the son of Hugh Gounter and grandson of William of Gilston, Breconshire, but adopted the arms of an ancestor, (an ?uncle) John Gounter, of Chilworth near Guildford, Surrey, who died in 1511 and whose wife Margaret bequeathed Racton to John Gounter in c.1527. He married three times:- (1), Mary, daughter of Thomas Cooke of Rustington and Rockley, IoW, (RUSTINGTON I) and Joan Howles, daughter of William Howles of East Standen, IoW, (?BRADING I and II); (2) Jane, daughter of Henry Aylwar, (this wife and the sons and daughters of this marriage are shown on the monument); (3), Jane, relict of Edmund Lewkenor of Tangmere, Sussex, (d. 1543), daughter of ... Tyrell of Fining, near Rogate, Sussex (WSRO, P 2282). He was named as executor in Joan Cooke's will (RUSTINGTON I). William Howlys (BRADING I) served on the commission of array for the IoW in July 1511 (LP, vol. 1, 273) and in 1514, leased the manor of West Milton and East Standen in Brading (Page, 1912, vol. 5, 162) from his daughter Joan Cooke (RUSTINGTON I). His named wife Elizabeth (BRADING II) must indicate a remarriage; another Joan may have been his first wife. His daughter requested an 'obit' Mass to be said annually on the 'Wensday after Mighelmasse Day' for the souls of her father-in-law John Cooke and his three wives and 'William Howles and Joane his wife

w[i]t[h] their frendes soules as it is rehersed in the bederol' (TNA, PROB/11/22 fol.22v).

In 1524 Edward Lewkenor III (KINGSTON BUCI) held the manors of Ham, Parham and Hamsey and married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Roffey, Sussex (Comber, 1933, 159). In November 1524 his name and that of his father-in-law appear on a quitclaim concerning the manors of 'Uphaye, Sydbery, Challengere and all lands in East Manbery' Devon, and the manor of Wile, Dorset, given them and others by Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr (BROADWATER I) in October 1521 (Devon Record Office 123M/TB508). On 7 February 1526 Lewkenor sold the manor of East Preston with four messuages, 200 acres of land, including 20 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture and 10 acres of woodland, to Robert Palmer, gentleman, of Parham (WSRO, Add. MS.,31,337). His will names Edward Markewyck 'gentleman' (HAMSEY) as an administrator of his revenues (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol. 310v). William Ernle (WEST WITTERING I and II) was the third son of Sir John Ernle (c. 1464-1520), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1519-1536 and Attorney-General to Henry VII. He inherited a substantial inheritance and followed his father into Gray's Inn (Whittick, 2004b, 510). Ernle obtained the lease of Cakeham Manor, near Selsey from the bishop of Chichester in 1528. In 1537, he sold lands in Warblington, Sussex to his fellow JP John Gounter (RACTON). Ernle died seized of the manor of East Wittering and messuages and lands in Birdham, Goring, Tangmere, Hunston and North Mundham, all of which belonged to his father, and had further property in West Wittering, Oving and Compton.

Richard Covert (SLAUGHAM) was the son of Thomas Covert, d. 1495, and his wife Elizabeth, *née* Sidney, who were commemorated by a three-line brass inscription, now lost, in the middle aisle of the nave of Horsham church. He was a Commissioner of Sewers in 1534, responsible for the repair of sea-walls and the clearing of rivers (Dengate, 1929, 29). Covert acted as surveyor of the will of Richard Burré at SOMPTING (WSRO, STA I/A1/fol. 50). Richard Covert at RUSTINGTON II was a member of another branch of the family. John Lews or Lewis' wife, Agatha *née* Lovell (CHURCH NORTON) was married first to John Wayte, who died in October 1502 and is commemorated by a modest brass three-line Latin inscription in St Cross, Winchester. Agatha then married John Rede 'armiger' of Selsey who died sometime after 10 February 1517 leaving her the residue of his estate after small bequests to Selsey church (Heron-Allen, 1911, 163). The date of her marriage

to Lews is not known but on 23 June 1532 the Chichester chapter confirmed a lease to Lews and his wife Agatha of the rectory of Selsey for their joint lives (Peckham, 1952, 37). Two years later an indenture, earlier granted by Bishop Sherborn, was confirmed relating to the lease of herbage and pasture of Selsey park to them for 80 years for an annual rent of £4 (Peckham, 1952, 43). Lews married again after his wife died and served as churchwarden at Selsey between 1550 and 1560. In his will, dated 12 April 1567, he directed that his body be buried in his existing tomb in the chancel.

Richard Sakevyle (WESTHAMPNETT) was the second son of Richard Sakevyle of Chiddingly, East Sussex, uncle of Thomas, first Lord Buckhurst (Mosse, 1933, 189). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Thetcher of Westhampnett Place, a mansion originally built by the Tawke family. The Thetchers were later notorious recusants. His name does not appear under Westhampnett in the 1524/5 Subsidy Rolls, possibly due to *lacunae* in the document. He and his father served as commissioners to collect the lay subsidy in the Rapes of Pevensey and Hastings, together with two members of the Thetcher family (Cornwall, 1956, 124 and 134). The Sakevyles held property near Pevensey and Richard served as a Commissioner of the Peace in Sussex in 1509 and 1512. In 1533 Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester, granted Sakevyle the rent of 40s a year for life from the manor of Broyle near Chichester, 'in consideration of his good counsel hitherto given to me and my Church and of his administration of the courts of its liberties' (Peckham, 1952, 42).

Relationships within the second lower status group are more opaque. Within the city of Chichester, William Royse (CHICHESTER II) was probably the son of Thomas Royse (CHICHESTER I) possibly a merchant and both have memorials on the exterior walls of their parish church of St Andrew Oxmarket. William Royse was coroner for the city of Chichester and at Bishop Sherborn's request in 1533 was assigned the lease of a house in North Mundham, formerly held by Sir William Shelley. He must have had regular dealings with Ellis Bradshaw (CHICHESTER III) who was an alderman and mayor in 1538 and also receiver of Chichester Cathedral property. Two other merchants were William Wyddowsoun (MICKLEHAM) 'citizen and mercer' of London and Richard Burré (SOMPTING) whose monument bears the arms of two London companies, the Salt Fishmongers' and the Goldsmiths'.

The wealth of those commemorated by these tombs is confirmed by an analysis of taxable wealth in England in 1524-5, based on the lay subsidy of that year, which calculated the ratio of tax shillings per square mile (Llewellyn, 2000, 11). This shows a band of those paying the highest rate of 40 shillings or over located in the coastal strip of Sussex, stretching from Chichester to Eastbourne - the heartland of the workshop's clientele. The northern and eastern portions of Sussex, Surrey, the coastal area of Kent and the eastern portion of Hampshire, are on the lower middle band of 20-39 shillings. Among those Sussex luminaries listed in the roll are Sir Thomas West I, with an income assessment of £200; Richard Covert (£180); Sir Richard Shirley (£120); John Lews (£90); Edward Markewyck (£66); William Royse (£30); William Ernle (£26); and Richard Burré (£20) (Cornwall, 1956, 2,25,31,33,53,62,78,87,94).

The final group, made up of monastic clergy, has just two members. The first, Robert Harys (CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I) was elected thirteenth vicar of the priory, responsible for services said for the laity in the west end of the church. Members of the de la Warr family are buried in the priory church and Sir Thomas West I and II both held lands in Christchurch. When Boxgrove Priory was dissolved in March 1537, its prior Thomas Myles was among the eight religious who applied for licences or 'capacities', entitling them to serve as parish priests (Thorn, no date, 31). Myles became rector of New Shoreham in Sussex in 1545 and three years later, at the age of 70, he held the chantry in that church which was worth £4 6s 8d (Salzman, 1954, 28), receiving an additional pension of £4 on its suppression. Doubtless throughout this period he continued to enjoy the patronage of Sir Thomas West II, who may have paid for his tomb BOXGROVE II or alternatively, one of the St John family may have been benefactors, as it bears their mutilated arms.

## 8 –The patrons’ choices

A MULTIPLICITY OF INFLUENCES affected the decision on which type of monument should be selected to commemorate the deceased and where it would be made. After the death of Ralph Shirley in 1510, his son Sir Richard purchased a small London ‘F’ workshop brass in a Purbeck slab, measuring 102.2 cm. in width and 76.3 cm. in height, which depicted his father in armour, kneeling with his wife and family beneath a plate depicting the Holy Trinity. It was inserted on the north wall of the south chapel of Wiston church but now only indents remain. Three decades on, shortly after his death in 1540, Sir Richard was commemorated at WISTON by a Caen stone monument with large standing effigies of him and his two wives. His will directed that his ‘body should be buried before th’ ymage of our Lady in the Chapell of o<sup>r</sup> Lady within the p<sup>’</sup>yshe church of Westneston’



◀ Fig. 54: *The monument of Sir Richard Shirley and two wives at WISTON before its destruction in the Victorian restoration of the church. The male effigy is 86.1 cm. in height, and wife 1 (left) 77 cm. and wife 2 (right) 76.3 cm. (After the engraving in Lower, 1852, 13).*

[Wiston] (TNA, PROB 11/28, fol.171v), suggesting that no monument had been erected by him before his death. What persuaded his executors to move the family’s patronage

from a prolific London marblers' workshop to Chichester for the completion of a monument only months after Sir Richard's decease? Similarly, Shirley's brother-in-law at PETWORTH, Sir John Dawtrey I, ordered a modest Purbeck marble monument with tomb-chest and London-made brasses for his father Edmund around 1525. After Sir John died in 1527, his executors ordered a Caen stone monument for him and his wife Jane, which was erected in c.1535, with a garniture of funerary armour hanging from brackets above. A third example is at CLAPHAM, where John Shelley I laid down a London brass to commemorate himself and his wife in c.1520. Almost 30 years on, another John Shelley, as executor, ordered a 'Chichester' tomb for his father, Sir William, son of the first John Shelley (TNA, PROB 11/32, fol. 185v). The reasons behind these switches in patronage are complex and relate to the social structure of this patron class.

It is not surprising that such a tight-knit group as the nobility and gentry in Sussex and the IoW should be related by marriage; enjoy close relationships; serve the state together in a variety of local roles; buy and sell property and act as executors to implement the wills of their kith and kin. It cannot be coincidental that a significant proportion patronised this putative Chichester workshop over three decades. Potential patrons must have admired the new tombs of their neighbours and decided that they too would have a monument that so powerfully displayed their status in local society. Other, perhaps less adventurous, may have accepted the recommendation of their families or friends in their choice (Saul, 2009, 102). It is significant that five tombs (SLAUGHAM, BROADWATER I, SOMPTING, BOXGROVE I, BROADWATER II) were constructed by patrons in their lifetimes to ensure their requirements were met, rather than leaving decisions to executors. Four (MICKLEHAM, RACTON, CHURCH NORTON, WEST WITTERING I) were erected for wives who pre-deceased their husbands and their spouses were later buried with them. Moreover, as we saw in chapter one, this social group followed the lead of their bishops and clergy and were loyal adherents to the old religion. Many were tenants or beneficiaries of properties owned by the dean and chapter of Chichester or the diocese. Again, it can be no coincidence that they actively sought the inclusion of religious iconography on their monuments. The broader question must therefore be asked: did the Chichester workshop flourish because its prospective patrons were religiously conservative - or was the potential adjacent market attracted by proffered tomb designs that matched their need to demonstrate



their piety, as well as their wealth and status? These classic patronage models - personal choice (demand created by the attraction of new or existing product), or decision-making influenced by peer networking - need not be mutually exclusive. Looking across the social groups commemorated by these monuments, this seems to have been the case here. First, let us examine networking in its most demonstrable form: family taste or preference. During the Middle Ages, families frequently favoured monument types with which they were familiar and ordered them from workshops who had fulfilled earlier contracts with them (Saul 2009, 102). Within the 'Chichester' series, there are five groupings which fit this paradigm of choice which comprise more than 50% of those produced: (1) those connected with the Shirley family (PRESTON EPISCOPI, SELMESTON, PETWORTH, WISTON and CLAPHAM); (2) the de la Warrs and those under their influence or patronage (BROADWATER I, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, BOXGROVE I, BROADWATER II and possibly BOXGROVE II); (3) those connected with the Cooke family (BRADING I and II, RUSTINGTON I and RACTON); (4) the Covert family (SLAUGHAM and probably RUSTINGTON II) and (5) probably two Royse exterior panels (CHICHESTER I and II). Overlying this pattern of kinship and marriage ties are the informal networks formed by the executors or overseers to wills, nearly all of whom had erected tombs by this workshop in their lifetimes. Sir Thomas West I (BROADWATER I) was executor at PRESTON EPISCOPI and Sir Thomas West II (BOXGROVE I, BROADWATER II) had a hand in ordering WISTON, where he too was an executor. SOMPTING was erected around five years after SLAUGHAM; Richard Burré, commemorated at the former, named Richard Covert as surveyor of his will, and probably earlier acted on his recommendation on choice of workshop. On the 'free choice' side of the market, growing prosperity amongst the gentry may lie behind patronage decisions, coupled with the concomitant desire for high status tombs. Monumental brasses could no longer meet their requirements. The London and Corfe marblers also may not have been able to fulfil these aspirations, if only on the grounds of price, as we shall see below. The same may be safely presumed for workshops working in freestone, as there is only one example extant in Sussex and Hampshire in this period. Transportation costs were always a key factor in determining the final price. Their impact on preference has been consistently understated; Llewellyn emphasises that transport issues always 'influenced the patron's choice of both tomb-type and tomb-maker. The transport system of Renaissance England is perhaps as important for

our understanding of tomb patronage as is taste' (1983, 145). If the average outlay of quarrying stone was about 2d a cubic foot and transport added another 2d per ton per mile, 'for a distance of 12 miles, the cost of carriage would be... equivalent to the cost of the stone itself' (Salzman, 1952, 119). With the potential client base living between 80 and 115 km. from the marblers' workshops, situated close to St Paul's Cathedral in London, transportation would have consumed a substantial slice of the cost of the monument, even if by sea. This may not have been acceptable to those who desired the most impressive tomb possible. Purchasing a tomb locally would be cheaper, enabling the purchase, perhaps, of a much grander monument. Thus we can conjecture that these Sussex patrons required tombs similar in appearance and scale to the Purbeck monuments produced by the London marblers but employed local masons to save excessive transportation costs.

### **Which type of monument?**

In order to better understand the motivation behind monument choice, a study was undertaken of tomb types (and their place of manufacture) erected in Sussex and Hampshire churches in 1510-50 - amply covering the period when the 'Chichester' monuments were being commissioned. Surviving tombs were recorded, including indents of lost brasses and antiquarian sources were examined in an attempt to include lost monuments. The results are in *APPENDICES 3* (Sussex) and *4* (Hampshire) in volume two. Analysis by Llewellyn indicates that Sussex and Hampshire ranked 26th. and 27th. in a league table of English counties for monuments erected 1530-1660. These calculations were based on the density of his estimated 4,000 extant sculpted monuments in this period (probably 75% of the original total) and the two counties emerged with similar values of 16.55 and 16.88 respectively, (the number of surviving monuments divided by the area of the county, expressed in square miles). In contrast, Kent, with 4.94, ranked second and Surrey, with 12.89, was 18th. (Llewellyn, 2000, 7-8). These figures are probably distorted by the fact that fewer numbers of monuments from the 1570s survive in Sussex and Hampshire, compared to areas like Kent and the Thames Valley where there were significant numbers set up to commemorate a wider range of social classes in the later years of Elizabeth's reign (Llewellyn, 2000, 7). Whilst analysis based on extant memorials is statistically imprudent, the 'market share' of tomb type may be indicative. Of the 76 tombs

of all types in Sussex, 42 or 55.26%, are brasses, of which ten are components of a grander monument such as a Purbeck recessed canopy and tomb-chest, the choice of those with deeper purses. The remainder of the brasses are set in Purbeck floor slabs, with small effigies or inscriptions, forming 42.10% of the total. Only two, the Shelley brass of c.1520 at Clapham and the indent of a man in armour and wife of c.1525 at Poynings are of any pretension. The practicalities behind the choice of a brass are cost and the space available to accommodate new monuments - floor slabs are less disruptive to the liturgy or traffic within a church. Wills demonstrate that the cost of an average-size figure brass between 1465 and 1538 was rarely more than £2. Twenty-seven examples ranged in price between £1 and £2 13s 4d and 16 between £1 and £1 13s 4d in this period (D'Elboux, 1948, 188-91; Norris, 1978, 53). Locally-made brasses in Norfolk in the early sixteenth century, with their lower transport costs, cost as little as 13s 4d (Greenwood, 1996, 86-92). Although there is no evidence for the cost of the 'Chichester' series, they must have been considerably more expensive than floor brasses. Twenty-four of the 32 are in Sussex, or 31.58% of all monuments in the county - a demonstration of the workshop's success in attracting higher-spending clients. Therefore social status was an important factor in preference.

An analysis of class/occupation of those commemorated by all types of monument during this period (*see* **TABLE 12**, page 127), confirms that by far the largest group were esquires or gentlemen, many of whom chose high-status sculpted tombs such as the group under investigation. In Kent, a small brass workshop was set up c.1525, probably based at Faversham or Rochester, to obviate higher transport costs for clients in the south and south-east of the county, but like other provincial marblers, this ceased after 1539 for reasons that remain unclear, but seem likely to be connected with developments in the Reformation (Hutchinson, 2003, 456-7) or caused by shortages in metal. London-made brasses show a production spike in the year following the last great act of Dissolution in 1538-39 as despoiled metal was sold back to the marblers for re-use as new memorials. However, after monastic buildings were stripped, supplies of despoiled plate reduced to a trickle, creating a slump in production in 1541. These lean times continued before the probable resumption of imports of new metal from Europe after the end of the Franco-Spanish war in the Low Countries in 1545 enabled increased output (Hutchinson, 2003, 457). Therefore, the

Table 12

**Social status of those with monuments in Sussex, 1510-50**

<i>Social class/occupation</i>	<i>Instances</i>	<i>Brasses</i>	<i>Purbeck marble tombs*</i>	<i>Other type of monument</i>
Esquires	32	12	9	11
Gentleman	1	1	-	-
Burgess	1	1	-	-
Mayor	1	-	-	1
Coroners	2	1	-	1
Priests	3	3	-	-
Women	7	6	-	1
Knights	7	-	1	6
Judge	1	-	-	1
Prior	1	-	-	1
Bishop	1	-	-	1
Nobility	6	-	2	4
Merchants	3	-	-	3
Unknown/uncertain status	10	8	-	2
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>32</b>

**KEY:** \* - With or without brasses, not included in brass column.

choice of monument for clients in Sussex and Hampshire in 1541-45 would probably have been narrowed by this temporary unavailability of London-made brasses; indeed, there are only two surviving examples in the Sussex survey in *APPENDIX 3* - at Friston 1542, (made up of re-used despoiled plates) and the two small rectangular plates, probably an inscription and a coat of arms, supposedly dated 1544 at Singleton. There are none dating from this period found in the Hampshire survey. As discussed earlier, there may also have been a shortage of masons because of the construction of artillery forts from 1538 (Llewellyn, 2000, 164). Such market turbulences in 1539/41 may have influenced decisions to buy wooden effigies at Slindon and at Goudhurst and vindicated the foresight of Sir David Owen, d. 1542, at Easebourne, Sussex, who has an anachronistic recumbent effigy, carved

in Burton alabaster, which he ordered 40 years before his death (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 212).

There are a handful of Sussex monuments that fall outside this pattern of decision-making. Why was William Apsley commemorated by a Midlands alabaster incised slab, transported at great expense to Thakeham, Sussex, in 1527, when his family previously bought brasses from the London 'G' workshop? Bishop Sherborn's decision to have a painted alabaster monument in his cathedral followed the tradition of the bishops of Chichester; not for him the small, crudely-carved Caen stone effigies probably produced a few hundred metres away. It was ordered during his lifetime and is a nostalgic, imposing monument (Tummers, 1994, 204), which had originally a curtain drawn across it to protect it against light, dirt, and the unwelcome grubby hands of worshippers. The executors of Sir Goddard Oxenbridge, d. 1531, at Brede in East Sussex, decided to erect a large effigy perched precariously on top of a tomb-chest with a shallow back, all in Caen stone (perhaps by French carvers) in fulfilment of his request for 'a monnemyent Tombe and [on] the same Tombe shalbe hanged my coote armour and such other Things appertaining to the order of knyghthote' (TNA, PROB 11/24, fol.62v-63). The monument is dated 1537.

The survey for Hampshire and the IoW (*see* **TABLE 13**, page 129) found 95 surviving monuments, of which 71 or 74.74% were brasses, all products of the London brass workshops. This total is inflated by the number of memorials at Winchester College, in the cathedral and on monastic sites. Of these brasses, 11 or 11.58% were set in grander Purbeck marble tombs and some, such as the indents to two abbesses with crosiers, c.1515 and 1523 at Romsey Abbey and to a prior, c.1525 (?Thomas Silkstead) in Winchester Cathedral, must have been impressive monuments when first laid down.

However, as in Sussex, most brasses were small, humble memorials like the three-quarter effigies of fellows at Winchester College. Of the total, only seven or 7.37% are attributed to the 'Chichester' group, but there was competition from a rival carver, Thomas Bertie of Winchester, between 1510 and 1540 who produced tombs at Thruxton, Sherborne St John, East Tisted and probably elsewhere in the county. This low level of incidence in Hampshire may also be indirect evidence supporting my conjecture that they were made in Chichester.

*Table 13*  
**Social status of those with monuments in Hampshire, 1510-50**

<i>Social class/occupation</i>	<i>Instances</i>	<i>Brasses</i>	<i>Purbeck marble tombs*</i>	<i>Other type of monument</i>
Esquires/Lords of Manor	22	7	9	6
Gentleman	1	1	-	-
Lawyer	1	1	-	-
Fellows¶	13	13	-	-
Monks	2	-	-	2
Priests	7	6	-	1
Abbesses	2	1	1	-
Priors/deans/wardens	6	4	-	2
Women	9	7	-	2
Knights	4	-	-	4
Bishop	1	-	-	1
Nobility	2	-	-	2
Uncertain/unknown status	25	20	1	4
<b>TOTALS</b>	95	60	11	24

**KEY:** \* - With or without brasses, not included in brass column.

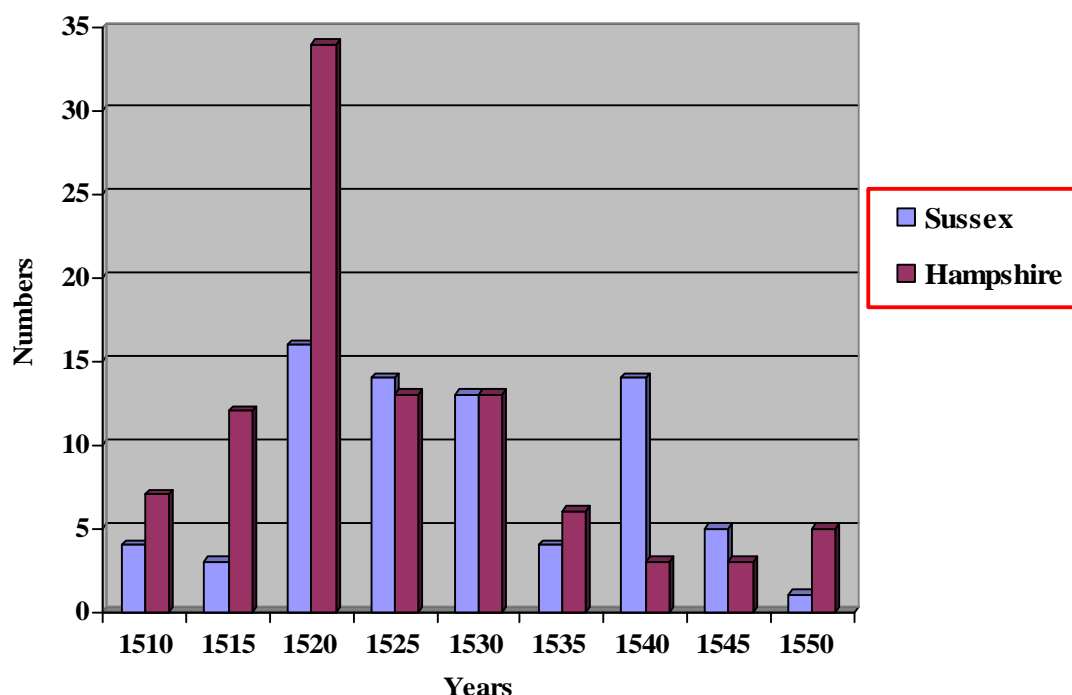
¶ - Fellows of Winchester College, a number which includes other positions within the College.

Of the 76 monuments in Sussex, 44 or 57.89% are dateable to 1510-30. In Hampshire, the proportion is greater: 75 monuments or 78.95% were erected in or before c.1530. The chronological distribution of monuments in the two counties is shown in *GRAPH 1* on page 130. One cautionary note should be made about these findings. Many monuments have been given revised or estimated dates on the basis of typological analysis, so any discernable trends may be mildly distorted. Nonetheless, both counties follow broadly the same pattern of peaks or troughs, although there is an abnormal peak for Hampshire around 1520, inflated by the number of monuments of this date in Winchester and Christchurch.

There is some evidence that choice of monument followed a fashion in a particular

*Graph 1*

**Chronological distribution of all monuments in Sussex and Hampshire, 1510-50**



▲ GRAPH 1 showing chronological distribution of all known and extant monuments in Sussex and Hampshire for the period 1510-1550. The dates have been 'rounded' up or down to the nearest break in years and take account of the re-dating exercise for monuments described earlier.

parish, such as the four small brasses at Odiham, Hampshire, laid down c.1520- c.1530 and all purchased from the London 'F' workshop, or the five Purbeck monuments in Chichester Cathedral erected c.1525-c.1530 and produced by the London 'G' marblers. There is also an abnormal peak in Sussex around 1540 caused almost entirely by the erection of Caen stone monuments produced by the 'Chichester' masons. Thereafter, the decline may have been caused by uncertainty over liturgical changes, or the other factors discussed above. Moreover, the results of this case study for Hampshire and Sussex do not follow chronological patterns found elsewhere in England during this period. In Norfolk, there was a rapid fall in the number of all monuments erected before the 1540s after a peak during the first decade of the sixteenth century (Finch, 2000, figs. 16-17; 76), and the same pattern has been found amongst brasses alone in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, and Sussex (Bertram, 1976, 120). As Finch suggests, the decline is far too early to be rationalised by possible changes in religious beliefs and the explanation may lie in

economic depression in these counties. The survey also demonstrates the commanding market share enjoyed by the marblers in London and Corfe, Dorset, who produced brasses and/or wall monuments. The majority of these brasses dating from the first two decades of the sixteenth century were made in the 'F' London workshop or its variants. Later there were various manifestations of the 'G' workshop, including four members of the important 'Fermer' group - John Shelley II, d. 1550, at Clapham; an inscription and shield dated 1547 at Farlington; the indent of a priest with a marginal inscription of 1548 at Itchen Abbas and, dated the same year, the appropriated tomb and reused plates at Southwick, the last three in Hampshire. (For descriptions brass workshops' figure styles, *see* Kent, 1949, 70-97, and Norris, 1977, vol. 1, 154-76. For the 'Fermer' workshop, *see* Hutchinson & Egan, 1993, 142-83).

### **Recessed canopy tombs**

Whilst there was a growing taste for fashionable Renaissance ornament after c.1535 by those commissioning some of the Caen stone monuments now investigated, most patrons wanted to reproduce earlier high-status Purbeck tombs, with recessed canopies, shallow side niches, and panelled tomb-chests, which would display their heraldry to advantage. They clearly saw these London-made Gothic memorials as obvious metaphors for status and wealth. Twenty of the 'Chichester' tombs are in this category, some of which were intended for use as Easter Sepulchres. In style and execution, their components were copied directly from monuments produced by the London and Corfe marblers working in Purbeck from the early fifteenth century onwards. This replication was probably more prolific than previously believed. The funeral expenses of Lady Anne Fortescue (d. 1518) included £8 'to the marblers of Corff for a tombe of marble like to Sir Rob. Southwells in the cloister in the Blak Fryers at London a<sup>o</sup> xi H. viii' and three years later, £3 6s 8d was paid to 'a marbler in Powis church yerd for the pictures writing & armys gilt after the rate [*sic*] of Sir Thomas Parrs tomb in the Blak Frers & to sett them in the marble', the tomb having been delivered to him for this work. The finished monument was erected at Bisham Abbey, Berkshire (Ramsay, 1981, 10). The decision to reproduce these structures in Caen stone underlines the conservatism of the masons' clientele. This taste for the Gothic continued afterwards: as late as c.1572; the Purbeck monument with brasses of Anthony Forster at

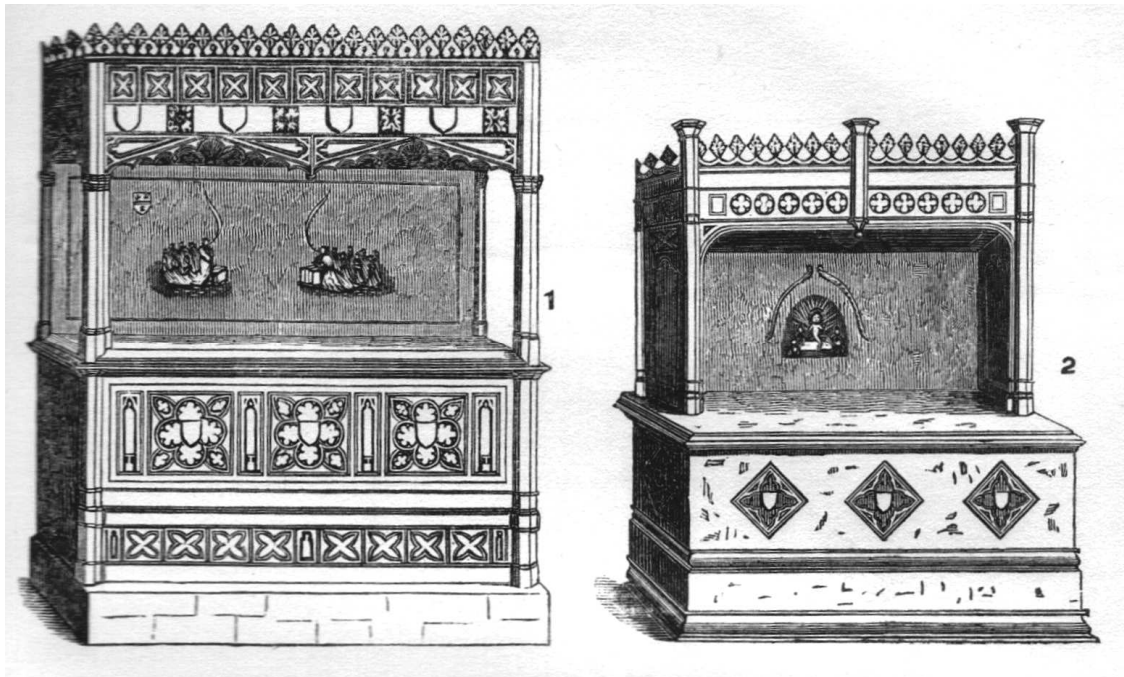


Cumnor, Berkshire, remains basically Gothic, although it has Corinthian capitals (illustrated, Blair, 2001, 55). This consciously antiquarian taste is demonstrated by the tomb of Sir Richard Shirley, c.1540, at WISTON where his figure stands alongside a helmet which is a direct copy of a sallet of c.1480-85. There are two other anachronistic aspects of his effigy: his sword is suspended in front of his body, rather like that seen on late fifteenth century brasses in East Anglia, and he holds his hands up in prayer, open and palm upward, in the *orans* gesture, again frequently found on brasses made in Norfolk and Suffolk.



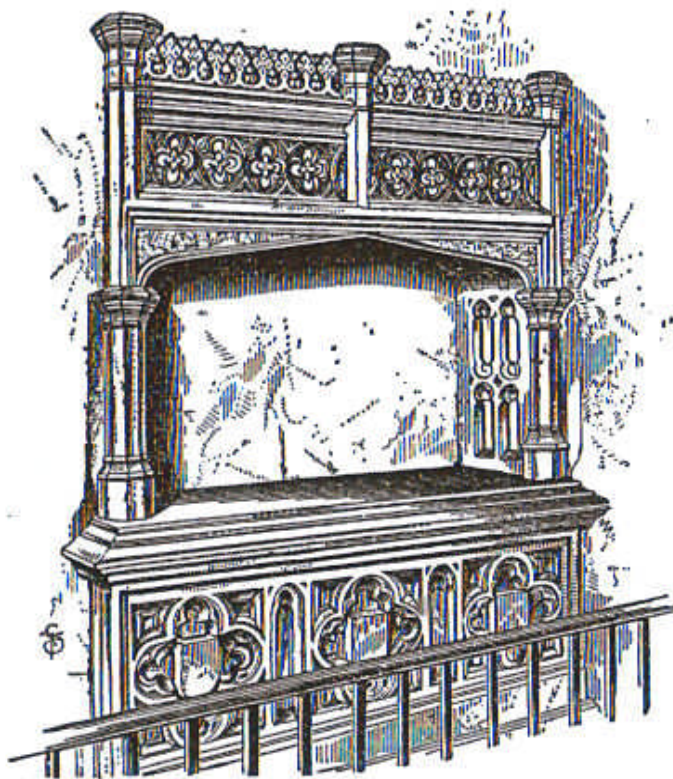
▲ Fig.55: The sallet helmet at the feet of Sir Richard Shirley at WISTON; an item of armour that was fashionable in c.1480-5. The mark immediately above and to the left, was an anchor point for a carved plume from the top of the sallet. Scale: ten cm.

With the exception of the alabaster effigies at GODSHILL, these monuments avoid the aesthetic problems posed by large recumbent figures on monuments - that all too often occupy insufficient space and their horizontal position on a tomb-chest sometimes seems incongruous and inappropriate (Saul, 2009, 170), as with the Caen stone monument at



▲ Fig. 56: Two London-made Purbeck tombs of the late fifteenth century: **Left:** Monument to John Croke (d. 1477) and family with Gothic cresting on the canopy, adorned with shields, roses, foliage, (including strawberry leaves), and the sacred letters 'IHS'. Note the paneled tomb-chest. **Right:** Monument with flat-headed arch with trefoil panels, and brass plate depicting the Resurrection, c.1500. Both formerly in All Hallows-by-the-Tower, London. (After Maskell, 1864, 39).

► Fig. 57: Recessed canopy tomb, typical of the 'Chichester' series, which almost certainly commemorates Edward Markewyck, d. 1538, on the north wall of the chancel at HAMSEY, East Sussex. Note the Gothic cresting; the quatrefoils in the pediment, the polygonal columns and moulded capitals and the panels with three shields that form the front tomb-chest, which mimic the well-established designs of the Corfe marblers. The monument is 250.4 cm. in height and 181 cm. in width. (After Chapman, 1865, 95).





▲ Fig. 58: *Variations of Gothic cresting seen on monuments at - A, SOMPTING, c.1525; B SELMESTON, c.1533; C, HAMSEY, c.1538; D, SLAUGHAM, c.1520 and E, CLAPHAM, 1550, where the diminutive leaf motif sits uneasily, in aesthetic terms, with the Renaissance arabesque ornament immediately below on the frieze.*

Brede, dated 1537. Instead, imagery was placed vertically on the back wall of these tombs or on shallow corbels on the side niches. Many include Gothic motifs that could have been carved in the fifteenth century, particularly in the form of their cresting of stylised leaves (fig. 58 above). Variations demonstrate the range available in the masons' pattern books for their clientele to select and these may well assist in the dating of a tomb, as the larger and more prominent the leaves, the earlier seems the monument. It was clearly a matter of personal taste; the two WITTERING monuments dated c.1538 and c.1547 omit cresting above the flattened arch and the tombs at





▲ Fig. 59: *Stylised leaf cresting atop the freestone monument of c.1530 to Edward Waller, d. 1526 at Stoke Charity, Hants. Note the half leaf on the left and right which has clearly been cut off: is this evidence that this motif was carved in advance and adjusted to fit a monument? The tomb measures 59 cm. in width.*

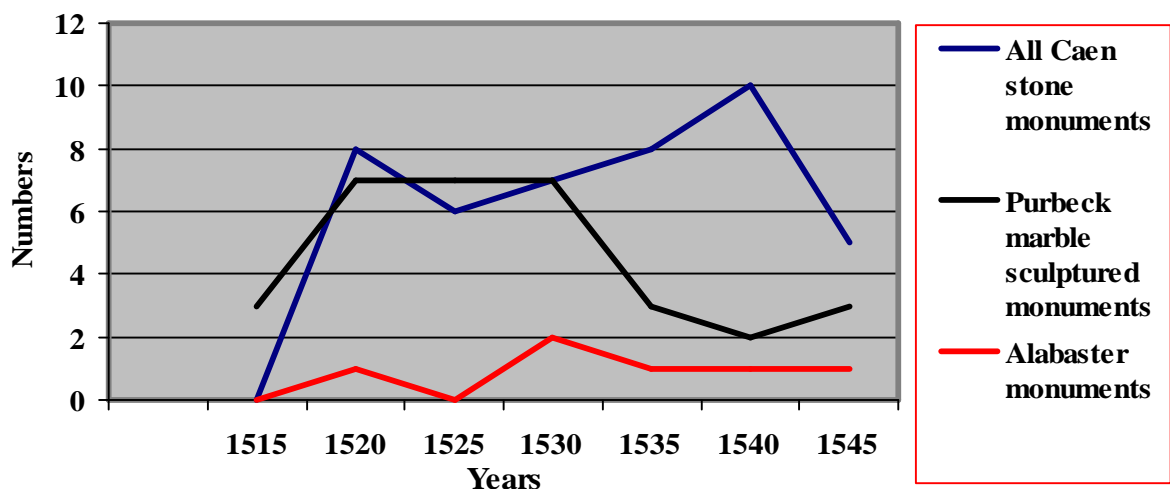
CHURCH NORTON and WESTHAMPNETT have had the upper portions restored in the recent past, so evidence is lacking for what topped these monuments. Compare these with the cresting on the freestone or sandstone monument to John Waller c.1530 at Stoke Charity, Hants. (fig. 59 above). The masons' pattern books must have contained nearly identical designs. Sometimes there were particular requirements. The monument dated c.1530 in CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II has an arcade of narrow blind Gothic niches instead of the line of leaves, which must have been a special order (fig. 60, below). Interestingly, the central portion of this crest is composed of a lighter, whitish Caen stone, clearly carved concurrently with the monument. Is this insertion the evidence of a repair after accidental breakage of this component during transportation from the workshop, or a delivery of stone from a different quarry in the manufacture process?



▲ Fig. 60: *A special requirement for the cresting of the monument at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, c.1530: a Gothic arcade of shallow niches has been substituted for the normal leaf cresting found on other examples of this group of memorials. Width: 94 cm.*

After years of dominance, the Purbeck marblers faced mounting competition in the early sixteenth century from those producing high status designs in Caen stone and occasionally freestone, as at Stoke Charity, Hants., with its inscription in humanist script and two exquisite painted panels, depicting the Virgin and Child and Archbishop Thomas à Becket, on its tomb-chest. As the graph below indicates, the taste amongst the gentry and nobility for Caen stone monuments steadily increased and the number of monuments carved in this stone overtook those erected in Purbeck marble in Sussex and Hampshire around 1535. At Winchester Cathedral the Caen stone chantry and tomb of Bishop Richard Fox, d. 1528, with its cadaver effigy, was probably designed and executed by William Vertue, the king's master mason (Biddle, 1993, 259), perhaps assisted by Humphrey Coke,

*Graph 2*  
**Dated monuments by stone type, 1515-45, Sussex and Hampshire**



▲ *GRAPH 2 showing chronological distribution of sculpted monuments by stone type in Sussex and Hampshire, 1515-1545.*

and constructed in the bishop's lifetime. Three monuments in this medium in central Hampshire and various architectural works in Winchester Cathedral (including the north screen tombs in the Presbytery) erected 1517-35 and all attributed to Thomas Bertie, the mason to the bishop of Winchester, continued the trend (Riall, 2007, 165). This culminated in the anachronistic chantry of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, d. 1555, complete with cadaver, which has strong French influence in its design and ornamentation and is decorated with

fluted pilasters and shell-headed niches similar to those of the Norfolk tombs at Framlingham, Suffolk, 1554, 1557 and 1564. Gardiner, a leader of the Catholic Counter-Reformation under Mary I, left £300 in his will for his tomb, which was probably completed before the accession of her half-sister Elizabeth, when chantries were no longer permitted (Whinney, 1964, fn., 233).

### Chantry chapels

Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, completed a Caen stone chantry at Christchurch in c.1530 for Masses to be said for the benefit of her soul and that of her husband Sir Richard Pole, d. 1504 (Pierce, 2003, 64). This complex and dominant structure on the north side of the chancel retained English Gothic emblems but included Italianate ornament. Inside, there are three bosses in the vaulting, two bearing the Pole arms, and the larger central one showing the countess kneeling before a stylised Holy Trinity within a circle of cherubims with the motto *Spes mea I[esu] deo est* ('My hope is in God'). Three canopied niches, now empty of imagery, are at the eastern end over where a small altar probably stood. Here a priest would say regular private Masses for the souls of the deceased to spare them the pains and perils of purgatory. Its construction and the delicacy in the carving of the motifs mark out the structure as the work of skilled hands, possibly from London or France. Sir Thomas West II, ninth Baron de la Warr, was a close friend of the countess and also owned extensive property in Christchurch. Doubtless her impressive chantry, with its many niches for images, was the inspiration to de la Warr for his smaller chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I. This was erected two years later, complete with a low fan-vaulted canopy, supported by seven piers, which is covered with arabesque ornament and Italianate emblems. There are 24 niches, possibly originally containing small images that are now lost. The chantry is 'one of the few really successful marriages of Gothic and Renaissance ornament anywhere in England' (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 117). Most of the motifs are derived from Parisian *Books of Hours* (see chapter 11). Inside, at the solid walled east end was an altar and reredos containing image niches which are decorated by arabesques. The contemporaneous Sussex ironwork double gates emphasises this privatisation of church space for intercessionary prayer for the souls of de la Warr and his wife Elizabeth by their own celebrant priest. His chapel also shows marked similarities with that of Robert Harys,

thirteenth elected vicar of Christchurch Priory and also rector of Shroton, Dorset, erected after his death in 1525. The finials above the niches and the diamond pattern of the side panels not only appear identical in some small details, but seem to be carved by the same hand; hence the inclusion of the Harys chapel in the list of attributed monuments as CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I. In its left-hand panel is a shield bearing the rebus of the letter 'R' flanking a hare carved in low relief with a label in its mouth carrying the letters 'Y' and 'S', representing 'R Harys'.

Chantries also had charitable purposes. Sir John Leigh who died in 1529, founded a chantry dedicated to St Stephen in the south transept of the church at GODSHILL in 1520. The chantry certificate of 1547 indicates that its priest taught grammar to local children (Roffey, 2007, 170).



▲ Fig. 61: *The chantry chapel of Sir Thomas West II, ninth Baron de la Warr and his wife, erected 1532 as BOXGROVE I. Scale: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 62: *The chantry chapel in Caen stone of Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, erected c.1530 on the north side of the chancel at Christchurch Priory, Hants.*





▲ Fig. 63: *Chantry chapel of Robert Harys, c. 1525, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I. Scales: two metres.*

### **Monuments of munificence**

There were other motivations other than soliciting intercessory prayer or demonstrating wealth and status through the scale of the monument or a garish display of heraldry. The tomb of Oliver Oglander, 1536, (BRADING III) contains imagery on its tomb-chest to demonstrate his charitable acts in assisting beggars and cripples. This was the public face of the tomb, where these figures could be regularly viewed by worshippers who would be reminded of the deceased's munificence to those less fortunate and his other charitable works. On the south side, facing into the Oglander private chapel, are small figures of

family members looking across to the altar (Roffey, 2007, 60, 107). Similarly, in the former priory church of CARISBROOKE, also on the IoW, the monument to Lady Margaret Wadham, c.1520 (traditionally said to be the aunt of the future queen, Jane Seymour) shows her kneeling in a very dominant position against the back wall of her recessed canopied tomb, between six crippled figures, three on each side, to signify her founding of a local hospital for the poor and lame or 'impotent' folk. Apart from an angel carrying a shield bearing the monogram 'ihr', there is no sign of any religious iconography, unless images were placed in the side niches.



▲ Fig. 64 : *The north or public face of the Oglander tomb, BRADING III, showing images of the sick and poor and a shrouded figure lying on a small corbel at centre. Scales: two metres, one metre and 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 65: *The Caen stone monument, c.1520, to Lady Margaret Wadham, second wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham, captain of Carisbrooke Castle and of the IoW, showing her kneeling between six cripples and beggars to indicate her local benevolence towards the poor and lame. Scale: 50 cm.*

## Hybrid monuments

Nine of the tombs erected mainly in the early years of this masons' workshop operations were hybrid, in that the Caen stone monuments incorporated components produced or sourced elsewhere to meet the specifications of the deceased or their executors. These included the use of Purbeck marble coverstones on top of tomb-chests; inclusion of Derbyshire alabaster figures, and at two locations, London-made brasses inserted into the back panels of the recessed canopied tombs. Right at the end of this series one further tomb, BOXGROVE II, included an expensive Purbeck marble coverstone with a three-line brass inscription measuring 29.6 cm. in width and 7.4 cm. in height (now lost). However, there must remain some doubt whether this slab was not incorporated during the restoration and 'tidying up' of Boxgrove by Sir George G. Scott in 1864-65, although on the other hand, Grimm's drawing of the monument in c.1790 shows a slab of similar thickness. These hybrid monuments are listed in **TABLE 14** on pages 143-4..

*Table 14*  
**List of hybrid monuments**

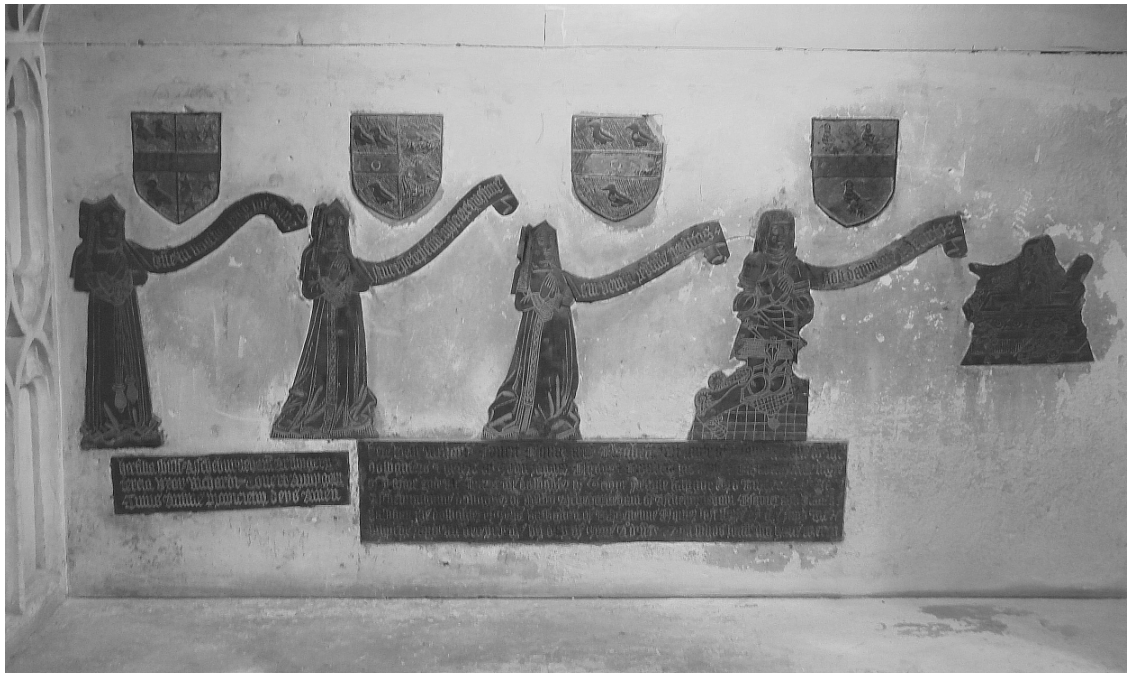
<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>HYBRID COMPONENT</b>
<b>Preston Episcopi.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520.	Blue-grey bevelled Purbeck marble coverstone 176 cm. in width, 54.6 cm. depth and 11 cm. thick above a Caen stone tomb-chest. Remnants of a recessed canopy tomb once on north wall but destroyed in church restoration.
<b>Mickleham.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520.	London 'F' workshop brasses - figures of man and a woman, prayer scrolls, one shield and inscription in raised blackletter giving date of death as 1513 - indented into Caen stone blocks on the back wall of recessed canopy tomb. Two other shields laid uncut onto these blocks. A Holy Trinity has no visible means of fixing. Was it painted? Its presence is indicated by its 'ghost' outline where exposed stone around it has darkened. Brass plates, almost certainly fixed by masons erecting the Caen stone tomb, probably some time after they were engraved, supervised by the husband. Blue-grey bevelled Purbeck coverstone, 153.2 cm. in length, 84 cm. depth and 13.5 cm. thick on top of tomb-chest.
<b>Slaugham.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520-47.	Recessed canopy tomb in Caen stone, forming an Easter Sepulchre. London 'Debased F' workshop brasses showing kneeling figures of Richard Covert, his first and second wives, prayer scrolls with texts from the responsory in the ninth lesson of the Matins of the Dead, three shields, and a representation of the Resurrection. Other brass plates added <i>c.</i> 1535 and <i>c.</i> 1547.
<b>Carisbrooke.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520.	Greenish Purbeck marble coverstone, 198 cm. in width and 58 cm. depth, with concave bevel ?carved at a different location, as the chamfer is 0.5 cm. wider than that on the adjoining portions of the Caen stone tomb-chest.
<b>Brading I.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520.	Blue-grey Purbeck marble coverstone, with concave bevel, 169 cm. in length; 88.5 cm. in depth and 8.2 cm. thick, placed on top of tomb-chest.
<b>Brading II.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1520.	Brown Purbeck marble coverstone with concave bevel, 143.9 cm. in length; 65.7 cm. in depth and 8.5 cm. thick placed on top of tomb-chest.
<b>Godshill.</b>	<i>c.</i> 1529.	Burton alabaster effigies of Sir John Leigh and wife, placed on top of tomb-chest. Male effigy 170 cm. in length and 47.5 cm. in width and has bedesmen at the foot; female effigy, 173 cm. in length and 42 cm. in width. The long faces are reminiscent of the effigy of Sir Richard Herbert <i>c.</i> 1500 in Abergavenny Priory church.

<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>HYBRID COMPONENT</i>
<b>Brading III.</b>	1536.	Greenish Purbeck marble coverstone, 172 cm. in length; 84 cm. in width and 11 cm. thick on top of tomb-chest.
<b>Boxgrove II.</b>	c.1547.	Greenish unio Purbeck marble coverstone, 213 cm. in length; 87 cm. in width and 11 cm. thick on top of tomb-chest, with indent of a small lost brass inscription. This may be a spurious addition to the monument, added during the Victorian restoration.

The religious panel at Goudhurst could arguably also be included in this category, as it is an integral part of the monument to Sir Alexander Culpeper and his wife with their wooden effigies and possibly, the suspected additional member of this group at Slindon, where a now destroyed recessed canopy tomb contained the oak effigy of Sir Anthony St Leger, d. 1539.



▲ Fig. 66: Burton alabaster figures on the monument to Sir John Leigh and wife at GODSHILL. They are not appropriated: the female effigy is shown wearing a heraldic mantle emblazoned with her arms. Height of male figure: 170 cm. Width: 47.5 cm.



▲ Fig. 67: *London-made brasses on the monument to Richard Covert at SLAUGHAM inserted locally in a series of development phases c.1520-47, beginning with his figure and those of his two wives, together with the Resurrection, at far right. Height of male figure: 31.9 cm.*

## Exterior monuments

Not everyone had the status or wealth to be able to erect their monuments in a prominent position inside their parish church. Rates of payment varied for different burial locations, depending on the decision of the incumbent and churchwardens. In this respect, local influences were of paramount importance (Llewellyn, 1983, 214). Those deemed ineligible for intramural interment opted to be commemorated within or near part of the fabric, such as the porch, (which was used in some parts of the pre-Reformation liturgy), rather than being buried in the churchyard. They sought to capture the attention of passers-by to prompt them to seek intercession for the souls of the departed. The will of Richard Sutton, of Cobham, Surrey, d. 1539, suggests this motivation. He desired burial in the churchyard by the porch and asked that a ‘tombe to be made thyr breste highe of a man and a stone upon the said tombe graven with an image [of] myself my wyff and all my children... and a boughte the said tombe a benche to be made for peopull to sytt on’ (Busby, 1979, 16).

The two exterior wall tombs in CHICHESTER and another at NORTH MUNDHAM,



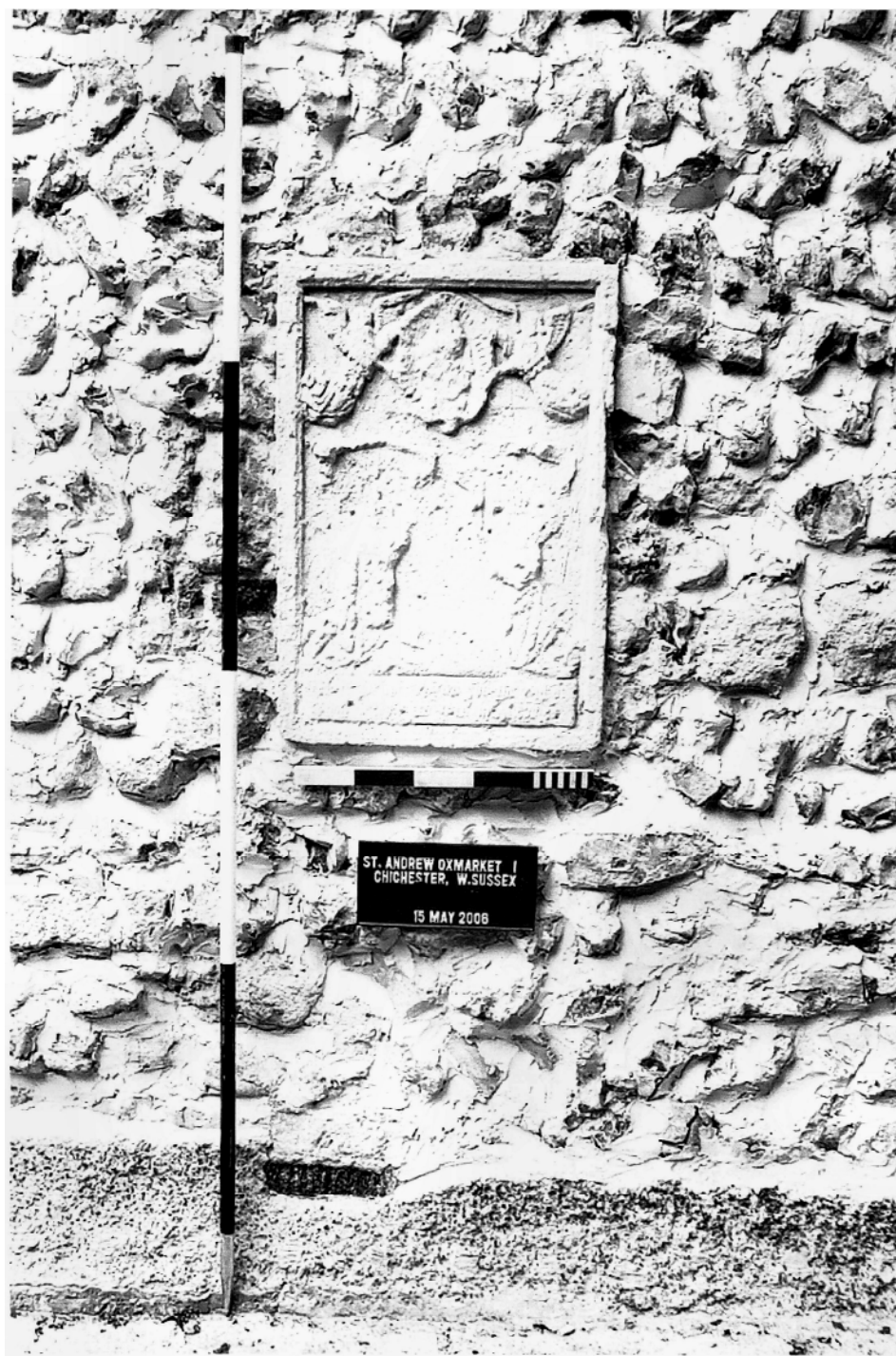
▲ Fig. 68: *Tomb of William Wyddowsoun and wife at MICKLEHAM, Surrey, c.1520, with the kneeling brass figures set beneath a Caen stone recessed canopy. Note the massive blue Purbeck marble coverstone to the Caen tomb-chest and the exposed foundations of the tomb. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

have attracted little or no archæological or antiquarian interest. Such tombs from this period are rare survivals, given their exposed position to the elements, poor durability of some stones and their vulnerability to unsympathetic restorers or to vandalism. The tradition began early in Sussex: tomb recesses remain outside in the south walls of the chancels at Warbleton (c.1300) and Sutton, probably c.1350. Later, most pre-Reformation exterior inscriptions are concerned with commemorating new construction or improvements to the fabric. This practice changed in the 1590s with the advent of exterior monumental brasses, primarily because of the growth of private chapels and pews and pressures on space for new floor and wall monuments inside churches. Minor gentry therefore placed brass inscriptions and figures on table tombs in the churchyard (D'Elboux, 1943-51, 150) and later, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, exterior monuments, mainly inscriptions with small carved motifs, became more common, particularly outside chancels. The three modest exterior monuments in this series seem to anticipate this trend. There is no evidence to suggest the CHICHESTER monuments have been moved outside, but at NORTH MUNDHAM just under five km. south of Chichester, an antiquarian drawing (Nibbs, 1851, no. 62) does not show the monument outside the church. It was placed in this position when the porch was rebuilt in the restoration of 1883 but the surface erosion indicates that it was always outside. It was probably sited in or near the original porch.

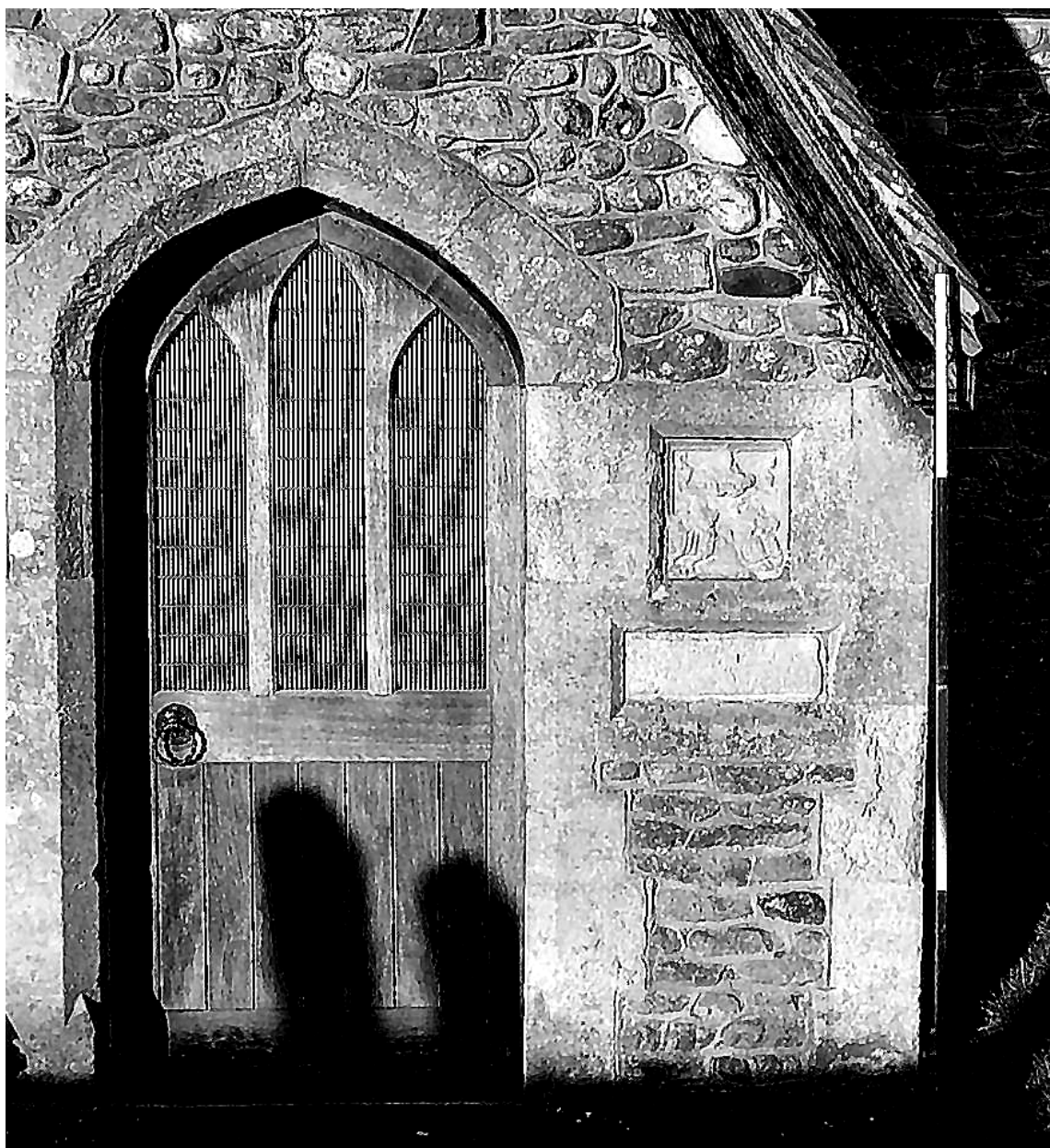
All three in this series have family groups which offer up ribbon-like prayer scrolls to religious iconography positioned above. Below the carving in shallow bas-relief are blackletter inscriptions in raised-lettering, now all largely unreadable because of the effects of erosion. During the fieldwork it was anticipated that expensive laser surface profiling (LASP) equipment would have to be used to reconstruct, in 3D, the wording of these inscriptions, using time-of-flight, phase comparison or triangulation technologies, as this technique has been successively employed in archæology to detect graffiti on weathered standing stones. With the kind assistance of the Revd. Jerome Bertram, an expert epigrapher, lengthy examination and measurement enabled the decipherment of most or all of the CHICHESTER I and III inscriptions, certainly enough to identify those commemorated with a reasonable degree of certainty. NORTH MUNDHAM defeated our best efforts, other than establishing the opening phrase of 'Of your charity...' and the Christian name of the



deceased as 'John'. It was decided not to deploy LASP on this single inscription, bearing in mind the cost involved and the learning curve necessary to achieve reliable results.



▲ Fig. 69: *Exterior wall monument to ?Thomas Royse and wife, c.1525, on the south wall of St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester (CHICHESTER I). Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 70: *Panel depicting kneeling civilian with two sons, wife and one daughter beneath a depiction of Christ in Majesty with a separate panel below with a raised-letter carved inscription, now almost effaced. NORTH MUNDHAM, now re-dated c.1520. On east jamb of Victorian south porch. Scale: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 71: Exterior wall monument to the coroner, ?William Royse, in civilian robes, and wife, c.1540 on west wall of St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester, hard up against the buttress (CHICHESTER III). Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

## Funerary armour

Having ordered an imposing monument, some considered that the hanging of funerary armour over the tomb completed the desired display of status. The custom of suspending a helmet, gauntlets, sword and sometimes tabards or banners over a memorial dates from at least the mid-fourteenth century in England. These items accompanied the funeral *cortège* and were hung in the church after the completion of the monument. Some were merely temporary, made of black and gold painted wood, but most items were specially made in metal, or cobbled together from a number of items of old armour; dating can therefore be problematical. Considerable numbers have disappeared and it may be that other displays accompanied this series of monuments; but there are no signs of brackets in the vicinity of tombs lacking these accoutrements. Three monuments are known to have had associated funerary armour: BROADWATER I; GODSHILL and PETWORTH. The first, a jousting helm, is now in the Royal Armouries, at Leeds (inventory number IV.593) having been purchased



◀ Fig. 72: *The Broadwater jousting helm; Flemish or Italian work of c.1520.* (WSRO PAR 29/4/24. Reproduced by kind permission of Edward Reeves, Castle Studios, Lewes and WSRO).

at Sotheby's for £22,000 in February 1974 after the church at Broadwater decided, controversially, to sell it (WSRO, PAR 29/4/25). The Flemish or Italian helm of about c.1520 has had a chequered past. It was originally fitted with a contemporaneous chain, front and back, at the base, for securing to the monument (Laking, 1922, vol.2, fig. 487). For many years the helm was hung in front of the pulpit of the church, serving as a poor box (Harrison, 1932, 17). About 1850, it was stolen but was recovered in Washington, across the South Downs from Broadwater. In 1879, it was lying on top of the tomb-chest, its visor loose and one of its back plates detached, unsecured to a staple which still remains. It was repaired and placed on a bracket high up on the wall on the west side of the tomb (Burges, 1879, 78). There seems little doubt that this, unusually, is a piece of armour that had been used in the field or tourney. It consists of four parts – the back, the crown (or skull-piece), the bevor and the visor. There are three ridges or flutings on either side of the skull-piece which is pierced by four holes on each side and two more at the centre, for laces for the quilted lining cap worn beneath. At the lower portion of the ridging there are three holes, for the fitting of a crest stalk or plume holder. The heavy visor with long sight and



◀ Fig. 73: *Helm hanging over the tomb at Petworth. A replica placed here in 1984; the original is reportedly held in a local bank.*

string medial lip has a rectangular opening for ventilation at the right side, protected by a right-angled flange at its forward edge. A hinged clasp is riveted to the right side of the bevor and this is locked over a staple on the edge of the visor with a sliding spring-loaded bolt (Royal Armouries note, IV 593). The helm is (2009) on display (LTO 7) in the Royal Armouries at Leeds. The Petworth helm (fig.73, page 152) is of German conception but English manufacture and again dates from *c.*1520. The fastenings, front and back, are missing and nearly all the rivets that secured the plates together are also wanting – evidence suggestive that it was unfinished or discarded, and bought only for funerary purposes (Laking, 1922, vol. 2, 119). The original, now held in a bank, had been painted brown with traces of decoration in a lighter colour. Two further brackets, shown in a Grimm drawing of 1780 (BL, Add. MSS. 5,674, fol. 52), probably supported a pair of gauntlets that are now lost. At Godshill, three helmets survive as funerary armour, of which a ?composite helm with the crest (a hind) fitted, and gauntlets, stolen in 1860, are traditionally associated with the tomb of Sir John Leigh.



◀ Fig. 74: *Composite helm with crest above the GODSHILL monument.(Restored).*



## Section 4: Iconography

### 9 - Easter Sepulchres

OF THE THIRTY-TWO monuments attributed to this workshop, at least 14 were designed for use as Easter sepulchres in the pre-Reformation liturgy and are listed in *TABLE 15* below. All these recessed canopied tombs are located in Sussex and the majority date from the 1530s.

*Table 15*  
**List of monuments used as Easter Sepulchres**

<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
c.1520	<b>Preston Episcopi.</b>	Originally on north side of chancel. Tomb destroyed in restoration. Tomb-chest now serves as main altar
c.1520	<b>Mickleham.</b>	North wall of north chapel.
c.1520	<b>Slaugham.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1524	<b>Broadwater I.</b>	North side chancel; painted imagery.
c. 1525	<b>Sompting.</b>	Originally north side of chancel. Now north wall, nave.
c.1530	<b>Kingston Buci.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1533	<b>Selmeston.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1535	<b>Petworth.</b>	North side of north chapel.
1537	<b>Church Norton.</b>	North side of chancel.
c. 1538	<b>Hamsey.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1538	<b>West Wittering I.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1538	<b>Racton.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1540	<b>Westhampnett.</b>	North side of chancel.
c.1540	<b>Wiston.</b>	Originally on north side of south chapel.

The position of the monument within a church and its religious imagery are reliable clues to the intentions of the deceased (or their executors) on this secondary role for a tomb. The north wall of the church, near the main altar, was the traditional location of the Easter Sepulchre, a permanent or a temporary structure used only in the Easter religious rites. The same applied to subsidiary chapels, reserved for family devotions, even when it is on the north or south side of the chancel, as at PETWORTH or WISTON. The latter tomb's original position, before the church restoration of 1867, was against the north wall of the Lady Chapel, now occupied by the monument of Charles Goring, d. 1849. The recessed canopied

tomb forming the sepulchre at PRESTON EPISCOPI was on the north side of the chancel before its demolition in the nineteenth century and re-use of its tomb-chest as the main altar. There is documentary evidence confirming that one tomb in this series, also on the north side of the chancel, served as an Easter Sepulchre. Edward Markewyck (HAMSEY, fig. 78, page 160) in his will of 1534 requested that:-

My executours shall ordeyn and make one Tombe of stone to be leyde upon me with an Image and scripture there graven whereupon the Sepulchre may be sett. (TNA, PROB 11/27, fol. 133v).

A catalogue of Easter Sepulchres published more than two decades ago listed 63 examples in Sussex, based on surviving examples, testamentary evidence or bequests for lights (Sheingorn, 1987, 329-37), but omitted PRESTON EPISCOPI, PETWORTH and WISTON.

The role of the sepulchre in the Easter liturgy is first mentioned in the *Regularis Concordia*, issued after the Winchester Synodal Council in 973 (Herbert, 2005, 7). Permanent stone sepulchres first appear in Sussex at Cocking (c.1290), Bepton (c.1300) and Denton (c.1310). Sculptured scenes depicting the Easter story emerged in the late 1320s in eastern England on monuments at Heckington and Navenby, Lincolnshire, and Hawton and Sibthorpe, Nottinghamshire, which emphasized the permanent presence of the living Christ in the monument (Sekules, 1986, 123-4), in line with a growing veneration for the *Corpus Christi*. Liturgy involving the sepulchre was swept away by Edward VI's government, beginning with Archbishop Cranmer's visitation of his own diocese in 1548. In May that year, Bishop Gardiner was criticised by the Privy Council for carrying out the sepulchre ceremonies at Winchester but he maintained they were still legal. However, the tide of Protestant reform overwhelmed him; from that year 'all godly ceremonyes and good usys were taken out of the Church within this Realme' according to churchwardens at Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire (Duffy, 1992, 462-3).

The pre-Reformation Easter liturgy began on Maundy Thursday with the altars of the church stripped of their ornaments after Mass. On Good Friday a shrouded cross was brought into the church and unveiled. Barefoot, the congregation then shuffled forward on their knees to kiss the base of the cross in a rite called the *adoratio* - the 'creeping to the cross', a favourite object of derision by reformers in the 1530s (Duffy, 1992, 29). Later that day, the priest placed a consecrated Host and the now veiled cross within the sepulchre to symbolise the burial of Christ after His crucifixion - the *depositio*. The parish took it in



turns to watch over the sepulchre until the early hours of Easter morning, fortified by food and drink. Then the Host was returned to the pyx hanging over the main altar, and the cross processed triumphantly around the church, the priest singing *Christus resurgens...* It was then placed on the altar and worshippers again crept towards it in a further act of veneration - the *elevatio* (Duffy, 1992, 30; Heales, 1869, 268).

These monuments were designed to replace wooden temporary structures 'and thereby to create a permanent association between the memory of the donor and the parish's most solemn act of worship' (Duffy, 1992, 32). At CHURCH NORTON, John Re[i]d left a ewe to pay for a light to burn before such a temporary sepulchre in 1518 (Sheingorn, 1987, 336) - almost two decades before John Lews built his wife's tomb in the church there - and at WEST WITTERING I, Thomas Love left two 'yewes shepe toward the mayntenaunce of a tapre of three pounds before the Sepulchre at Easter' in 1543 (Sheingorn, 1987, 339) which must refer to the tomb erected there by William Ernle five years before. Duffy (1992, 32-33) stresses that this link between 'one's own burial with that of the Host at Easter was a compelling, eloquent and above all a permanent gesture'. The donor would have a monument 'which was also the tomb of Christ... adorned with Resurrection imagery which spoke of personal hopes, as well as beliefs about Christ'. Saul believes that the notion of associating one's burial place with 'that of the Host at Easter was one which exerted an irresistible attraction' (2009, 64). In practical terms, they were 'incorporating their dust... inescapably within the liturgy' (Duffy 1992, 33) and therefore the donor's soul could expect to share in the benefits of the parishioners' prayers during the Easter vigil before the sepulchre. Some, like Ernle, sought additional invocatory prayers by choosing imagery which would be a powerful incentive to worshippers to visit the monument in supplication on other occasions. Furthermore, the presence of a tomb so close to the main altar of a church was a constant reminder to the priest celebrating Mass to include the donors of the sepulchre in his prayers, and its position on the north side of the chancel symbolised the right hand of God - 'a prize much sought after by those with the influence to secure it' (Saul, 2009, 164).

Some religious iconography used in a permanent sepulchre during the Easter rite was patently moveable. There are no slots or peg holes in the back wall or top of the tomb-chests at HAMSEY or SELMESTON to secure any stone imagery, which suggests temporary

placement there. Alternatively, the religious iconography was painted, or embroidered on cloth, and hung within the monument recess, as at Leatherhead, Surrey, where a 'stained cloth of the Passion of Christ for the sepulture', was listed in the church inventory of 1549. At St Peter-upon-Cornhill, London, there were three cloths illustrating the Easter story in 1546: 'a steyned cloth with a crucifix, mary and John with mary magdalyn and St James' then 'a steyned white clothe with a crucifix mary and John spotted with bloudde with the holy gost ouer his head', with the third portraying the entombment of Christ (Sheingorn, 1987, 46-7). Iconography was also painted on the back wall of the recessed tomb, which was probably the case at BROADWATER I. Depictions of the Resurrection were the most common iconography on Easter Sepulchres, as at KINGSTON BUCI, WEST WITTERING I (fig.75, page 158) and the London-made brass at SLAUGHAM of c.1520 (fig. 76, page 158). Christ's triumph over death is also represented by images of Him in Majesty, His hand raised in blessing, sometimes carrying His staff with a flag bearing the cross, as at RACTON, or displaying His wounds (WEST WITTERING II; fig. 77, page 159). At WESTHAMPNETT, the iconography is the rarely portrayed *Corpus Christi*, supported by the Holy Trinity. Other sepulchres had imagery that narrated the events of Easter. The Pietà, or deposition, remains at KINGSTON BUCI together with the Resurrection and the Holy Trinity. Angels who appeared to the three women visitors to Christ's grave in the Easter story also figure in the iconography of these monuments, often carrying the deceased's heraldic devices, such as the fragment at SOMPTING. Christ portrayed as the 'Man of Sorrows' on the small smashed panel, RUSTINGTON II, uses a devotional image outside of historical time, the message resembling the speech that Christ delivered in some of the medieval religious cycle plays - recounting the terrible pain that His triumph over death had cost Him and humanity's indifference to it (Sheingorn, 1987, 51).

Testamentary instructions to erect monuments in place of moveable sepulchres are occasional survivals. In April 1510, Robert Morley of Glynde, Sussex, directed that his body should be buried on the north side of the quire of his parish church -

where as the Sepulchre is accustomed to stande in the wiche place I wyll a Tombe  
of marble to be made, w<sup>t</sup> my picture and myn arms garnisshid theron, w<sup>t</sup> a vault



◀ Fig. 75: *The unusually lively Resurrection panel on WEST WITTERING 1 depicting Christ rising from the tomb-chest amid the sleeping soldiers, armed with a variety of pole-weapons. Scale: 50 cms.*



► Fig. 76: *London-made brass plate depicting the Resurrection at SLAUGHAM c.1520. Height of plate: 18.9 cm.*

rysing up by the wall, coming over the same stone of marble, so that at Easter tyme, the Sepulcre maye be there sett to theonour of allmyghty god (Godfrey, 1937, 210).

Another typical example is that of John Pympe of Nettlestead, Kent in 1496 which directed that his body should:-

be buried in the quere of the parishe churche of Nettelsted...before the Image of oure blessed lady in the self place where as the Sepulture of oure lord is wounte to stond at the Fest of Ester and so to be leyde there in a tombe of stone made under such forme as the blessed sacrement and the holy crosse may be leide upon the stone of the said tombe in maner of sepulture at the Feeste aboussaide (TNA, PROB 11/11, fol.21).



◀ Fig. 77: *Christ in Majesty, with a prominent nimbus, displaying the wounds of the crucifixion on WEST WITTERING II. Scale: 50 cm.*

His executors followed his instructions: an altar tomb remains in the north wall, blocked and plastered over (Livett, 1909, fn., 275). Dame Joan Norton, in 1535 sought to be buried alongside her first husband, Richard Fitz Lewes, in Faversham church, Kent:-

I will that myn executours shall fynyshe upp my tombe in ffeversham churche according to the bergeyn that I have made with oon Alen a mason of Bersted in Kent. And it to be used for a sepulcre place in the same churche to the honour of God and the blessed Sacrement (Lambarde 1929, 110).



◀ Fig. 78: *Recessed canopy tomb at HAMSEY, which may have had painted iconography on the back wall or alternatively, temporary and moveable imagery. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

The recessed Caen stone tomb, in pure Gothic style with an elegant triple arch and a three-panel tomb-chest survives, but the London-made brasses depicting the kneeling figure of Dame Joan, the Resurrection, a prayer scroll and an inscription on the back wall are long

gone (Lambarde, 1929, 107-114). The overall effect is more elegant than the output of the masons being investigated: 'Alen of Bearsted' was evidently a skilled carver and may have been an ancestor of Thomas Bertie, whose family is known to have come from the same village. There was a 'considerable colony of masons' resident at Bearsted in the late Middle Ages (Lambarde, 1929, 110), six of whom took part in the Cade rebellion of 1450.

## 10 – The religious iconography

THE RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY on these monuments was designed to implicate the observer in the deceased's devotion to the sculpture adorning their monument and to prompt the worshipper kneeling before it to offer prayers to speed their soul's passage on the perilous journey to heaven (Saul, 2009, 171). The painted imagery, surrounded by candles and tapers, must have presented a powerful image of piety, as well as playing an important role in the liturgy. It is significant that Eleanor, widow of Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr (BROADWATER I) in her will, refers to his tomb as 'my Lordes Awter in the chauncell' (TNA, PROB 11/25, fol.308).

Save for a handful of survivors from the short reign of Mary I, this group of monuments are among the latest tombs in the medieval tradition in England to include any religious sculpture, a reflection of the fact that the requirement for this category of sculpture virtually disappeared after about 1540 (Whinney, 1964, 1 and 10). Another example of this *genre* elsewhere is the rather florid, locally-carved alabaster monument to Sir Anthony Babington, c.1540, at Kingston-on-Soar, Nottinghamshire, which includes a panel depicting the Last Judgement, together with more than 200 examples of the rebus 'Babe-in-tun' (illustrated Esdaile, 1946, pls. 37-8).

The iconography on these tombs is analysed in *TABLE 16* below, indicating which was smashed by Protestant iconoclasts, those deliberately effaced in an attempt to protect the monument from destruction, and the few examples which survive unscathed.

*Table 16*  
**Religious Iconography on monuments/panels**

<i>TYPE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>SMASHED</i>	<i>EFFACED</i>	<i>SURVIVING</i>
Resurrection.	Kingston Buci.	●		
	?Church Norton.		●	
	West Wittering I.	●		
	Slaugham (brass).			●
Holy Trinity.	Broadwater II.		●	
	Westhampnett.	●		
	Petworth.		●	
	Kingston Buci.	●		
	Mickleham (brass).	●		
Instruments of the Passion.	Rustington II.			●



<i><b>TYPE</b></i>	<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>SMASHED</b></i>	<i><b>EFFACED</b></i>	<i><b>SURVIVING</b></i>
Christ in Majesty.	Racton.			●
	West Wittering II.	●		
	North Mundham.	●		
Crucifixion or 'Man of Sorrows'.	Rustington II. Kingston Buci.	● ●		
Pietà.	Kingston Buci.	●		
Our Lady of the Assumption.	Broadwater I. Chichester I.	●	●	
Annunciation.	West Wittering II.			●
God the Father in Majesty.	Goudhurst.* Chichester II.	●		●
Holy Ghost.	Wiston. Boxgrove I		●	●
Mass of St Gregory.	Stoke Charity.*			Buried in nave wall
BVM.	?Chichester – Royal Chantry.*	●		
BVM and Child.	Goudhurst.* Broadwater II.			● Turned inwards
? St Anne	Broadwater II.		●	
St George.	Broadwater I. Broadwater II. Church Norton. West Wittering I.		●	Turned inwards ● ●
?St Thomas Becket.	Broadwater I.		●	
?St Richard of Chichester.	Chichester II. ?Broadwater I.	●	●	
St Agnes.	Church Norton.			●
?St Catherine.	Chichester II.	●		
?St Barbara.	West Wittering I.			●
?St. Benedict.	West Wittering I.			●
?St Edmund / St Roche.	West Wittering I.			●
Unidentified saints.	Wiston. Broadwater I. Broadwater II.		● ● ●	
Angels.	Chichester I.	●		
Angels holding shields	Sompting. Godshill. Carisbrooke. Kingston Buci. Chichester - Royal Chantry*	●		● ● ● ●

**KEY:**      \* - Religious panels.



## Personal saints

Although most have been lost, a range of representations of personal saints survive - or can be reconstructed from physical evidence on some monuments. The front of the tomb-chest on the Easter Sepulchre/monument at WEST WITTERING I contains four narrow



▲ Fig. 79: *The tomb-chest of WEST WITTERING I with, left to right, SS George, Barbara, Benedict and ?Edmund or Roche, positioned like weepers found on fifteenth century tombs. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

vertical niches with small effigies of saints on pedestals and below Gothic canopies, consciously mimicking the monuments of the great and good, to fulfil Ernle's requirement for a high-status tomb that would impress his peers. The practice of placing diminutive figures around the side of a tomb originated in France in the thirteenth century. It first appears in England in Exeter Cathedral, where the tomb of Bishop Henry Marshal (d. 1206, but erected c.1220), includes small images of saints and on the French-influenced tombs of Countess Aveline and her husband Edmund of Lancaster in the 1290s in Westminster Abbey (Saul, 2009, 167). Initially, they represented the deceased's family, but later became images of mourners, colloquially known as 'weepers', as in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel, where the Chellaston alabaster monument to Thomas Fitzalan, fifth earl of Arundel, and his wife, erected c.1419, has figures of the members of the collegiate chapel positioned in niches around the tomb-chest. Figures of family mourners continued on



▲ Fig. 80: Images of St George, trampling the dragon and St Barbara, with the battlemented tower with its windows, seen behind her left shoulder, in niches on the front of the tomb-chest at WEST WITTERING I. Note the traces of black paint remaining in the cinquefoils. Height of niches: 41.5 cm.

tomb-chests well into the sixteenth century as at Ashover, Derbyshire, 1518 and Kinlet, Shropshire, 1531. As previously discussed (*see* chapter nine) there was also a dominant religious dimension - probably ranking above worldly questions of rank and status, as far as the deceased was concerned. The inclusion of the small effigies of saints on the tomb-chest at WEST WITTERING I provided a compelling focus for regular devotional prayers by casual worshippers as well as during the important annual religious feast of Easter. The accepted medieval attributes of saints provides some measure of confidence in their identification, although we can only speculate on the reasons for the choice of iconography. First on the left at WITTERING I is the familiar iconography representing



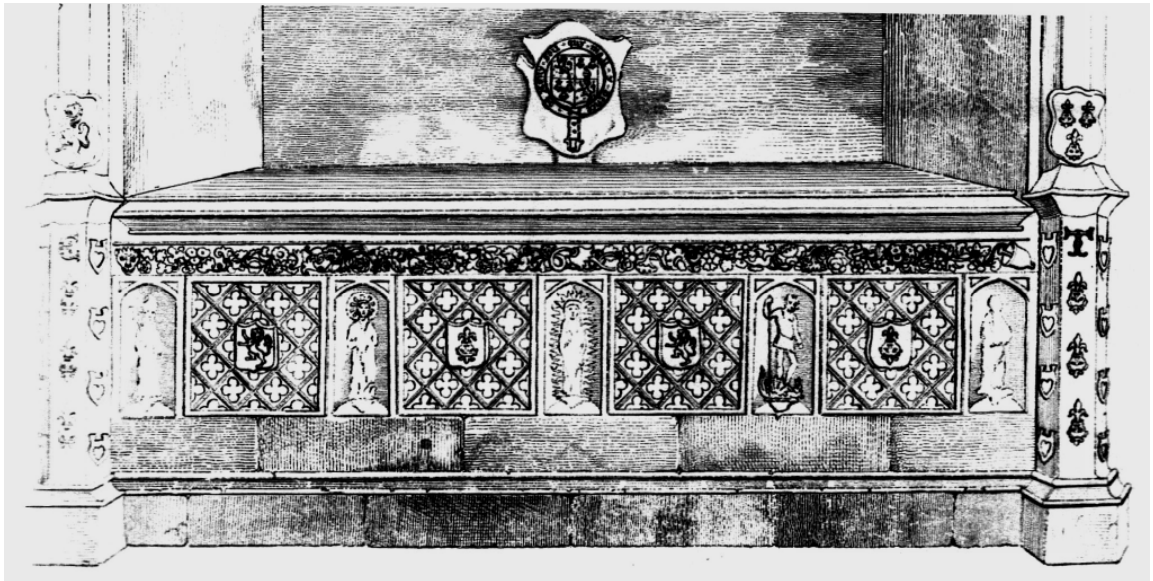
▲ Fig. 81: Images on the right hand of the tomb-chest at WEST WITTERING I: Left, *St Benedict and right, probably St Roche, or alternatively, St Edmund, King and Martyr*. Height of niches: 41.5 cm.

St George, his lance rammed into the mouth of a miniature and crudely-carved dragon squeezed under his feet (fig. 80, page 165). Next is the effigy of a woman with what superficially appears to be a bundle of faggots slung over her shoulder (fig.80, page 165). Closer examination shows this to be a crudely-carved crenellated tower with windows - the conventional representation of St Barbara, patron saint of armourers and fortifications, who was invoked to protect against sudden death, as she was said to save sinners from dying without receiving the last sacraments (Tabor, 1908, 23-4). She also possessed powers to protect households from storms and fire (Anderson, 1971, 135). Inclusion of such an image would create an incentive to pray at this monument at times other than at Easter. These were called instrumental prayers and were intended to assist the supplicant in a specific

personal crisis. A rare recorded example was a man's recovery from a wound caused by a crossbow bolt after praying before an image of St Leonard in Axminster church, Devon, in 1536 (Marks, 2004, 171). The third figure is a bearded monk, carrying a staff with a cross at its head and a book in his left hand (fig. 81, page 166). This probably represents St Benedict, founder of the monastic order, who frequently appears in medieval iconography as on the rood screens at Burlingham St Andrew, North Elham, Great Plumstead and Smallburgh, all in Norfolk (Anderson, 1971, 138). He is usually bearded, either holding the *asperges* for sprinkling holy water or, when dressed as an abbot, his pastoral staff. Sometimes he is associated with a raven or a broken cup but often with a book; thus the attributes for this saint, with his staff and book, match the image on this tomb. The choice of St Benedict indicates some undetermined personal affiliation, probably involving Ernle's first wife's family with a Benedictine house in Sussex; Battle, Boxgrove or the small nunnery at Rusper. The final image on the right is more problematical. This figure carries a staff and seemingly wears a hunter's cape and hat, with a knife or *baselard* stuck into his belt (fig.81, page 166). At his feet is an animal with a pointed snout. Superficially, this might represent St Edmund, king and Martyr, who after being defeated in 869 by the Danes was wounded by arrows and then beheaded. His headless body was later found watched over by a grey wolf. The centre of his cult was at Bury St Edmund's where he was finally buried. The animal beneath this image could well be a wolf. Edmund was a popular saint during the Middle Ages, particularly in East Anglia. Ernle's second wife, Bridget, whom he married on 15 August 1538, was the daughter of Thomas Spring, popularly known as the 'rich clothier of Lavenham' in Suffolk (Done, 1965, 16). Her East Anglian origins may have influenced the choice of iconography for her predecessor. This could provide useful evidence for dating this monument which fits this date typologically. More likely, however, is that the image represents St Roche and his dog, the patron saint of plague victims (Salzman, 1953, 221). He is normally represented as a pilgrim with a staff and a cockleshell on his hat, pointing to a bubonic plague sore on his thigh (Tabor, 1908, 174). There is no sign of a cockleshell here, normally quite an obvious object, and the right hand does not seem to be pointing to anything. There were widespread outbreaks of bubonic plague in Sussex in 1527-30 and again in 1532, the memory of which would have been very much

alive in the Ernle household. Significantly, the appearance of St Roche's image multiplied during periods of pestilence in England (Anderson, 1971, 141).

BROADWATER I, the grandiose tomb of Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, erected c.1524, has five image niches on the front of its tomb-chest, with a figure of Our Lady of the Assumption within a mandorla at the centre. On the observer's left, is the



▲ Fig. 82 : Tomb-chest of BROADWATER I, with the figure of Our Lady of the Assumption seen at the centre and St George on her left. (Society of Antiquaries of London, proof copy of engraving from Dallaway's History...of Western Sussex). Width of monument: 313.7 cm.

erased figure of a saint in a bishop's pontifical vestments, probably St Thomas à Becket, and next, an unidentified saint with a nimbus, possibly with an animal at the feet. This is only partially erased. On the right is another representation of St George, and finally, there is a fully erased effigy, whose identify is obscure. On each side shaft are two groups of other saints, predominantly mitred bishops or abbots standing within canopied niches which have all been scraped down or chiseled off. Other personal saints were positioned on small brackets or corbels on the side panels of recessed tombs, close to the kneeling figures of the deceased, or on top of the columns flanking the monuments as at RUSTINGTON II. In contrast, at PETWORTH, there were two heraldic devices - bears - atop the columns right and left. These are now lost, but are shown in an antiquarian drawing of the monument dated 1780 (BL Add. MS. 5,674, fol. 52). At CHURCH NORTON the wife's kneeling effigy is alongside the depiction of the martyrdom of her personal saint, a

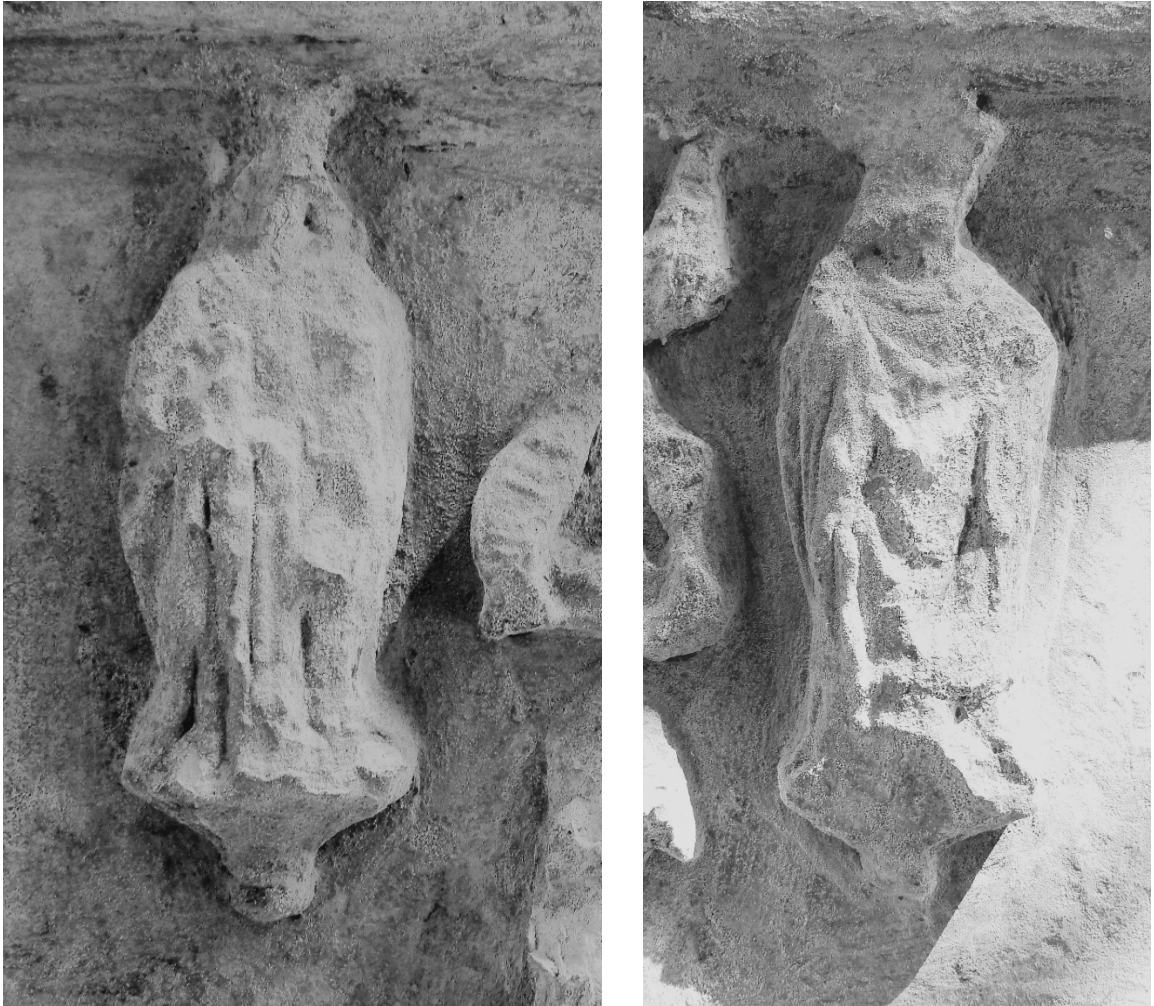


▲ Fig. 83: *The two personal saints at CHURCH NORTON, on the side panels of the recessed tomb. Left: St George, standing on a scaly dragon, his foot trampling its mouth. Right: The martyrdom of St Agatha, with two soldiers in Eastern dress. Note the Palm Tree behind the figures and the similar corbel to the secondary figures at WEST WITTERING I. The effigy of St George measures 47 cm. in height and 14 cm. in width; that of the martyrdom of St Agatha, 47.5 cm. in height and 17.9 cm. in width.*

submissive St Agatha and her husband has a vigorous St George - a third variant on the depiction of this saint in this group of monuments, demonstrating the wide range of woodcuts available as patterns or designs to the carvers and the popularity of the saint (fig. 83, above). The choice of these two saints subtly encodes her Christian and maiden names



of Agatha and George (Duffy, 1992, 32) and she enjoys unusual feminine dominance on the monument. Her third husband, John Lews, who died 30 years after its erection, barely receives a mention in the three inscriptions carved on its chest and within the tomb recess. We can speculate that he was responsible for the removal of the central panel of religious



▲ Fig. 84: *Damaged figures of saints on CHICHESTER II, left, probably St Catherine, right, possibly St Richard. What features survive are obscured by a recent coat of cement paint. The figure of St Catherine measures 16 cm. in height and 6.5 cm. in width (including corbel) and that of the bishop, 17.3cm. and 6.5 cm.*

iconography (?a Resurrection) as a protective measure but managed to retain his wife's saint because of the personal association (fig.97, page 183).

The cult of St George burgeoned in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in Kent, 76 churches are known to have had devotional images of this saint (Marks, 2004, 114) and there were more than 100 churches in England dedicated to him in the fifteenth

century. St George, because of his link with English patriotism, was one of the few saints exempted from the abolition of holy day observance in the 1530s. In this series, he appears as a large effigy on BROADWATER II, complementing the BVM on the left-hand side of the monument with an erased Trinity between them. On the tomb-chest are two more effaced images; on the left may be St Christopher, on the right, a Pietà, or more probably a figure of St Anne, mother of the BVM.

The sadly battered exterior panel probably commemorating William Royse and family, *c.*1540, at CHICHESTER II, includes two saints on corbels. On the left, is a female figure with a sword, probably St Catherine of Alexandria, wearing a crown (fig. 84, page 170). The pious considered her, together with SS Margaret and Barbara, as one of the 14 most helpful saints in heaven to answer the prayers of sinners. On the right is a mitred figure, obviously a bishop or abbot, although one not carrying a pastoral staff. Given the monument's location and Royse's position as coroner in the city, it is entirely plausible that this represents St Richard of Chichester (fig.84). His accepted attribute is a chalice but there seems no sign of it here, unless it was at the image's feet (in legend, the saint dropped one). A portion of the corbel and the feet have been smashed, indicative of offending iconography once present in this position, which may well have been a dropped chalice. Two other personal saints at WISTON were positioned as at CHURCH NORTON, but are now lost. Their existence is only known from the corbels shown in an antiquarian drawing of the monument before its destruction in the Victorian era, when one was still present (fig. 54, page 122).

Personal saints also appear on the panels containing religious imagery. At Goudhurst, Kent, the two wooden effigies of Sir Alexander Culpeper and his wife gaze at a Caen-stone panel, produced by these masons, in the jamb of the window above. This depicts on the left, St George and the dragon, and on the right, probably the BVM and Child, but unusually carrying a chalice in her right hand. Over all, is God the Father in Majesty, carrying an orb in His left hand, with the right raised in blessing. Two pert little cherubs flutter beneath the clouds surrounding the deity above Culpeper's arms (fig. 19, page 69 and fig. 95, page 181). Strangely, a doughty church visitor of the nineteenth century believed the tableau portrayed the Biblical story of Cain and Abel (Glynne, 1877, 287) but it clearly is intended to bind those commemorated with both God and their



personal saints into a predicative relationship. Beneath are the diminutive carved figures of Culpeper and his wife with their sons and daughters, kneeling at a double prayer desk, placed to emphasize their adoration of the imagery above. The freedom in carving, particularly in the delicacy of the detail demonstrates the growing impact of Renaissance ideas and style.

At Stoke Charity, Hants., the panel representing the Mass of St Gregory, c.1530, is a rare survival and is part of a group of devotional images linked to the Five Wounds of Christ (fig. 85, below). Devotion to the Five Wounds was growing in popularity in England right up to the eve of the Reformation (Duffy, 1992, 238). Surprisingly the iconography appears as late as 1595 on the tomb to Edmund Roe at Axbridge, Somerset. The image originated in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, where the chapel and altar of St. Gregory, built 1495-1520, holds a silver-framed triptych reliquary with a fourteenth century mosaic of the suffering Christ. It was in this church that St Gregory, (Pope in 590-604), experienced a vision of the Christ whilst celebrating Mass. He saw Him standing on his tomb and displaying His Wounds as the so-called 'Man of Sorrows'



► Fig. 85: *Christ as the 'Man of Sorrows' displaying the Five Wounds at STOKE CHARITY, c.1530, supported by two angels, with St Gregory, his mitre besides him, and a deacon kneeling at the altar beneath. Scale: 50 cm.*

or 'Image of Pity'. This vision was later reproduced widely in cheap devotional woodcuts. The popularity of this imagery grew further following the *Decree on Purgatory*, passed by the Council of Trent in 1536, which stipulated that if the Eucharist was celebrated at certain altars, including that of St Gregory, the pilgrim's soul would be granted a plenary indulgence and the personal intercession of St Gregory. It was an offer not to be lightly disregarded: 32,755 years of pardon were available for any who repeated piously, before the image, five *Paters*, five *Aves* and the Creed (Duffy, 1992, 239).

The imagery of the 'Man of Sorrows' is repeated at RUSTINGTON II (fig. 86, below) but this time standing before His cross, but the hands are not nailed to it, in keeping with St Gregory's vision. Hanging from the arms of the cross are two of the Instruments of the Passion - the whip and the scourge - part of the 40-strong group of images associated with the Easter story in medieval religious iconography. These appear on a number of monuments and brasses during the first four decades of the sixteenth century, for example



◀ Fig. 86: Christ as 'The Man of Sorrows' at RUSTINGTON II, with two of the Instruments of the Passion hanging from the arms of the cross. Height of effigy estimated at 33.9 cm.

associated with the alabaster effigy of Abbot William Parker in Gloucester Cathedral, where others of this series of symbols - the ladder, scourging post and spear with a sponge - appear in panels on the freestone tomb-chest. Parker died in 1539, but the typology of this monument, together with the inclusion of pomegranates on the tomb-chest - the personal badge of Catherine of Aragon - alternating with Tudor roses, would date it to the early 1520s (Roper, 1931, 254).

### Religious themes

Aside from the iconography on Easter Sepulchres, the choice of which religious scene to employ on these monuments was clearly a matter of personal preference. This resulted in some unusual representations of religious subjects, again perhaps created by the range of woodcuts available to copy. An Annunciation scene (figs. 87 and 88, pages 175 and 176) was selected for the front of the tomb-chest on William Ernle's second monument, WEST WITTERING II erected c.1547. This included the portrayal of lilies - the *Lilium candidum* or 'Madonna' lily - symbolising purity, first used in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century. The three stems are suggestive of Mary's immaculate virginity before, during and after childbirth (Rushforth, 1936, 85). But here, the flowers have been transformed into a miniature crucifix by the addition of a figure of Christ, carved with absurdly large hands. After the depredations of the Reformation, this representation is only found in England at Long Melford, Suffolk, (glass), St Helen's church, Abingdon, Berkshire, (painted ceiling) St Michael's, Oxford, (glass), Godshill, IoW, (wall-painting) Queen's College chapel, Oxford, (glass) Tong, Shropshire, (misericorde) and a fifteenth century alabaster fragment in St Mary's, Nottingham. Was it coincidence that the iconography was probably chosen by Ernle's second wife, who had lived 3.25 km. away from Long Melford before her marriage? (Done, 1965, 18). The pot in which the three lily stems are arranged was interpreted in 1400 by John Mirk, prior of Lilleshall, as representing the story of the Jew who was converted to Christianity by the miraculous appearance of a lily from a wine pot in answer to his challenge (Rushforth, 1936, 85). The panel depicts Mary, long-haired to indicate her unmarried state, kneeling meekly at a prayer desk within a curtained room being confronted by the Archangel Gabriel, who announces, via a mutilated scroll: 'Ave Maria dominus te[cum]...' Above is a tiny figure of God the

Father partially hidden in clouds, with rays of light directed at the lily (?representing the breath of God). Two pilasters, filled with Renaissance motifs, flank this charming scene. A similar Annunciation is on the monument to Judge William Rudhall, d. 1529, at Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire. Here the Virgin looks back at the angel, with the kneeling figures of the judge and his family behind (illustrated, Saul, 2009, 170). As iconoclasts fell 'with particular fury' upon images of the BVM (Anderson, 1971, 129) this is a surprising survival and suggests that some protection was afforded to the Wittering monument by the Ernle family in the years immediately following its erection.



▲ Fig. 87: A lily in a vase, symbolising purity, lies before the Virgin Mary in the carving on the front of the tomb-chest of WEST WITTERING II. Note the miniature crucified Christ within the flowers of the lily. The height of the lily in the vase is 32.7 cm.

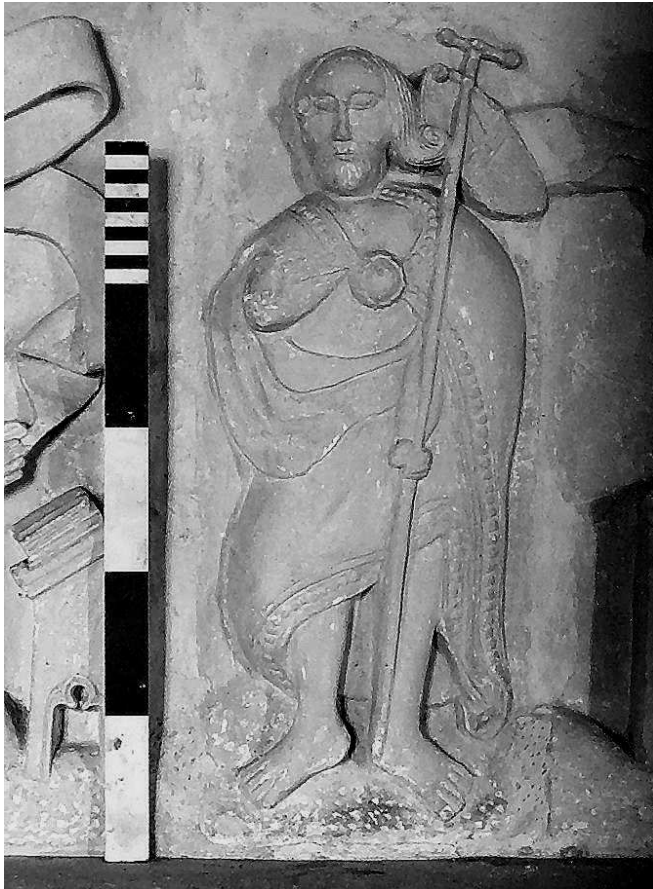
Many recessed canopied tombs in this series had iconography placed centrally between the two kneeling groups of the deceased and his family. As we saw in chapter nine, this sometimes involved iconography linked to the Easter liturgy, such as the

Resurrections at SLAUGHAM and KINGSTON BUCI. The tomb commemorating John Gounter and his family at RACTON was erected as an Easter Sepulchre in his lifetime while his



▲ Fig. 88: *The Annunciation panel on the front of the tomb-chest of WEST WITTERING II, flanked by two vertical strips contained Renaissance decorative motifs. Scale: 50 cm.*

second wife, Jane was still alive. The central religious imagery is a clumsily-carved figure of Christ, wearing a cope with a prominent morse and carrying a cross-staff, fitted with a flag, reminiscent of the *Agnes Dei*. This again symbolises Christ's triumph over Death (fig. 89, page 177). The right hand, raised in blessing, has been lost, possibly through vandalism rather than iconoclasm; if the motivation was the latter, would not the figure have been destroyed? At the west end of this tomb is a panel with two lively pelicans on either side of what seems to be a chalice, decorated by beading (fig. 90, page 178). This must be a representation of the much-loved medieval legend of the 'Pelican in her Piety' – the myth that the bird fed her young with her own blood to ensure their survival. The pelican also appears on a panel at BOXGROVE I. At RACTON, the symbolism indicates charity and the power of the love of God emanating from His own blood during the Mass. This



◀ Fig. 89: *Christ in Majesty, the central religious iconography between two kneeling groups at RACTON. Scale: 50 cm. Note the stab marks at the base of the figures.*

interpretation is reinforced by the presence of the grapevine above, symbolising sacrifice and immortality and sometimes the Eucharist itself. Both the pelicans and the grapevine motif are repeated on the upper panels of the front of the tomb, with this time, significantly, the birds supporting a shield with the Gounter arms of *Sable, three gauntlets argent*, another suggestive and unbreakable link between the pre-Reformation church's liturgy and those commemorated (fig.91, page 178) The trailing vine and grapes are also found at PETWORTH and in the spandrels of the depressed arches at HAMSEY and SELMESTON.

The central panel of the appropriated tomb at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II was filled with the arms of Robert White, who (or his executors) recycled the monument before or after 1619. The size and vertical shape of the space available for the panel suggests that the religious iconography may have been a Holy Trinity or a Christ in Majesty. Another version of the latter imagery is found on the sadly-eroded exterior slab at NORTH



▲ Fig. 90: Two Pelicans on either side of a chalice on a panel on the west end of the RACTON tomb. Width of tomb: 56.5 cm.



▲ Fig. 91: Upper right panel on the front of the tomb at RACTON showing grapevine motif and pelicans supporting the Gounter arms. Width of panel: 77 cm.



MUNDHAM where the figure of Christ is standing rather precariously amid some clouds – or is it a representation of the Ascension? Prayer scrolls, probably with raised-letters now wholly gone, wind up, ribbon like, from the mouths of the supplicants below. A similar



▲ Fig. 92: *Christ in Majesty standing on a base of clouds, as seen at NORTH MUNDHAM. Panel dimensions: 35.7cm. in height; 32.2 cm. in width.*

design is found on the exterior panel at CHICHESTER I, where the imagery represents Our Lady of the Assumption. Here, two bearded and rather energetic angels, in stylised robes, support the crowned Virgin Mary, surrounded by a mandorla (fig.93, page 180), as at BROADWATER I. More prayer scrolls hover beneath, emanating from the two kneeling figures of the deceased.





▲ Fig. 93: *Our Lady of the Assumption, within a mandorla, supported by two flying or hovering bearded angels on CHICHESTER I. The mandorla measures 22.1 cm. in height by 15.3 cm. in width.*

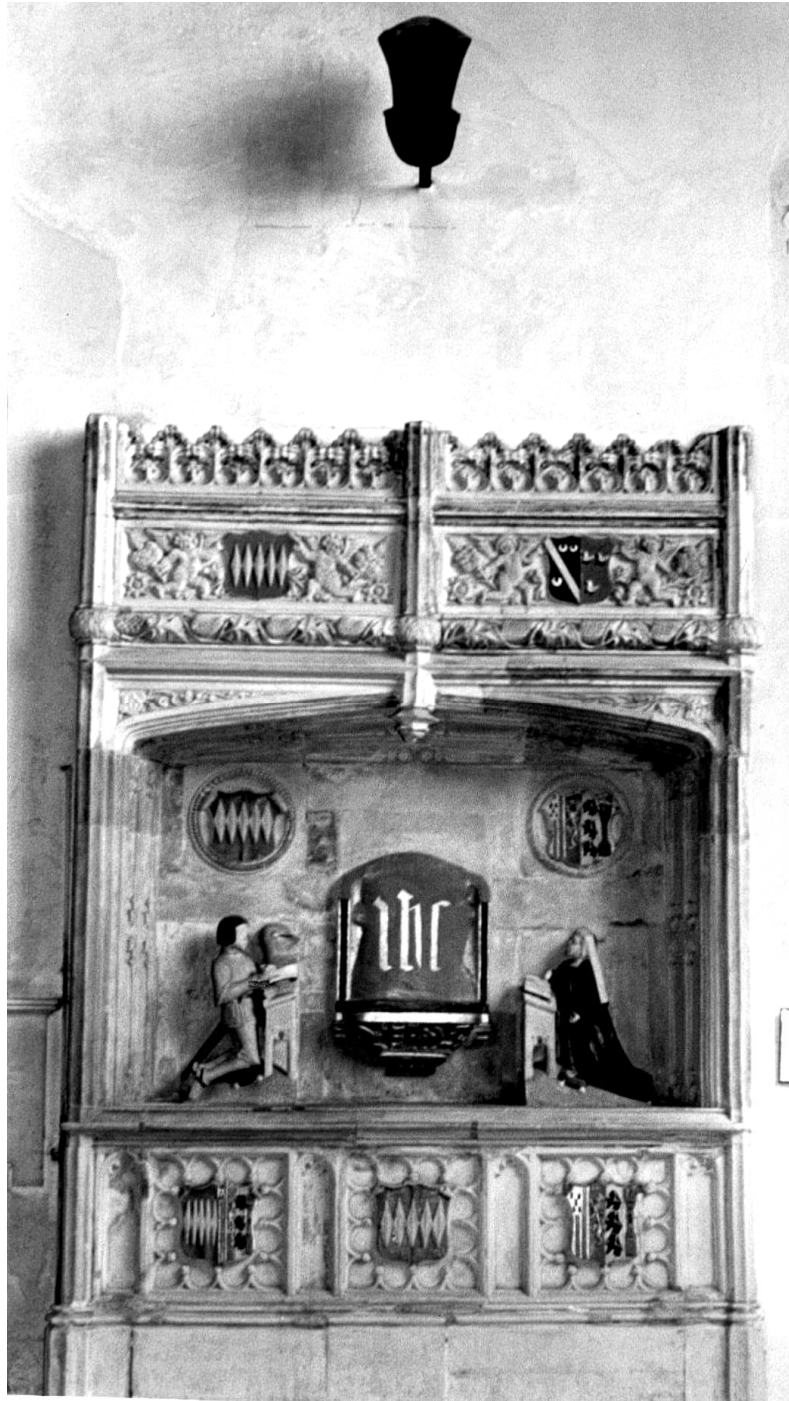


▲ Fig. 94: *God the Father in Majesty within a mandorla with clouds beneath on CHICHESTER II. Height of image: 16.3 cm.*

After the turmoil of the Reformation, the religious iconography on monuments was replaced by a range of symbolic ornamentation, particularly *memento mori*: skulls and crossbones, scythes, hour-glasses, and weeping cherubs holding doused torches (Phillips, 1973, 118) as tombs took on more the role of family records and eulogizing the merits of the deceased.



▲ Fig. 95: The religious panel at Goudhurst, showed the kneeling figures of Sir Alexander Culpeper and his family beneath top, God the Father in Majesty and figures of St George and the BVM. The panel measures 69 cm. in height; 54 cm. in width.



▲ Fig. 96: The tomb of Sir John Dawtrey I at PETWORTH. The central panel of religious imagery was probably a Holy Trinity, judging from the two remaining pilasters on either side of the effaced iconography. The remains of this panel are now lost and have been replaced by the sacred monogram 'IHS' painted on the back wall. The monument measures 334.4 cm. in height and 229.8 cm. in width.



▲ Fig. 97: *The tomb of John Lews and wife, at CHURCH NORTON, with the central panel which had religious imagery cut out. By its size and shape, it may have been a Resurrection. The monument was erected after the death of his wife in 1537. Monument measures 177 cm. in height (canopy restored) and 152 cm. in width.*

## 11 – Decoration and symbolism

ASIDE FROM THE FASHIONABLE tastes of the de la Warr family, father and son, displayed on their monuments at BROADWATER I, c.1524, BOXGROVE I, 1532 and BROADWATER II, carved c.1545, Renaissance decoration does not appear on other tombs in this series until around 1535. Up to that date, the traditionalist clientele in Sussex and Hampshire who were commissioning these tombs clearly wanted to cling onto familiar Gothic designs.

### Renaissance decoration

The monument to the eighth baron de la Warr at BROADWATER I is essentially Gothic in concept, but the cornice of three panels and a shallow frieze immediately below the coverstone of the tomb-chest introduces ostentatious Renaissance ornamentation. At the top of the tomb, between the side shafts and the central pediment, left to right, are two grotesque masks (another version reappears on the entablature at CLAPHAM 26 years later) being ?fed by two swans; two winged mermaids with an urn and finally, two griffins' being ?fed by two swans; two winged mermaids with an urn and finally, two griffins'



▲ Fig. 98: Left hand portion of the cornice at BROADWATER I with two grotesque bearded masks facing two swans with a boldly-carved frieze of various mythological flowers (also found on BOXGROVE I) beneath. The juxtaposition of these Renaissance motifs alongside the Gothic ornamentation of the shafts and the pinnacles of the niches below makes for a strange decorative medley.



heads, perhaps flanked by dolphins, accompanying a full-face mask wearing a hat with a curved brim. On the tomb-chest there is a mask, (reminiscent of the Green Men in the spandrels of the destroyed tomb at WISTON), from which emanates a twisted trail of roses.



▲ Fig. 99: Two naked female cherubs with mermaid tails grasp an urn in the central section of the cornice at BROADWATER I.



▲ Fig. 100: The right-hand section of the cornice at BROADWATER I, displaying two griffins' heads, flanked by what look like stylised dolphins, with a full-face mask wearing a hat with a curved brim at centre..

At BOXGROVE I the structure of the chantry chapel is still Gothic, with its entablature set on seven carved circular piers with 24 small canopied image niches set in two rows

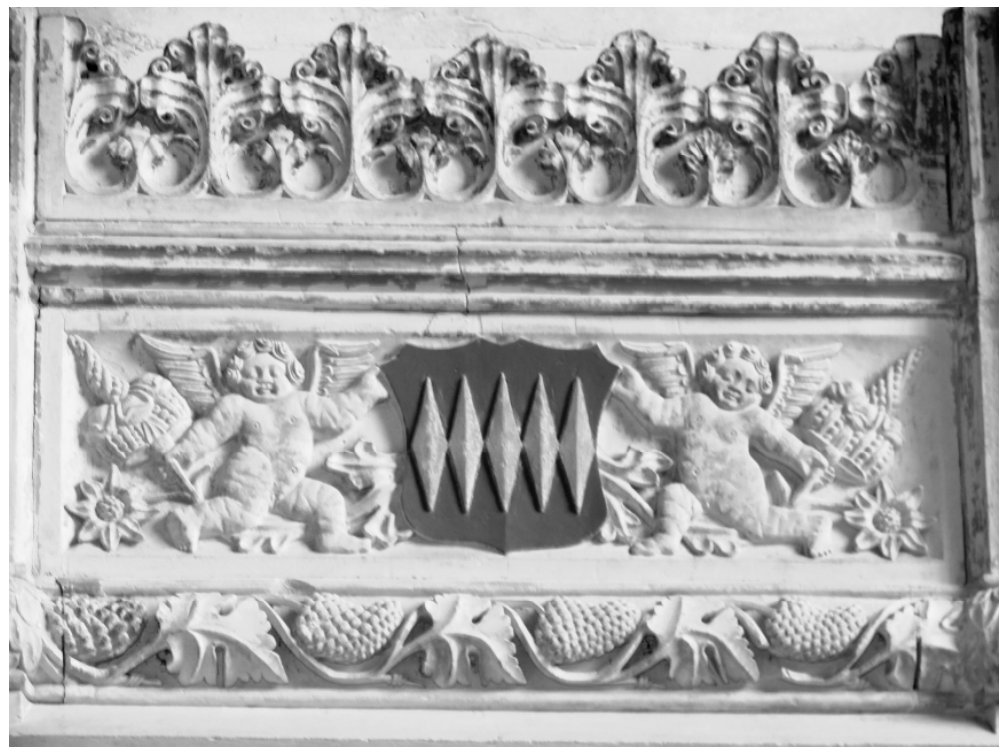


▲ Fig. 101: *Mask, with eyes closed, from whose mouth emanates a twisted rose on this shallow frieze below the coverstone of the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I. At bottom left, is the head of an effaced saint, clearly a bishop with a crosier. The horizontal moulding was patched centre right, probably during erection of the monument..*

around the entablature. But the panels and piers are carved with a mass of Renaissance decoration, the greater part of which, as we shall see shortly, was copied from woodcuts printed in a range of *Books of Hours* published in Paris between 1496 and 1515. The upper frieze on the entablature is formed by panels, some of which contain scenes from these woodcuts. The lower, and deeper, frieze contains panels with heraldry held alternately by pairs of cherubs or *putti* and more dignified angels, the latter sometimes flanked by tiny figures with scrolls, again copied directly from the woodcuts. These panels of fat cherubs supporting heraldic shields are also found at PETWORTH and at RACTON, together with bird motifs similar to BOXGROVE I. At WEST WITTERING II, the lost frieze above the monument had cherubs, as well as a dragon and a horse, supporting shields and at WISTON the supporters were pairs of caryatids. The Italianate urns, winged cherubs with lutes, climbing cherubs and grotesque masks of the strapwork surrounding the reredos of the altar inside the chantry at BOXGROVE I appear on the pilasters at CHICHESTER III, WEST WITTERING II and CLAPHAM, together with birds, dragons and representations of towers.



▲ Fig. 102: *Heraldic panel at BOXGROVE I with two strutting cherubs supporting a crampet, a badge of the de la Warr family, derived from the Cantelupes, from whom they descended through a maternal ancestor (Lower, 1850, 230-231) .*



▲ Fig. 103: *Cherubs supporting a shield at PETWORTH, above a grapevine frieze, amid the same mythical flowers found on the panels at BOXGROVE I.*





▲ Fig. 104: *Less vigorously-carved winged cherubs on a panel at the west end of RACTON supporting a roundel with the initials 'I G' for 'John Gounter' tied by a lover's knot. Below is another grapevine frieze.*



▲ Fig. 105: *The more stately winged angels at BOXGROVE 1 supporting a Gartered shield bearing the arms of LA WARR. This version alternates with panels showing the cherubs supporting la Warr family badges.*



▲ Fig. 106: *Frieze on the entablature at CLAPHAM with Renaissance masks supporting a heraldic roundel with a shallow frieze of trailing roses and other flowers below.*

Some of the tiny figures decorating CHICHESTER III are unique to this monument within this series and are carved with some humour. There are figures with funny hats, a multi-armed monkey, and a woman who is wearing a head-dress resembling the feathered head-dress of a Native American - certainly unlike a nimbus.



▲ Fig. 107: *Figures from the pilasters on CHICHESTER III. Left to right: Lady with curious head-dress emerging from a flower (?a marguerite daisy) with hands raised in the orans position; a naked old man with beard and floppy hat; an ape ?with four arms, supporting an urn; a climbing cherub, which is also found on other tombs of this group, e.g. BOXGROVE I, WEST WITTERING II.*



▲ Fig. 108: Renaissance motifs on the pilasters at (first four) WEST WITTERING II and at right, CLAPHAM. **Left to right:** Naked cherub with two beasts' head;. a cherub supporting an urn; a cherub supporting a tasselled urn and a climbing cherub. Lastly, a parrot above a cockatoo, found on the reverse angled face of the pilaster on the west side of the Clapham monument.

### The inspiration for the motifs

C.J. Cave (1935, 127-8) was the first to identify woodcuts as the inspiration for some of the Renaissance motifs found on the de la Warr monuments and other tombs in the series. Verena Smith independently discovered their origin in the 1960s and described the moment of serendipity in her notes, now in the library of the Sussex Archæological Society:-

I was with Dr [L.F.] Salzman in his house, browsing among his books. One I took at random, not a large volume, with a dark brown leather binding, the tooling somewhat worn. The title page showed the word 'Thielman', the second name had been cut, but it was printed in Paris [in] in 1502/3 by Thielman Kerver, and is a *Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

The pages are of vellum, not paper; the margins are adorned with prints from wood blocks and the capitals are rubricated by hand.

One of the marginal decorations I found to be an exact replica of the Boxgrove apple-picking scene. The Chantry date is 1532 and Kerver's book 1502/3. Had the stone carver seen this or another copy of the book? Or did he know the even earlier

‘copy book’ from which the artist made the wood block which Kerver uses more than once to adorn the pages of *his* book?

The answer to this will not be known, but the fact remains that the Chantry pillar and the book decoration had an identical source (Verena Smith papers, box no. 16).

A study of devotional works published in Paris in 1496-1515, now in the British Library, demonstrates that the motifs were copied from at least six titles. These works, mainly *Books of Hours* in Latin, were produced as high-status items - printed on vellum and sometimes hand-coloured - by three printers with a healthy export trade. **Antoine Vérard** began in a shop under the banner of St John the Evangelist on the Pont Notre-Dame in 1485 and is associated with the publisher Symon Vostre (d. 1522). **Thielman Kerver** (fl.1497-1522) worked *in vico sancti Iacobi/ad signum Vnicornis/ & ibidem venales habent* (‘in St Jacob's lane/in the sign of the Unicorn/where they are also for sale’). **Philippe Pigouchet** (fl.1497-1522) enjoyed a close commercial relationship with Vostre after 1490. The border woodcuts are common to many titles, so blocks must have been exchanged. Some are engraved to face left rather than right. The matches are set out below in **TABLE 17**:-

*Table 17*  
**Sources of Renaissance motifs**

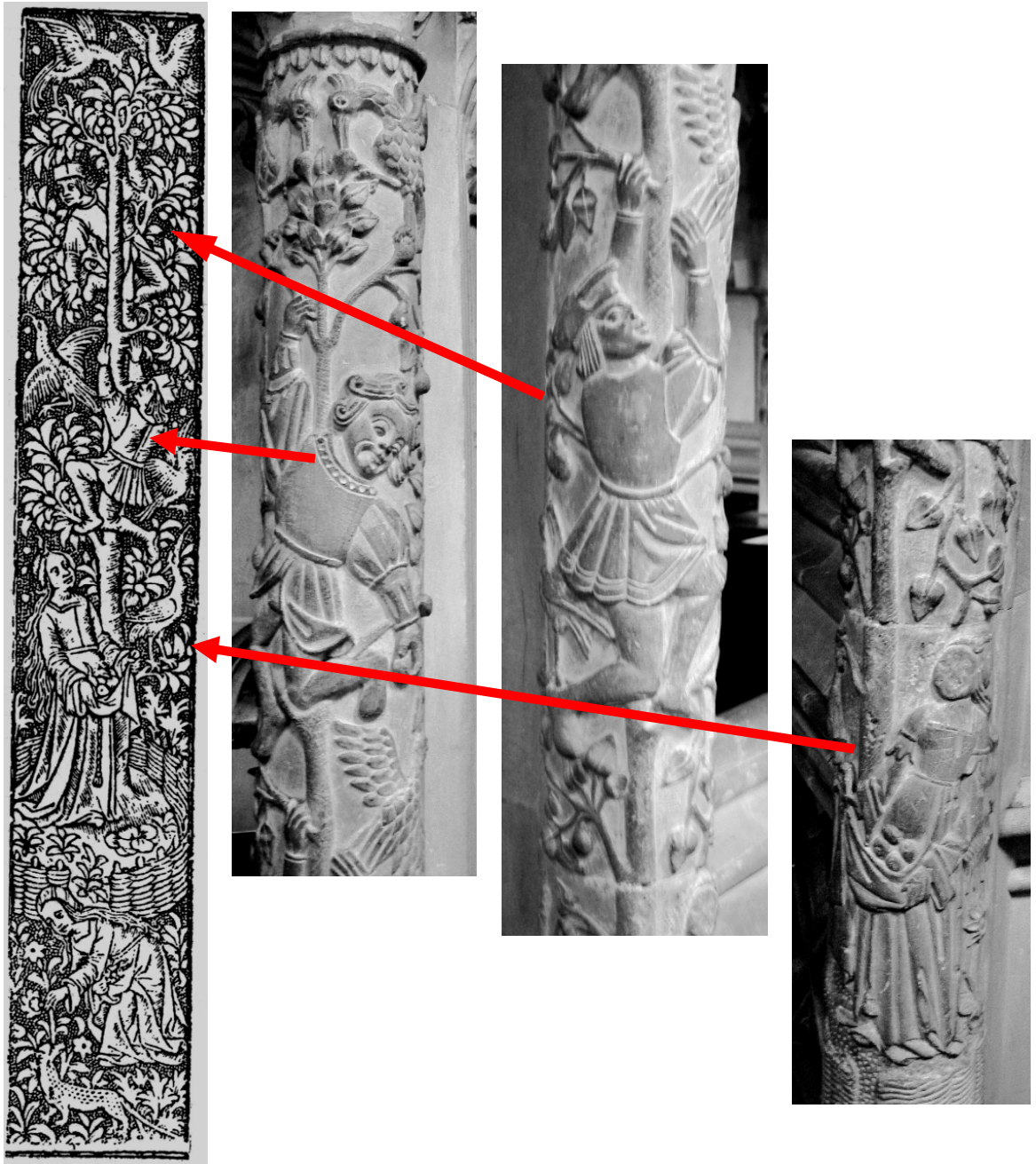
<b>DESCRIPTION OF MOTIF</b>	<b>MONUMENT</b>	<b>DEVOTIONAL WORK AS SOURCE*</b>
Apple picking in orchard, lady collecting fruit in apron, surrounded by birds.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 109, p. 193).	Vostre, c. 1510, A i; Vérard, 1505, B i; Vérard, 1510, A ii; Vérard 1511, B ii.
Grapevine with fruit and trailing leaves.	BOXGROVE I, MICKLEHAM, PETWORTH, RACTON.	Vostre, 1496, A v.
Three naked men chased by double headed monster.	BOXGROVE I. (figs. 110 and 111 on p. 194).	Vostre, c.1510, B i; Vostre, c.1506, B i; Vostre, c.1505, B i; Vérard 1510, B ii; Vostre 1515, L i (v); Vérard 1511, B i (v)
Death with <i>la royale</i>	BOXGROVE I (fig. 114, p. 196).	Vostre, 1510, I v (v)
Two naked wodehowses with clubs, central flower motif.	BOXGROVE I (figs. 112 and 113, p.195).	Vostre, c.1506, A iii; Vostre, 1510, H i; Vérard 1510, B iii; Vérard 1511, G ii;
Bishop (or Old Testament prophet?) with faces behind.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 115, p. 196).	Vostre, 1515, F iii.
Bishop (or Old Testament prophet?) with birds of the air.	BOXGROVE I	Vostre, 1515, H iii.
Bishop (or Old Testament prophet?) with sun, moon, stars	BOXGROVE I (fig. 115, p. 196).	Vostre, 1515, H iii, (v).

<i>DESCRIPTION OF MOTIF</i>	<i>MONUMENT</i>	<i>DEVOTIONAL WORK AS SOURCE*</i>
Dragon with head above tail and flower with twisted stamen.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 116, p. 197).	Vérard, c.1510, C iii; Vostre, 1515, D i (v); Vérard 1511; B ii.
Griffin or dragon with face of man on chest.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 117, p. 197).	Vostre, 1496, A vi.
Fat cherubs pulling fleshy vine from central motif.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 118, p. 198).	Vostre, 1496, H v (v).
Naked man - ?Hercules or Samson - forcing open mouth of lion.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 119, p. 198).	Vostre, 1496, D iii.
Naked <i>putti</i> riding dragons.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 121, p. 199).	Vostre, 1515, L ii (v).
Knight in slashed tunic with sword.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 120, p. 199).	Vostre, 1515, C iii.
Climbing rose trail.	BROADWATER II.	Vostre, 1515, L v (v).
Urns, one on top of each other.	BOXGROVE I; WEST WITTERING II; CHICHESTER III; CLAPHAM.	Vostre, 1510, A iii;
Naked man holding platter aloft.	BOXGROVE I; WEST WITTERING II.	Vostre, 1510, A v.
Urns with two half dragons.	BOXGROVE I; WEST WITTERING II	Vostre, c.1510, B i; Vérard, 1510, c ii.
Rose trail with large leaves.	BROADWATER I, BOXGROVE I, CLAPHAM.	Vostre, 1510, K iii.
Winged cherub with lute.	BOXGROVE I; CHICHESTER III	Vostre, 1510, B v.
Naked cherub climbing flower or vine.	WEST WITTERING II; CHICHESTER III, BOXGROVE I (fig.107, p.189).	Vostre, c.1510, B iii.
Half-man with tasselled hat, pointing.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 122, p. 200).	Vostre, c 1506, B iv; Vostre, 1505, G i.
Half-man in hat and mantle.	BOXGROVE I (fig. 122, p. 200).	Vérard, 1510, H ii; Vostre, 1515, C v.

**KEY** \* - Pagination is by gathering of folios.

As Cave and Smith discovered, the most noticeable of these copied motifs, found only on BOXGROVE I, is the apple-picking scene. Two men are shown climbing a tree and throwing down the fruit to a woman standing within a low wicker enclosure (which protects the tree from grazing sheep). She catches the apples in her apron. A number of birds swoop around this bucolic scene. The woodcut from which this is derived appears in two forms with an exact match found in Vostre, c.1510, A i, apart from the inclusion of a second woman and a leopard or dog at the base of the original. Cave also pointed out the matches between other woodcuts and two further panels in the upper frieze of the entablature at BOXGROVE I.





▲ Fig. 109: *Apple picking scene, common to a number of Parisian Books of Hours, published 1496-1515, compared to the carvings on one of the piers of BOXGROVE I.* (After Cave, 1935, 115, Society of Antiquaries of London).



▲ Fig. 110: *Three naked men flee from a double-headed dragon.* (After Cave, 1935, 115; Society of Antiquaries of London).



▲ Fig. 111: *A panel showing the same scene on BOXGROVE I, but reversed. The arms of the fugitives are raised in the same manner.*



▲ Fig. 112: *Two naked wodehowses, helmeted and carrying shields engage in single combat with clubs and with a single flower as a centre motif – from four separate devotional works c.1506-11. (After Cave, 1935, 115; Society of Antiquaries of London).*



▲ Fig. 113: *The matching panel on the upper frieze on the entablature at BOXGROVE I, including the central flower.*

Other examples of the masons' plagiarism of these woodcuts are illustrated in the following figures, matched with the titles listed in *TABLE 17*:-





▲ Fig. 114: Effigies of Death and a high-status female on south-east pier of BOXGROVE I, plagiarised from woodcuts representing Death and la royale or la duchess, printed in *Vostre*, 1510, I v. (v).



▲ Fig. 115: Figures of bishops, **left** with a crowd of faces above and **right**, with the sun and moon on the lower frieze of BOXGROVE I, taken from *Vostre*, 1515, F iii and H iii (v). The latter woodcut also included stars, but there was no room to fit these in.



▲ Fig. 116: *Dragon with a face above tail and a flower with a twisted stamen on BOXGROVE I, taken from a number of devotional works, including Vostre, c.1510, C iii.*



▲ Fig. 117: *Dragon with face of man on its belly, taken from Vostre, 1496, A vi, on BOXGROVE I*



▲ Fig. 118: *Two cherubs pulling a fleshy vine from a centre tank on BOXGROVE I, taken from Vostre, 1496, H v, (v).*



▲ Fig. 119: *Naked man, ?Hercules or Samson, fighting a lion, at BOXGROVE I, taken from a woodcut in Vostre, 1496, D iii.*





▲ Fig. 120: Knight in slashed tunic with sword, on north pier of BOXGROVE I, taken from a woodcut in *Vostre*, 1515, C iii.



▲ Fig. 121: Naked putti, riding dragons, the heads looking back at their riders, BOXGROVE I, taken from a woodcut in *Vostre*, 1515, L ii (v).



▲ Fig. 122: *Small figures with prayer scrolls, one with a tasselled hat, the other with a mantle, on panels with the larger angels on BOXGROVE I, taken from woodcuts in a number of devotional works, including Vostre, c.1506, B iv; and Vérard, 1510, H. ii.*

These illustrations demonstrate that the majority of the motifs, at least on BOXGROVE I, were taken directly from these woodcuts. There remains the question of the masons' means of access to these devotional works. It is unlikely that such artisans could afford even one such luxury book - which only the affluent gentry, mercantile classes, or the church could afford - let alone the six identified as sources for the motifs. Given the conjecture that they were associated with Chichester Cathedral, it requires no great leap of imagination to further speculate that they were allowed to copy these designs from books in the cathedral library, located in the upper room of the Chapel of the Four Virgins from at

least 1226 (Steer, 1964, 2). We have no means of verifying whether these titles were held at Chichester, as the library was sacked by Parliamentary troops on 28 December 1642 and the surviving volumes were taken by wagon to London in 1651 to be sold ‘for use of the state, as they have received much damage and will do still more by lying where they are’ (Steer, 1964, 4). The library was re-founded around 1670, and a catalogue of its contents, dated about 1699, survives in the WSRO (CAP I/51/17). Unsurprisingly in such Protestant times, no *Books of Hours* are listed, nor any works by the three Parisian printers in question, although there was a ‘*Missale in use Eccles. Sarisburie*’ dated 1534.

### The meaning of the motifs

Carvings of flowers adorn many of the monuments, some stylised or mythical products of the masons’ fertile imagination, others identifiable representations of real flowers. The grapevine, symbolising sacrifice (sometimes linked with the Host and wine of the Mass) and immortality, is found on many of these tombs from c.1520, beginning with the vigorously-carved frieze at MICKLEHAM and also within the spandrels of recessed canopy tombs. The trailing rose motif is found on BROADWATER I, BROADWATER II, CLAPHAM and on BOXGROVE I where it appears without thorns. The flower is intended to indicate the innocence and peerless qualities of the deceased, but more often the attributes of the BVM. At BROADWATER II, it appears alongside her crowned image, appropriately holding a



◀ Fig. 123: *Trailing rose on BOXGROVE I with acanthus leaves below.*

broken stem of a lily, suggesting purity now and innocence (fig. 124 below). Acanthus, (*Acanthus mollis*) shown below the rose trail at BOXGROVE I, is another symbol of resurrection and based on its association with the rocky ground of classical Greek cemeteries, indicates the garden of Heaven. From the eleventh century, acanthus leaves were shown framing people or creatures in manuscripts and carvings (Fisher, 2007, 18).



► Fig. 124: The image of the BVM holding a lily at BROADWATER II, and with a rose trail on the pilaster alongside. Scale: 50 cm.

Honeysuckle, *Lonicera periclymenum*, is also found on the de la Warr chantry chapel and is replicated in the vaulting above, painted around the same date. The symbolic meaning is unclear. Among other recognisable flowers on this monument and the ceiling of the quire are of sunflowers, (*Helianthus*) marguerites (possibly the Paris daisy, *Chrysanthemum frutescens*) - another symbol of the BVM - fritillary (*Fritillaria*) with petals reflexed and a

central stamen and the climbing passion flower (*Passiflora*) which suggests Christ's Passion, sacrifice and resurrection. The fleur-de-lis, which also appears at BOXGROVE I on



▲ Fig. 125 *Honeysuckle on one of the shallow friezes of BOXGROVE I, together with a crampet, a heraldic badge.*



► Fig. 126: *Stylised passion flower carved on one of the piers at BOXGROVE I*



▲ Fig. 127: *Fleur-de-lis, flanked by stylised representations of the rose-hip, but the leaves resemble those of the thistle, or the common knapweed. Lower frieze, BOXGROVE I.*





▲ Fig. 128: *Trailing fritillary, with the arms of MORLEY, Sable, a fleur-de-lis or, coming out of a leopard's head, argent, at BOXGROVE I.*

the panels and wrought into the coeval iron gate, may simply be a heraldic symbol, or another motif of the BVM. The palm tree behind the effigies of St Agatha and the two soldiers at CHURCH NORTON symbolises the triumph of a martyr over death. The inspiration for the lily crucifixion motif at WEST WITTERING II could be the wall painting of the same subject of c.1450 on the east wall of the south transept at GODSHILL which was used as a chantry founded by Sir John Leigh in 1520. Did the masons note this during the erection of his monument there and incorporate it into their pattern books? Or was this motif chosen by William Ernle's widow, who may have seen the motif in the glass at Long Melford, Suffolk, near her place of birth? A medieval English translation of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* provides the significance of this iconography: the BVM was regarded as the rod from Jesse's root and her Son its flower. After listing the healing virtues of the symbolical lily, it adds:

A man is strengthid noblye  
That he no payne may fele  
Of this floure, Crist-on-Crosse  
Behalving the coloure, (Anderson, 1971, 110).

The figures of death and a princess (or a duchess) on BOXGROVE I (fig. 114, page 196) emanate from a French poem of c.1470, *Mors de la Pomme*, copied by the Parisian printers in the early 1500s. The verses relate how Death was given three darts or arrows and the authority to strike men down at any time - irrespective of rank or status - a dreadful warning to onlookers of the inevitability and suddenness of their demise (Anderson, 1963, 77). The motivation behind other motifs is more difficult to discern. The reason for including the apple-gathering scene into the iconography at BOXGROVE is obscure.

Traditionally, this has symbolised September in medieval representations of the months or seasons (Fowler, 1873, 140), perhaps indicating the month of death, but in this case, the chantry was completed in the lifetime of both the intended occupants, who were later buried at Broadwater. More likely, in this case, it was merely an attractive motif to carve. The two wodehowses in helmets and carrying shields (fig.113, page 195) may be a rebus for 'la Warre' and those carved on the piers fighting beasts could form an allegory of mankind's internal struggle with the evil or animal side of human nature (Shilliam, 1986, 167-8).

## 12 – Iconoclasm

SOME HISTORIANS HAVE ignored evidence from material culture and focused on documentary sources to assess the impact of religious iconoclasm in England and Wales. Inevitably this has led to an over-emphasis on the Parliamentary-sponsored attacks on religious imagery in the 1640s, because of the availability of primary sources. Sixteenth century iconoclasm is poorly documented and has proved more difficult to evaluate (Finch, 2000, 126). This chapter discusses the physical evidence presented by the damage to these ‘Chichester’ tombs and the defensive actions taken to protect them from destruction, both dating from the reign of Edward VI, probably around 1550.

Iconoclasm rolled through England’s churches and cathedrals in tidal phases over almost 100 years from the mid-sixteenth century, driven by three main stimuli: state-imposed changes in liturgy; governmental or individual greed for the financial benefits of despoliation and finally the beliefs of religious reformers within the clergy or laity. The destruction of tombs during the Dissolution must have had considerable emotional impact on those desiring their own monuments and this uncertainty increased at the end of Henry VIII’s reign, caused by the limited attacks on images and increasing pressure on their role in the liturgy. The making of a tabernacle of the Virgin Mary in 1538 at Wing, Buckinghamshire, is the last reference to an image in the archdeaconry of Buckingham, and no new images seem to have been set up in the diocese of Exeter after 1538-9 (Marks, 2004, 261). After the widespread despoliation in the parish churches and chantries organised by Edward VI’s government, there was the brief respite of the Counter-Reformation under the Catholic Mary I. Her government was however happy to use receipts from sales of lead (from church, abbey and college roofs) and bell metal to pay its debts in 1553-4 (NA, SP 11/1/fol.56-7v and SP 11/4/fol. 15-6v).

Almost immediately after her half-sister Elizabeth’s accession to the throne in 1558, Protestant iconoclasm returned to the parish churches. This time, the damage was wreaked by individuals entirely on an unauthorised, freelance basis; radicals ‘employed themselves as busily in the demolishing of altars and defacing of images as if they had been licensed and commanded to it by some legal warrant’ (Aston, 1988, 302; Birt, 1907, 226). The Protestant polemicist Thomas Fuller, writing in the next century, claimed that in the first weeks of Elizabeth’s reign, ‘some violent spirits, impatient to attend the leisure (by

them counted the laziness) of authority, fell beforehand to the beating down of superstitious pictures and images and their forward zeal met with many to applaud it. For idolatry is not to be permitted a moment; the first minute is the fittest to abolish it' (Fuller, 1655, IX book, 51).

The catalyst may have been the publication by radical bishops of their *Declaration of Certain Principal Articles of Religion* in 1559 which condemned all images in the churches (Phillips 1973, 115) and enthusiastic reformers attacked monuments as a result (Aston, 1988, 318-9). Elizabeth acted swiftly to curb this new iconoclasm, signing a proclamation, published on 19 September 1560, which prohibited damage to monuments on pain of fine or imprisonment:

There hath been of late years spoiled and broken ancient Monuments, some of metal, some of stone, which were erected up as well as in churches as in other publike places within this Realm, only to shew a memory to the prosperity of the persons there buried....

By which means, not only the churches and places remain at the present day spoiled, broken and ruined, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased...

Although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled; yet both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used and to repair as much of the said monuments as conveniently may be; Her Majesty chargeth and commandeth all maner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tombe, or grave, or other inscription..... upon pain that whosoever shall be herein found to offend, to be committed to the next Goale [*sic*] and there to remain without bail..... unto the next coming of the Justices for the delivery of the said Goale and then to be farther punished by fine, or imprisonment (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken) as to the said Justices shall seem fit... (Fuller, 1655, Book IX, 66-7).

The Queen also charged archbishops and bishops to investigate 'what manner of spoiles have been made since the beginning of Her Majesty's raigne, of such monuments and by whom, and if the persons be living, how able they be to repair and re-edifie the same; and thereupon to convent the same persons and to enjoyn them under pain of Excommunication to repair the same by a convenient day... And if such be found and convicted thereof, not able to repair the same, that they be enjoyned to do open penance two or three times in the church, as to the quality of the crime... under the like pain of excommunication'. However, only Edmund Geste, bishop of Rochester, ordered the presentment of those who

had destroyed monuments that were not superstitious and that was as late as 1571 (Finch, 2000, 129; Aston 1988, 318).

Although there were constraints on the destruction, a clue to what was happening in the churches in 1560 is provided by the mayor and burgesses of Corfe who petitioned the Crown that year because of the flagging state of their trade in Purbeck marble. They were granted the right to hold a market each Thursday and two annual fairs as a means of generating income because they were ‘... impoverished because they live by the working of marble, which art is in decay because it consists [of] the manufacture of sepulchral monuments... not now in use’. Brasses therefore were still being laid down but the marblers were recycling looted slabs rather than buying new from Corfe. Moreover, the demand for sculpted tombs was in decline; liturgical reform had also destroyed the market for church fixtures and fittings (Hutchinson, 2003, 463). Elizabeth’s government had taken with one hand and given with another. A ready supply of despoiled marble slabs for reuse as tomb covers had been created by the injunction of July 1559 for the orderly removal of stone altars, to be certified by churchwardens as broken up or put to profane use. Some were sold to marblers and re-cut to take brasses, still bearing their consecration crosses, such as at Bray, Berkshire, where a Lytkott-style brass to Ursula Norres, d. 18 June 1560, now lost, was set in an altar slab beneath the communion table. A small piece of a *mensa*, used to repair the tomb-chest at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, may date from this injunction. Discoveries of palimpsest brasses from this period confirm the level of iconoclasm. Of the seven so far found behind brasses dated 1557, one at Standon, Hertfordshire, is made up of fragments from a brass once in the Carmelites’ conventional church in Fleet Street, London, and from another in the nearby Greyfriars. The following year 1558 has just over ten palimpsest finds and appropriations. Known palimpsests decline to just three in 1559 and 1560, which have reused plates linkable to the London churches of St Thomas of Acre, St Lawrence Jewry and St Martin Orgar (Hutchinson, 2003, 463). Any respite from destruction following the injunction of 1559 was brief as it was felt necessary for a second proclamation to be issued in 1572, charging justices ‘to provide severe remedie, both for the punishment and reformation thereof’ (Weever, 1631, 54). It is apparent that these edicts on monuments took small effect for:-

much about this time, there sprung vp a contagious broode of Scismatickes; who, if they might have had their wills, would not only have robbed our Churches of all

their ornaments and riches, but also haue laid them leuell with the ground, choosing rather to exercise their deuotions and publish their erroneous doctrines in some emptie barne in the woods or common fields, then in these Churches which they held to be polluted with the abominations [*sic*] of the whore of Babylon (Weever, 1631, 54).

The final stage of the state destruction of images came in 1641-43 with the activities of the parliamentary Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry. This authorised the destruction of crosses, depictions of the BVM and 'scandalous pictures' of the Holy Trinity in glass, wood and metal, initially within the city of London and Westminster (Spraggon, 2003, 83-6) and later predominantly in East Anglia and the Home Counties. However, the scale of tomb destruction in England in the seventeenth-century may have been seriously overestimated (Finch, 2000, 131). The Ordinance of 1643 protected funeral monuments (Aston, 1988, 76-77) and erasure of invocatory phrases in inscriptions was the usual result of this Puritan 'cleansing' in and immediately around London, rather than destruction.

In contrast, the notorious commissioner William Dowsing and his deputies visited 250 churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, smashing stained glass, ripping up brasses, destroying altar rails and pulling down crucifixes. (For an account of his iconoclastic expeditions, see Cooper, T, 2001). Although most contemporary evidence comes from prejudiced Royalist sources, Parliamentary forces in the English Civil War also damaged monuments, for example, during the sack of Chichester Cathedral in December 1642, when troops, 'possessed and transported by a Bachnalian [*sic*] fury... ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the Monuments of the dead' (Rives, 1646, 204). Both sides also employed looted brasses as metal for munitions.

It seems most likely that the iconoclasm against these monuments began after 1548 and continued into late 1551, with the possible exception of Chichester, where additional destruction may have occurred 90 years later during the Parliamentary forces' occupation. Image breaking in England began in the 1520s, with the burning of the Holy Rood at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire; defacement of figures on Worcester's high cross in 1522 and the 'casting down' of images in Essex and Suffolk in 1531-2. Evangelical fervour may not have been the only motivation - greed, coupled with superstition, lay behind some attacks. In April 1538, de la Warr and Gregory Cromwell, the son of Henry's chief minister

who had moved to Lewes, examined two glovers and two labourers who had thrown down a wayside cross at Willington, East Sussex. One of the accused, Thomas Whetley, told a fellow miscreant: 'There be many crosses digged up hereabouts and men say there is much money under the cross, which, if thou wilt be ruled by me, we will have'. Four men, equipped with a shovel and three mattocks, tore down the cross and dug beneath, but found nothing (LP, vol. 13, pt. 1, no. 786). Their fate is unknown.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries destroyed large numbers of monuments; Robert Aske, who led the Pilgrimage of Grace in October 1536, complained about the '[tombs] and sepulchres of honourable and noble men pulled down and sold' (Lindley, 2007, 11). No wonder there was a scramble to rescue the tombs and remains of those buried in religious houses between the surrenders and their demolition or conversion into secular use. There seems to be ample, but as yet unexplored, physical evidence of this traffic in monuments. A prime example in Sussex was the transfer of tombs from the chapter house of the Cluniac Priory of St Pancras, Lewes, to Chichester Cathedral and the parish churches at Cowfold and St Michael's, Lewes. The appearance of portions of earlier monastic brasses, ripped up in the next wave of Protestant iconoclasm in the 1560s for re-use as new memorials, suggests the movement of tombs to churches which had been safeguarded by descendants of the deceased. When that protection faded away with the passage of time, they became targets (Hutchinson, 2003, 452-55). The same probably applied to sculpted monuments, although the motivation of commercial gain would be less compelling than it would be for stripping tombs of their brass plates, which were easily converted into cash. The dissolution of chantry chapels in December 1547 brought the prohibition of private or corporate worship; the destruction of religious iconography, confiscation of related goods and land endowments and the demolition or renegotiation of chapel and chantry space. Later, there was a conscious placement of new monuments by Protestants within such chapels to finally invalidate the space formerly used for intercession or liturgy, such as at Aldbourne, Rodney Stoke, and Wellow, in Somerset, where tombs were erected over former chapel altars and at Stoke Charity, in Hampshire, where the tomb of Sir Thomas Phellyphes, 1626, was located to physically restrict the entrance to the north chapel and disrupt the visual access to the Easter Sepulchre/recessed canopy monument to John Waller, 1526 on the north wall (Roffey, 2007, 129, 135-6). At Trotton, West Sussex, a large tomb-chest in Sussex marble,



▲ Fig. 129: *BROADWATER II*, c.1545, with **right**, the re-cut effigy of St George. This image, together with that of the BVM, was turned inwards to the monument to protect them and plastered over. Note the carefully effaced effigies on the tomb-chest: on the right is probably a figure of St Anne with the BVM as an infant. The iconography on the left has not been identified, but its outline is suggestive of a St Christopher. Scale: 50 cm.

227 cm. long and 93.5 cm. wide to ?Anthony Foster, died 1644, blocks access to the piscina in the south wall of the chancel.

The widespread iconoclasm that followed was based on the 1547-8 injunctions that ordered all images destroyed or removed from churches. Liturgical reform sought to render them redundant in the minds of worshippers, and the prayer books of 1549 and 1552 effectively destroyed the cult of the dead within the English church. Two years after the Privy Council order to remove images, it became a criminal offence, punishable by fine or imprisonment, to fail to deface or destroy 'any images of stone, timber, alabaster or earth [ceramic], graven, carved or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of a church or still stand in [a] church'. Yet, in a supplementary schedule, this 1550 *Act Against Superstitious Books and Images* specifically excluded 'any Image or Picture sett or graven upon anye Tombe in any Church Chappell or Church Yard, onelye for a Monument of



any Kinge Prince Nobleman or other dead person whiche hath not bene commonly reputed and taken for a Saincte; but that suche Pycles and Images may stand and contynue in like manner and fourme as yf this Acte had never bene had nor made' (3 & 4 Edward VI *cap.* 10; Tanner, 1951, 114-5). The need for such an exclusion clause suggests that iconoclasm had spread to monuments (Lindley, 2004, 68), motivated by religious ideology. Iconophobic Protestants opposed the superstitious ontology which they claimed was accorded to images, and denounced Catholics as 'dumb dogs', but they were nevertheless acutely aware of the 'power' of religious images, believing them to be malevolent forces of evil (Yorke, 1997, 45).

Reports of the destruction of tombs in the chapel adjoining the churchyard of St Paul's Cathedral in London and the tearing down of monuments in the cloisters there on the instructions of Protector Somerset in early 1549 (Dugdale, 1716, 132) must have alarmed the largely conservative West Sussex gentry, some of whom had erected their tombs in their lifetime. Within a year of the Act's passing, John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, ordered the removal from his dioceses of all 'tabernacles, tombs, sepulchres... rood-lofts and other monuments... where such superstitious idols, images or other provocation of idolatry have been used' (Marshall, 2007, 106). His fellow bishop, Nicholas Ridley of London, in October 1552 demanded the destruction of all tombs in St Paul's Cathedral and would have demolished the huge monument to John of Gaunt of 1399, if the Privy Council had not instructed him to spare it. Instead, he effaced its religious motifs, leaving it 'alle playne as it aperes' (Nichols, 1852, 75).

The Edwardine state attack against images stemmed from the Protestant belief that a visual culture of religion was the true enemy of literate religion – and that the destruction of images represented the 'triumph of [God's] word over the picture' (Cumming, 2002, 186-7) - hence the whitewashing of wall-paintings and the over-painting with texts from the Bible during this period, or the Decalogue being introduced into the Communion service in 1552. This 'war' between books and images was 'part of a battle over signification, a battle to establish political and theological mastery over the signifying system' (Marshall, 2007, 188). It was also an efficient way of discarding the burden of what was seen as deceiving history 'as it had been presented by the Western church for centuries, a history which justified the place of unwritten verities as part of the

authority of the church' (MacCulloch, 1999, 134). The English could now be freed from the shackles of that history through the cleansing or purifying destruction of images. MacCulloch (1999, 136) also stresses the importance of the various ingredients of iconoclasm. 'Carnival and altruistic fervour', as well as cynicism and greed, were powerful elements in the obliteration of religious iconography; English visitors to France were accused of smashing images there in 1551.

Back in Sussex and Hampshire, with this group of monuments displaying such overt 'Popish' iconography, it is unsurprising that defensive action was taken by the families of those commemorated to avert the threat of damage or destruction. Not only were issues of family pride and piety now in jeopardy, but also the sizeable cash outlays expended on the monuments. The abolition of Easter sepulchres in 1548 would have stunned many families, with many of their kin remembered by this class of monument. Frustratingly, there is sparse evidence to indicate how many tombs were destroyed in this phase of iconoclasm. A discussion of one such example, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, is contained within its entry in volume two. The two tombs at RUSTINGTON were damaged, then dismantled, and subsequently re-used as paving in the chancel. Another possible candidate for inclusion in this category is at Parham, Sussex, where the monastic grange and lands of St Peter's Westminster were purchased in 1540 by Robert Palmer, citizen and mercer of London, after its surrender. He built a private chapel on the south side of the chancel of the parish church, employing masonry recycled from the grange buildings and in his will, dated 5 May 1544, ordered that a tomb be constructed within it 'meet and honest for A Remembraunce of me to be hadde.' Furthermore, 'foure poore men of Perham, Wigenhollte and Gretham' should be paid sixpence weekly:-

to praye for my soule and for the soule of Brigette my late wife deceased and for the soules of my ffather and mother and all christen soules and the said poore men to saye every holly and festyvall day throughowte the yere yerely for ever more every one of them at my Toombe, kneeling devoutly upon their kees [*sic*] to gyther at masse time there in the honor of the five woondes of our Lord Jesus Chryste five pater nosters five Ave maries and one Credo humbly and devoutly Desyeryng hym to have mercy upon my soule and the soules aforesaid (TNA, PROB 11/30, fol.97)

Palmer died later in 1544. From the ritual described, it is a reasonable assumption that this tomb may have been a member of the group under investigation. Was it destroyed in the Edwardine Reformation? There is no trace of it today and we do even not know if it was

ever constructed.

We can safely presume that the risk of destruction of these monuments was clearly perceived by the deceased's kin, as some decided to efface any motif that would affront radical reformers. This involved the careful erasure, by chiselling flat, the offending components carved in shallow relief, or the removal of moveable iconography associated with Easter sepulchres in the pre-Reformation rites. The trouble taken in effacement, including in some cases the imagery being polished flat, indicates this was not iconoclastic defacement. This is seen graphically at BROADWATER II, on the tomb of Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, erected c.1545. West must have hired a mason to adapt his monument to protect it against the iconoclasts. Earlier, he probably arranged for the erasure of a number of figures of bishop saints - doubtless including St Thomas à Becket - on his father's tomb-chest, BROADWATER I, c.1524, after the cult of the archbishop was prohibited in late 1538. After all his tribulations with his chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I, it must have been galling to confront another state-inspired threat to his second tomb. In the event, its large central panel of a Holy Trinity was skilfully scraped down and the figures of the BVM and St George that flanked it were turned inwards into the monument and plastered over. These were discovered when the tomb was dismantled in 1826 and moved from the east end of the south aisle to its present position in the south transept (Harrison, 1932, 8). Two further effigies were also effaced on the tomb-chest. By contrast, the small figures of saints in niches in the tomb-chest of the monument to his father, BROADWATER I, were only partially chiselled away in what was probably another round of effacement. The higher the religious imagery on this monument, the rougher was the effacement. Any iconography within the triple-arched recessed tomb is now missing and was likely to have been painted, or merely temporary. (It is pertinent to note that at Broadwater, a cross brass of c.1440 bearing the pious inscription *Anguis xpi salva me Passio xpi* was discovered beneath the nave floor in 1826. This perhaps indicates another protective measure undertaken by the descendants of the deceased, Richard Tooner or Crouner, died 1445, or by the parish at the same time as the alterations to BROADWATER II. (Hutchinson, 1999, 13). The religious panel of the Mass of St Gregory, at Stoke Charity, Hants., was buried in the south wall of the nave, near the pulpit, and rediscovered when the church was re-plastered in 1849. As it has no indications of damage, it can be conjectured that this was intended



▲ Fig. 130: Erasures of figures of bishop-saints on the shafts and that of St George on the tomb-chest on BROADWATER I. Figures of saints in niches nearly two metres above the ground were only roughly chiselled off, as were the figures on the tomb-chest. Others were carefully smoothed off, suggesting two different hands, or two separate phases of erasure. Scale: ten cm.

for its protection.<sup>2</sup> There is proof elsewhere to support this evidence of defensive measures. In the Victorian period, decapitated alabaster figures of the BVM and the Pietà were discovered within the church at Blunham, Bedfordshire and images of the Trinity and St Margaret were found walled up in a piscina and niche at Fingringhoe, Essex, in the 1960s. The former had also been decapitated and the figure of St Margaret had lost the upper part of the body. Both images had been reassembled and placed carefully in their hiding places in the hope they could be repaired, re-consecrated and re-used (Marks, 2004, 270). The central panel of the tomb at PETWORTH to Sir John Dawtrey I, c.1535, also contained a Holy

<sup>2</sup> Only three other examples of carved Masses of St Gregory survive in England from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries - in Exeter and in Paignton parish church, Devon. Both are small and much damaged. The third is in Shaftesbury Abbey Museum.



▲ Fig. 131: *The Trinity or Corpus Christi at WESTHAMPNETT: the heads of the figures were smashed and the image of the Holy Ghost chiselled off, but the Latin inscription beneath was spared. Scale: ten cm.*

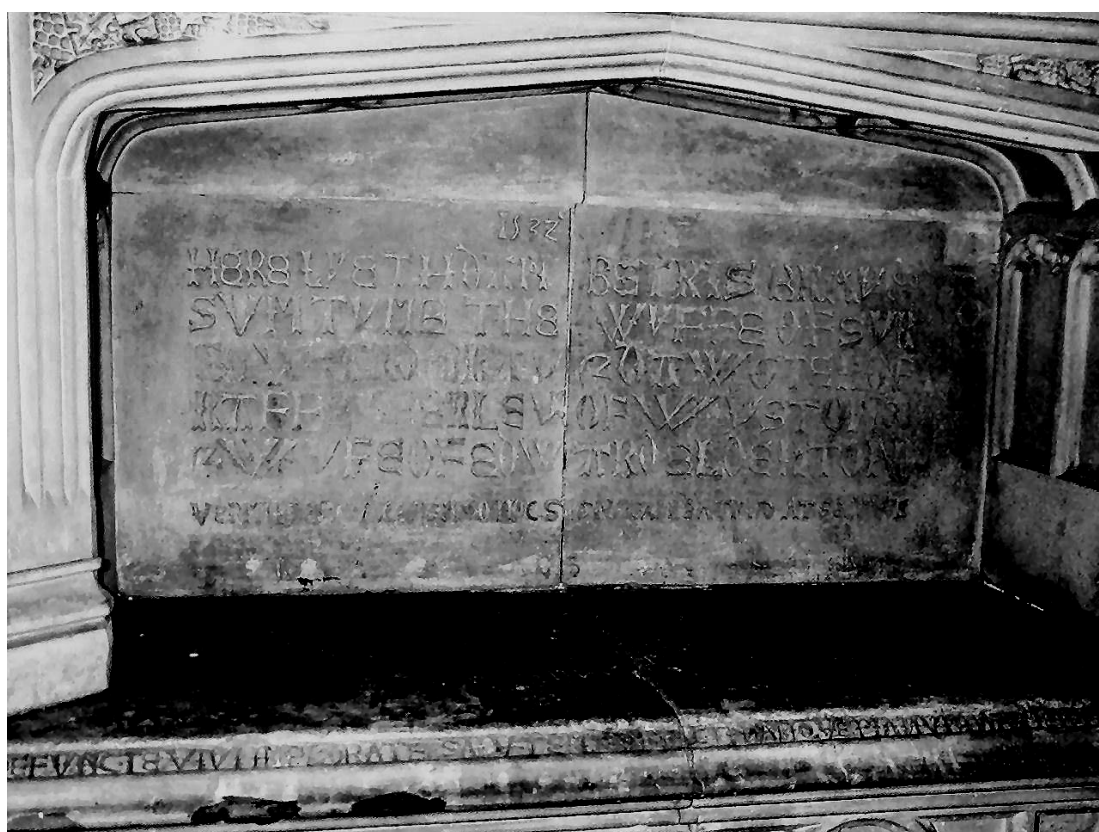
Trinity, on the evidence of the Grimm drawing of 1780 (BL Add. MS. 5,674, fol. 52) that shows an effaced motif in shallow relief with two remaining decorative pilasters, indicating the supports of the throne on which God the Father sits, as part of the conventional iconography of this subject. A probable Resurrection was also removed at CHURCH NORTON, 1537, although the patron saints which ‘encode’ the name of the commemorated

wife remain untouched in the side panels (Duffy, 1992, 32). The original composition at WISTON, c.1540, had its Holy Ghost (in the form of the Dove) over the figures neatly scraped away. In every case of erasure, the result is merely an outline of the original emblem or portrayal. Enough remained that any iconoclast worth his salt would immediately identify the missing iconography that had so carefully been effaced. But the



▲ Fig. 132: Central panel with carefully erased religious iconography, probably a Holy Trinity at PETWORTH. The letters beneath are 'S. I .D', presumably for 'Sir John Dawtrey'. The sacred letters 'IHS' may have been painted during the 1958 restoration of the tomb. Scale: 50 cm.

offending motif had been removed and the monument thus cleansed of 'Popish' content - a case, perhaps, of what the eye does not see, the wrecking hammer does not have to damage. It seems likely that a mason from the originating workshop was called in to undertake these tasks as some care and skill was taken to preserve the appearance and status of the monument. Elsewhere, protective measures took other forms. At SELMESTON and HAMSEY, the (conjectural) sculptural components of the Easter Sepulchres must have been removed without trace, and possibly buried or otherwise hidden.<sup>3</sup> On the former monument, a further, rather incongruous, inscription was inscribed on its back wall in humanist script to fill up the bare space within the recessed canopy. Only an angel bearing a shield remains of any effigial components at SOMPTING. At CLAPHAM, the executors of Sir



▲ Fig. 133: *Inscription in humanist script inserted in two new slabs in the back wall of the monument at SELMESTON which may have replaced carved religious iconography removed as a protective measure. Monument width: 178 cm.*

<sup>3</sup> An image of the Virgin and Child being venerated by the Magi was discovered unbroken beneath the floor of Long Melford church, Suffolk in the nineteenth-century. Three images were concealed beneath the paving of the chancel of Flawford church, near Nottingham and found in the eighteenth-century. At Wakefield, Yorkshire, twenty-five alabaster images were hidden in the roof of the chapel. (Duffy, 1992. 490-1).

William Shelley prudently shunned any kind of religious iconography on his tomb, probably initiated soon after his death in 1548 but uncompleted in 1550, relying instead on the less obvious symbolism of the kneeling figures of his family, shown gazing obliquely across the chancel towards the cross on the main altar, a few metres away to the east. Discretion was clearly the better part of valour. This was not the case for William

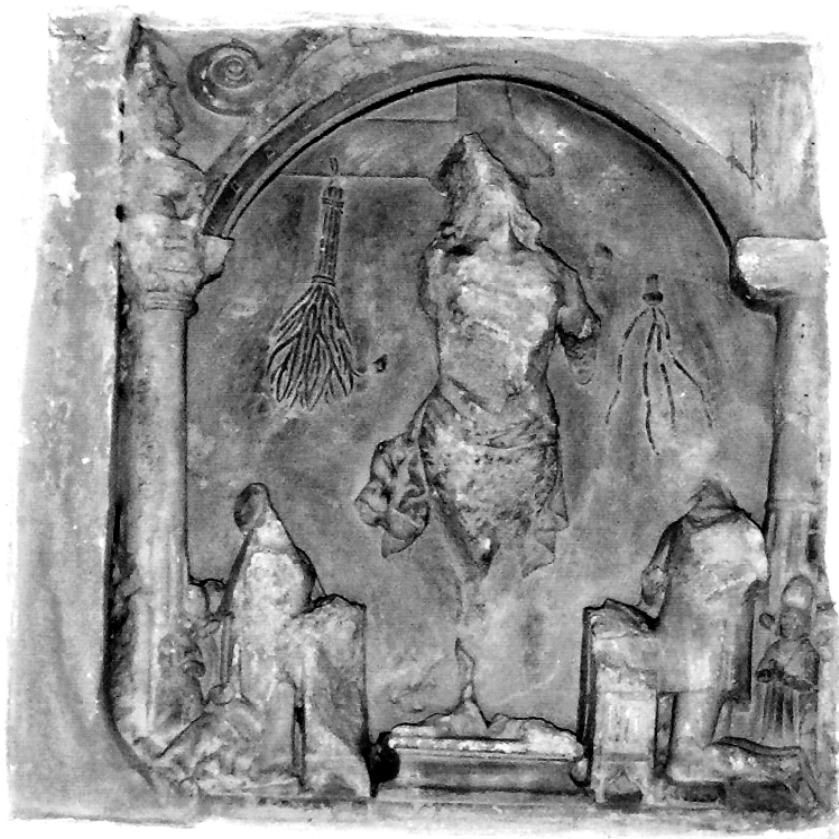


▲ Fig. 134: *Very thorough iconoclasm at KINGSTON BUCI. Left, The smashed imagery of a Resurrection and Right: A moving representation of the Pietà with the heads of Christ and His Mother broken off. Scales: 20 and 50 cm.*

Ernle, d. 1546. His first monument of c.1538 (WEST WITTERING I) which commemorated him and his first wife, Elizabeth Legg, *née* Bond, was already in use as a sepulchre, and its tomb-chest bears a veritable communion of saints, all of which survive undamaged. Bridget, his second wife, erected a second monument to him and herself (WEST WITTERING II) in c.1547 that included a Christ in Majesty and a boldly-carved Annunciation scene on the tomb-chest. The Annunciation and the effigies of the saints escaped damage, although Ernle's figure was beheaded and the figure of Christ and the Resurrection on his earlier tomb were smashed. Was this interrupted iconoclasm, halted by the angry intervention of



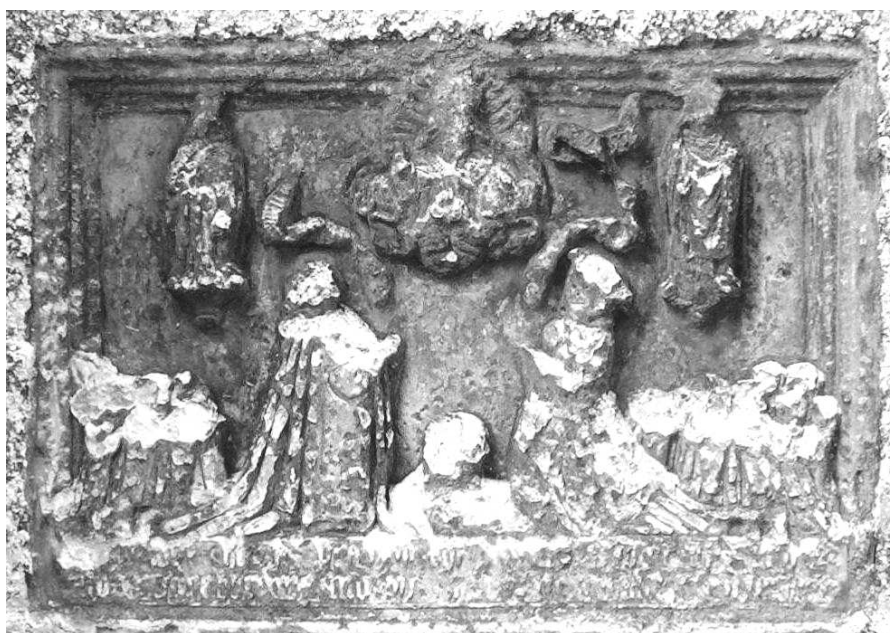
Ernle's descendants? Similarly, a portrayal of Christ in Majesty remains at RACTON. Although this hamlet is secluded, remoteness may not have been the reason why the iconoclasts passed by. It is more plausible that the Gounters prevented any iconoclastic attack on the tomb of their kith and kin. In passing, it is worthy of note that Racton church's original *mensa* was turned out by the churchwardens either in 1551/2, or after the accession of Elizabeth. It remains today propped up outside the exterior west wall, so Protestant religious orthodoxy certainly applied there at one stage during the Reformation. Another example of local protection probably occurred at SLAUGHAM.



◀ Fig. 135: *RUSTINGTON II*, showing the smashed figure of Christ portrayed as the 'Man of Sorrows'. Male figure is 29.5 cm. in height.

Here the brass Resurrection and invocatory scrolls survived untouched, probably because the subject of the brass, Richard Covert, did not die until 1547 and the monument was safeguarded by his third wife Blanche until her death in 1553 and their son John afterwards. At WESTHAMPNETT, the heads of God the Father and Christ have been broken off and the Dove representing the Holy Ghost crudely chiselled away in this rare Northern European depiction of the Holy Trinity (fig. 131, page 216). Surprisingly the inscription in raised-letters at its base, reading *Sancta trinitas unus Deus*, ('Holy Trinity, One God') survived:

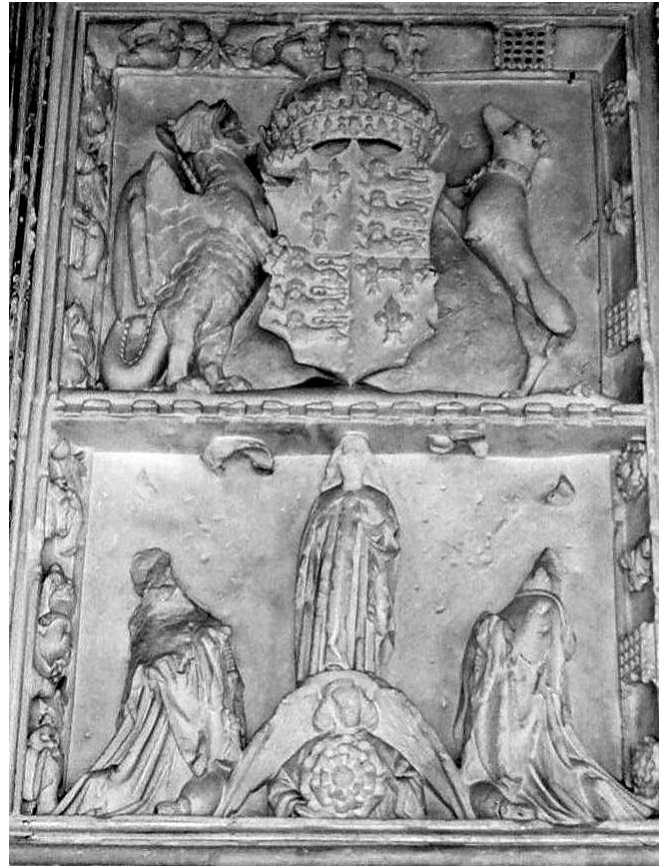
perhaps the iconoclast was illiterate, or ignorant of Latin? The Easter Sepulchre at KINGSTON BUCI was replete with iconography: a Resurrection stood centre-stage against the back wall of the recessed arch and the side panels supported a Pietà and a crude and unusual Holy Trinity (fig. 134, page 219). All were smashed by reformers, using hammers and chisels to attack not only the head of the Risen Christ, but also those of the sleeping soldiers around Him. The most poignant destruction is at RUSTINGTON II, c. 1540, where Christ is portrayed as the 'Man of Sorrows', surrounded by two of the 'Instruments of the Passion', the scourge of twigs and the *flagellum*, a whip with four knotted strings (fig. 135, page 220). Christ's head was battered and His two rather large feet smashed. Two patron saints which stood on top of the columns on either side have also been shattered. The second exterior tomb at St Andrew Oxmarket, CHICHESTER II. has a smashed bas-relief of



▲ Fig. 136: CHICHESTER II, the exterior panel at St Andrew's Oxmarket, suffered damage to its figures as well as to its religious iconography. Panel measures 79 cm. in height and 113.8 cm. in width.

God the Father in Majesty, flanked by two battered figures of saints representing personal affiliation and affection to the deceased. That on the left is probably St Catherine, carrying a sword, and the mitred figure on the right may well be St Richard of Chichester, although it is astonishing that this saint should appear on a Chichester tomb so soon after the destruction of his shrine in the Cathedral in December 1538. The will of the coroner William Royse, probably commemorated by this panel, is dated 1540 and it seems likely he

died soon afterwards (WSRO, STC I/3, fol.1). Probably less than a year later, this small monument, conjectured to have been carved only a few hundred metres away, was erected on the exterior wall of St Andrew Oxmarket. Whilst this close dating of events must always be suspect, this monument may well contain an act of unusual and public religious defiance.



► Fig. 137: *The donors' panel in the cloisters of Chichester Cathedral with smashed heads of the main effigies but the royal arms of Henry VII have been left untouched. Height of panel: 160 cm. Width: 109 cm.*

The CHICHESTER II and RUSTINGTON II monuments also bear severe damage to the *prie-dieus* in front of the main figures - an attempt by reformers to destroy the Missals or books that were depicted on top of the prayer desks. The religious or donors' panel in the cloisters of Chichester Cathedral also suffered. The main figure is almost certainly an effigy of the BVM, above two kneeling figures - possibly members of the Mortimer family. All have had their heads smashed but the angel, supporting the Mortimer rose, has been left untouched, as have, unsurprisingly, the royal arms of Henry VII.

In the absence of historical evidence, dating this iconoclasm is problematical. Given the injunctions against images of the beginning of Edward VI's reign and the subsequent

visitation of the parish churches, the period 1547-1553 fits this pattern of destruction. Furthermore, whilst the religious panel at Chichester may have been damaged by Parliamentary forces during the Civil War, it seems inconceivable that such a widespread distribution of offending symbols on so many monuments should have survived until the mid-seventeenth century. Some archaeological evidence to permit dating may be available at Rustington. The two damaged monuments here were discovered buried face down in the chancel in 1844. The chapel that documentary evidence (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.22v) suggests once contained at least one of these monuments was excavated in 1993 and a Sussex marble *mensa* was found beneath eighteenth century floor slabs in its north-east corner (Russell, 1994, 200). Some altar slabs were ejected from churches as early as 1548 and in 1550, Bishop Ridley of London exhorted his clergy to take down altars and substitute wooden tables, ‘decently covered in such place of the choir or chancel as shall be thought most meet’ (Tanner, 1952, 115-6). Edward VI’s Privy Council ordered altar slabs to be destroyed on 24 November 1550, but this met with some resistance (Benton, 1951, 34). Among the objectors was George Day, bishop of Chichester, who refused to abolish stone altars in his diocese. He wrote to Sir William Cecil on 10 January 1551:

....the commandment which was given to me to take down all altars within my diocese, and in the lieu of them to set up a table, implying in itself (as I take it) a plain abolishment of the altar (both the name and the thing) from the use and ministration of the Holy Communion, I could not with my conscience then execute (Ellis, 1846, vol. 3, 303).

Day was imprisoned and subsequently deprived of his see ‘for contempt’ in October 1551. It may well be that the destruction of the Rustington tombs occurred shortly after that date, or alternatively after August 1559, early in Elizabeth’s reign, when remaining stone altars were ordered to be removed.

Some religious imagery was purloined and sold off by Edward VI’s commissioners, as there seems to have been a profitable export trade in looted religious statuary, particularly to France after the signing of a peace treaty in March 1550 ending the short war with England. A letter from Sir John Mason, the English ambassador to France, to the Privy Council in London in September 1550, reported the arrival of ‘three or four ships’ from England,

laden with images which have been sold in Paris and Rouen and other places and being eagerly purchased, give to the ignorant people occasion to talk according to

the[eir] notions, which needed not their lordships' commandment for defacing of them being observed (Turnbill, 1861, 55).

Exported imagery aside, as Bertram points out, it was monumental brasses, alone among 'graven images,' that had a ready commercial value in their looted metal and slabs. Whereas 'smashing windows and beheading statues might be fun, there was [little or no domestic] market for the remains' (Bertram, 1976, 18) - apart from use as rubble in building work, as at one of Henry VIII's artillery forts, Yarmouth Castle on the IoW, which used carvings from the dissolved Quarr Abbey in its interior walls.

More generally, the motivation behind iconoclastic attacks on monuments was more complex than merely the zealot's 'purification' of offending fixtures and fittings that no longer conformed to the state's religious policy. In some cases, the effigies of the deceased were deliberately damaged, which Llewellyn suggests were symbolic assaults on the person or family represented - hardly surprising when the monument, with its colourful heraldry and dominant position within the fabric, was always designed to emphasize the dead's superior social standing in the community. He adds: 'Monuments replaced their subjects, becoming the person of the dead and attacks against monuments were attacks against signs that manifested the social power of the deceased' (Llewellyn, 2000, 266). Sherlock also notes the strong identification between the 'memory of a dead person, a grave, a monument and the honour of his or her descendants' (2008, 166). Damage to body parts in stone - even the loss of an effigy's nose - was popularly believed to strip the image of its power. By disfiguring its face, the attacker also sought to rob the figure of its identity, even when it was far from being a portrait. Moreover, rituals redolent of dishonour in sixteenth century society involved beheading, scalping the victim's head (before burning for heresy) and repeated blows against the face (Pitt-Rivers, 1965, 25). Such damage, probably undertaken ritualistically, to effigies may also have been insentient echoes of Tudor penal policy against traitors, (the terrible 'Godly butchery' of traitors involved hanging, disembowelling, castration and quartering on the scaffold), that carried heavy biblical symbolism (Hutchinson, 2006, 78-9). This was not only a Western European phenomenon. The incised slab portraying a bishop, probably Giovanni de Fiorenza, bishop of Tiflis, c.1347, had its face and right hand damaged and its inscription in Lombardic capitals effaced by Turkish forces after the siege of Constantinople in 1453. The slab, originally in the Christian

enclave of Galata, across the Golden Horn from Istanbul, is now in that city's Archæological Museum, inventory number 2888 (Greenhill, 1976, vol. 2, 222). My thanks to Jerome Bertram for drawing this to my attention.

In addition, damage to monuments of the local gentry could be evidence of popular anger during the agrarian unrest over enclosures of common land and the rent increases of



► Fig. 138: *The heads and hands of the male figure on RUSTINGTON II were deliberately smashed by a hammer but curiously, those of the two sons were left unscathed. Height of male figure: 29.5 cm.*

May 1549 or, amid the civil strife over the introduction of the Prayer Book in English that year, against those reputed to support the unreformed religion. This then is the underlying psychology of the attacks on the heads, faces and hands of figures on monuments. In 1545, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, reported 'oon cutte of the finger, an other the nose' on an image in Dover that October and in 1547, an image of Christ in Portsmouth '[had] one eie bored out' (Muller, 1933, 153, 228). He lamented to Edward Vaughan, captain of the local garrison, after the latter attack that:



in Germany, such as maintained that opinion of destroying images were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther... for the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it. (Muller, 1926, 150)

In this series, heads and hands of the effigies were smashed on the exterior monuments in CHICHESTER I, II and at NORTH MUNDHAM. Although these panels' convenient access may



▲ Fig. 139: *The Holy Trinity (left) and the face of John Shelley, portions of a brass engraved c.1520, at Clapham, each showing the marks of four hammer blows on each plate. Height of Trinity: 17 cm. Total height of male effigy: 95.5cm.*

suggest simple vandalism down the centuries, with the exception of CHICHESTER II (where the sons and daughters may be victims of such casual damage), it seems more likely that the destruction was iconoclastic, when compared with other instances in the group. Heads and hands were damaged at RUSTINGTON II (fig. 138, page 225), but not the effigies of the sons; at PETWORTH (hands only) and at WITTERING II (the male effigy's face chiselled off) - perhaps an indication of strong antagonism. At WESTHAMPNETT, only the head of the son has been smashed, again suggesting a grudge on the part of the iconoclast. Such damage is not confined to carved monuments in Sussex. Both the face of the male figure and the Holy Trinity on the brass to John Shelley I, d. 1526 (engraved c.1520), at Clapham, bear the marks of four hammer blows (fig. 139, above) but his wife's effigy is untouched.

The Shelley family remained firm adherents of the old religion and this brass was later buried beneath the chancel floor. It was uncovered in 1724, when the chancel was repaired (Hutchinson, 2008, 7). Shelley's grandson, John II, who died in December 1550, was probably responsible for this defensive measure. His brass is religiously neutral, even though his will, proved 27 April 1551, left bequests to John Briston or Burstone, the curate at Clapham, of 13s 4d a year to 'praye for my fathers soule, my soule and all Christen soules' and four marks annually to his personal chaplain, Robert Brygges, 'oute of my Mannour of Knell in the Countie of Sussex...during his lyfe, to praye for my soule' (TNA, PROB 11/34, fol.90v). The executors of his uncle, Edward included a Trinity in his brass at Warminghurst after his death in 1554, which was set in a re-used slab of Purbeck marble with Gothic cresting. The Trinity is lost, probably removed soon after Elizabeth's accession, but the invocatory prayers remain.

Greed and the opportunity to demonstrate enhanced social status were also factors in local instances of iconoclasm. Some tombs were appropriated by the unscrupulous to create impressive memorials on the cheap. One audacious example is at Melbury Sampford in Dorset (fig. 140, page 228) where the *arriviste* Sir Thomas Strangeways, d. 1547, is commemorated by a fine effigy in armour, carved in Chellaston alabaster c.1470, on a Purbeck marble tomb-chest. Strangeways' executors quickly implemented the appropriation by the simple expedient of ripping off the brass inscription on the tomb-chest and substituting a new one in Latin, commemorating him and his wife (Hutchinson & Egan, 1994, 269-71). Fortunately, the Tudor antiquary John Leland visited Melbury Sampford sometime between 1538 and 1546 and recorded the original inscription, identifying those formerly commemorated as one of the lords of the manor, John Brounyng d.1410, and his wife who died later (Hearne, 1770, vol. 3, 76). There is one final category of iconoclasm - that driven by political or quasi-legal motivation. The Warminghurst brass identifies the sons and daughters of Edward Shelley and his wife. Their last son's shoulders and head have been neatly and deliberately cut off (fig.141, page 229). This represented Edward, martyred in the Catholic cause at Tyburn on 30 August 1588 for sheltering a priest in the dangerous days of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada. This mutilation was probably undertaken by a herald, who was ordered to destroy this monument to a traitor. At Christchurch Priory, similar action was taken against the tomb of the countess of



Salisbury, mother of the exiled Cardinal Reginald Pole, on 2 December 1539 (fig. 142, page 230). Her chantry tomb had been constructed around 1530, possibly employing masons from Winchester or London. She was attainted for treason in May 1539 for aiding and abetting her sons Henry and Reginald, and ‘having commytted and p[er]petrated



▲ Fig. 140: *The appropriation of the alabaster effigy of John Brounyng c.1470, by Sir Giles Strangeways by simply substituting a new brass inscription after his death in 1547 at Melbury Sampford, Dorset.*

div[e]rse and sundrie other detestable and abhomynable treasons’ (TNA, C65/147/22). Cromwell’s commissioners defaced the monument and deleted its arms in December that year in an action designed to expunge the public standing of a traitor (BL, Cotton MS., Cleopatra E IV, fol. 267; Cook, 1965, 217). She was beheaded in 1541 and buried in the church of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London.

There is no physical evidence of any attempt to restore the religious iconography on these monuments during the brief Counter-Reformation imposed by Mary I, other than

the probable reconstruction of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II after 1553, which ironically employed a portion of a *mensa*, bearing a consecration cross (see volume two, page 382). Perhaps, after the uncertainty of the latter years of Henry VIII's reign, relatives were wary of mercurial changes in government policy and history demonstrates their judgement was correct. Furthermore, the putative Chichester workshop had probably fallen victim to the Edwardine Reformation and there may have been difficulties in finding a suitable carver to undertake the work.



▲ Fig. 141: *The kneeling effigy of Edward Shelley on his father's brass at Warminghurst, 1554, the head probably sliced off after his execution for treason in 1588. Height of figure (including indent): 17 cm.*



▲ Fig. 142: *The defacement of the Holy Trinity, with the kneeling countess of Salisbury in front, on a boss in the ceiling of her chantry chapel in Christchurch Priory. Estimated diameter of boss: 42 cm.*

## **Section 5: The context of contemporary monuments**

### **13 – Other workshops' output**

PURBECK MARBLE TOMBS WERE the major competitors to the Chichester masons in this period, not only the recessed canopied wall monuments made by London marblers (usually with brasses inserted) but also the tomb-chests carved in the area around Corfe in Dorset (Blair, 2001, 54). Some quarries can still be seen at West Lynch, (SY 956 013); Blashenwell, (SY 951 803); Quarr Farm (SY 987 795) and Wilkswood (SY 997 794). Two Purbeck tomb-chest panels of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were found built into cottage walls in West Street, Corfe Castle (SY 959 817), 50 years ago (Drury, 1949, pl. 7, facing 74; *see* fig. 144, page 233). This marble (more accurately limestone), was hewn and carved in the Purbeck hills by a craft governed by the local Company of Marblers and Stonecutters, whose articles of agreement were revised in 1551. The stone was carted overland, in pre-carved components or in rough quarried blocks, to Ower (SY 997 862) in Poole Harbour, or possibly Swanage and Wareham, for transportation by sea to London or elsewhere (Blair, 2001, 43).

In Sussex and Hampshire, patrons began to order tombs from other workshops other than the London and Corfe marblers, although requiring the same structural form as the Purbeck tombs. After the second decade of the sixteenth century, these ateliers faced increasing competition from masons working in Caen stone in Chichester, Winchester and sometimes in London or overseas - such as the Salisbury chantry of *c.*1530 at Christchurch and the Oxenbridge monument of 1537 (fig.143, page 232), at Brede, East Sussex (TQ 8252 1826). New regional workshops also emerged in Wells, Somerset, using Douling stone from Shepton Mallet (ST 648 437), Bristol (Dundry limestone) and Devon (Beerstone), whilst the Midlands alabasterers achieved market dominance in the north and midlands, stretching up from Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. The findings of surveys of monuments in Sussex and Hampshire (volume two), indicate that demand for Purbeck marble monuments in the two counties suffered a decline from the 1530s (graph 2, page 136). Higher transportation costs were almost certainly the deciding factor in many of these

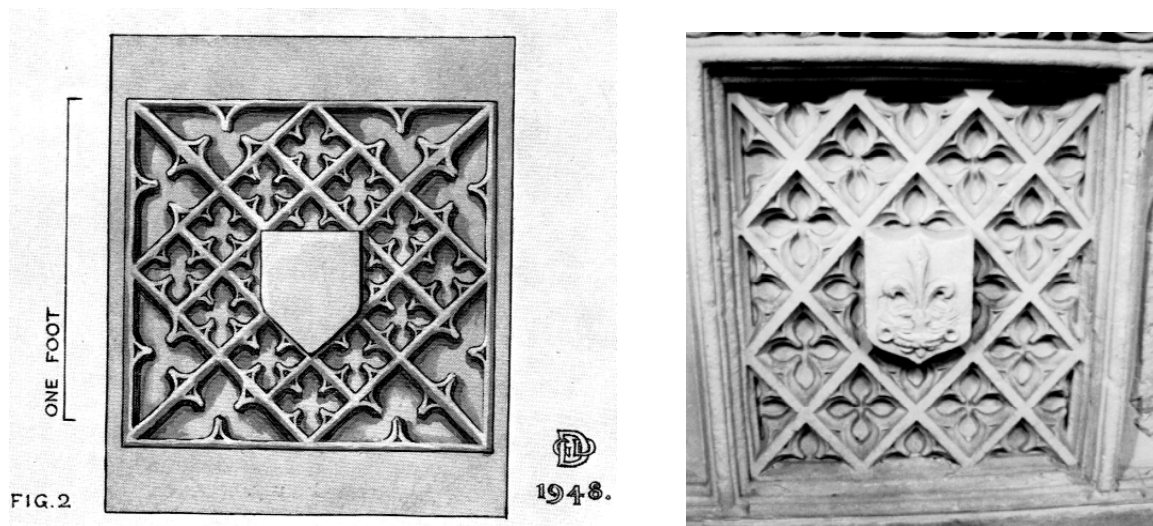
decisions, a motivation that also drove patron choice in the distant West Country (Faunch, 2000, 30), but this constraint did not deter the purchase of bevelled Purbeck coverstones from Corfe for PRESTON EPISCOPI, MICKLEHAM, SLAUGHAM, CARISBROOKE, BRADING I, II and III and BOXGROVE II. Presumably these components were purchased to add the perceived status associated with Purbeck tombs. Marked variation in the depths of chamfer on the Purbeck slab and adjacent Caen stone blocks at CARISBROOKE confirm they were cut at different locations and at different times. Earlier in Sussex, Purbeck marble was used for recessed canopy tombs at Singleton, 1524 and 1544 (SU 8780 1303), Petworth c.1525;



► Fig. 143: *Caen stone monument to Sir Goddard Oxenbridge, d.1531, at Brede, dated 1537; possibly the work of French carvers. Scale: 50 cm.*

Isfield 1527, (TQ 4464 1844) and five in Chichester Cathedral of c.1525-c.1530, all with London-made brasses. However, regional workshops may have begun to reap the benefits of being more adventurous in decoration; in Devon, a locally-made tomb to Richard

Coffyn, d.1523, at Heanton Punchardon has foliage ‘which is no longer entirely Perpendicular in character but as yet eludes a “Renaissance” characterisation’ (Fauch, 2000, 50). In contrast to the classical emblems that appear early at BROADWATER I, c. 1524; the chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I, 1532, and the frieze at PETWORTH, c. 1535, Purbeck tombs in Sussex stubbornly retained purely Gothic features; indeed the Purbeck marblers appear slower than their rivals to adopt the more fashionable motifs. The Fitzalan tomb of 1544 at Singleton has an established structural form (fig. 1, page 45) as has the remnants of a recessed canopy tomb to Sir Roger Lewkenor, d. 1543, at Trotton (SU 8363 2250, fig. 146, page 234), both made in London. Paradoxically, the panels on the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I consciously mimic conservative Corfe designs (fig.144, below) and the squat arch at Petworth (fig 145, page 234) resembles the Chichester tomb at SOMPTING of the same date. Even as late as 1558, the Purbeck marblers were turning out tombs that would sit comfortably with dates in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, such as at Burton, in West Sussex (SU 9675 1756) but this monument to Sir William Goring, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI, with its bizarre arrangement of brass inscriptions and kneeling figures, has arabesque carving on its pillars but these motifs are overwhelmed by the Gothic soffit, side



▲ Fig. 144: *Conservative designs from two groups of masons working in Purbeck marble and Caen stone. Left: Fragment of a sixteenth century Purbeck tomb-chest, built into a cottage wall in West Street, Corfe Castle, Dorset, reported in 1948. (After Drury, 1949, pl.7). Right: Right panel from the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I, c. 1524, measuring 41.3 cm. in height and 37 cm. in width.*



▲ Fig. 145: *Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb of ?Edmund Dawtrey, c.1525 in the north chapel of Petworth church, showing the indents of two lost brass shields and kneeling figures. The tomb-chest has been lost but is shown in a Grimm drawing of 1790 (BL, Add. MS. 5,674, fol. 52). The rectangular plate in the back wall is a later brass to the Dawtrey family.*



▲ Fig. 146: *Remains of a Purbeck recessed canopy tomb to Sir Roger Lewkenor d. 1543, at Trotton, Sussex. Note the shadow of the canopy above the tomb-chest. Scales: two metres and 30 cm.*



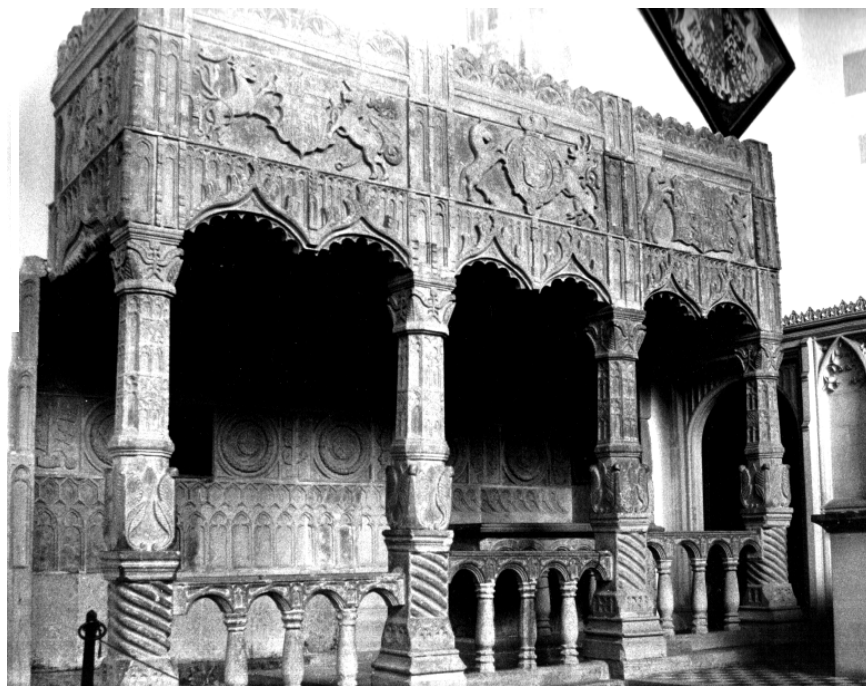


▲ Fig. 147: Yellowish Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb to Sir William Goring died 1558 and wife at Burton, West Sussex. Only the arabesques on the side columns reflect the advent of the Renaissance; the remainder is still pure Gothic. Scales: 50 cm.

panels, tomb-chest and cornice (fig. 147 above). From the early 1570s, Protestant refugee sculptors from the Low Countries, based in Southwark, used colourful alabaster and touchstone for impressive monuments to suit the pockets and social aspirations of the emergent Elizabethan *nouveaux riches*, together with marble from quarries near Petworth and Bethersden in Kent, which were closer to their operating base than Dorset. Their market penetration led to the demise of the London Marblers' Company a decade later. Patrons' idiosyncrasies continued in choice of decoration and structural form and their inherent conservatism meant that Renaissance and Gothic motifs appear mixed even as late as the 1590s. The Sussex marble monument erected in 1596 at Arundel (TQ 0165 0723) by John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609) to his wife's Fitzalan ancestors - three earls of Arundel, Thomas (d.1524); William (1544) and Henry (1580) - was intended to echo the monument on the south side of the Fitzalan chapel to William Fitzalan, d. 1487, 'as a conscious piece



of antiquarianism' (Hudson, 1997, vol. 5, pt. 1, 93). This tripartite canopied tomb (fig. 148 below) has an extraordinary mix of Gothic and Renaissance details with a table on arches along the back wall, perhaps intended as a reading desk for an officiating priest. Each bay has two squat ogee arches and pendants with coats of arms on the frieze and a cornice of semi-circular ornamentation, with an overall effect that is 'incredibly gauche and naïve' (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 89). It was probably carved to order in London. Its small brass inscription has the hallmarks of the workshop of the Protestant refugee tomb-maker, Garat Johnson, but this may have been a sub-contract.



▲ Fig. 148: *Sussex marble monument in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel, to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth earls of Arundel ordered in 1596 by John Lumley, Lord Lumley, to commemorate his wife's Fitzalan ancestors. It has a curious mixture of Gothic and Renaissance motifs and seems to have been a conscious piece of antiquarianism.*

Although Purbeck, with its attractive high polish, offered the high status image desired by patrons, Caen stone was capable of being painted and could present a powerful and colourful image of the deceased, indicative of wealth and their place in local society. Moreover, the masons working in this medium seemed more flexible in the structures and decoration they offered potential clients. Although there are similarities in component dimensions and in construction, the Chichester series all differ in structural form or motifs,

indicating the masons' willingness to customise tombs to suit patrons' requirements. The same applies to other carvers working in this stone. The Caen stone monuments in Hampshire carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester are ambitious and more competently executed than those produced in Chichester. Bertie was the son of Robert Bertie, a mason of Bearsted, Kent, who died in 1501 when his son was 20 years old. He arrived in Winchester when Bishop Fox began to re-build the presbytery aisles and erect his chantry chapel in what is now Winchester Cathedral (Riall, 2007, 160). Recent research has identified his work at Sherborne St John (SU 6235 5556) to Sir Ralph Pexall, d. 1537, a tomb-chest with two large effigies and a frieze carved in the Franco-Italian *all'antica* style, probably in 1518-22. In the same church, the Caen stone doorway and a panel on the south porch dated 1537 has also been attributed to Bertie (fig.149 below), as has the Lisle tomb of 1524 at Thruxton, (SU 2888 4559), the Draper chantry of 1529 at Christchurch and the monument of c.1540 at East Tisted (SU 6523 2912). Bertie was also responsible for the frieze over the stall-work in St Cross, Winchester, of 1517 and in that city's Cathedral, the Silstede canopies and the south screen of the presbytery of 1520-22 and the north screen tombs of the same date (Riall, 2007, 165). The monument at East Tisted to Richard Norton, d. 1556, and wife has been re-dated to 1525-30 (Riall, 2007, 165) but I believe it looks a little later and agree with the date of c.1540, offered by Pevsner and Lloyd (1967, 203). This was



▲ Fig. 149: South porch at Sherborne St John, Hants., with Caen stone moulded doorway with Renaissance flower motifs in the spandrels and a donor panel commemorating James and Jane Pyre, alias Spier, 1533. The doorway measures 242 cm. in height and 193 cm. in width. The depressed arch is carved in three sections.



▲ Fig. 150: *The Draper chantry, 1529, at Christchurch by Thomas Bertie. Scale: two metres.*

originally erected against the north wall of the chancel, adjoining the altar, but has been moved to the east end of the south aisle and recently has been restored (figs. 151-2, pages 239-40). The central religious iconography of a Resurrection and its position in the church leaves little doubt that it was intended and designed as an Easter Sepulchre. The carving on all the tombs by Bertie is crisply executed, representing a quantum jump in capability when compared with the clumsy, if not lumpy, effigies produced in Chichester during this period. The kneeling figures and the Resurrection at East Tisted demonstrate the work of a skilled carver who could create images of true emotion and movement. Only the carving of the panels at BROADWATER I, BOXGROVE I, PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING II and BROADWATER II match the quality of his work. Some of the more flamboyant Renaissance motifs, particularly the flower emblems, on the Bertie monuments and some of



▲ Fig. 151: *The carved figures inside the recessed canopy tomb at East Tisted are carved with considerable skill, especially seen in the figure of Christ and the degree of individuality accorded to the effigies of the children. Attributed to Thomas Bertie. Width of monument: 176.7 cm.*

those produced in Chichester have some resemblance to each other - similar pattern books or woodcuts must have been employed (fig. 153, page 241). Another tomb by Thomas Bertie is probably at Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hants., (SU 3460 2662) where fragments of what was probably a recessed canopy tomb survive, cemented into the north wall of the chancel and within the western jamb of the north transept, hard up against the Victorian organ console. This commemorates Tristram Fantleroy, d. 1538, and takes the form of a small Caen stone tablet, 20.2 cm. in height and 47 cm. in width, containing the kneeling effigies of a man and wife with an inscription in humanist script squeezed between (fig.154, page 241). The tomb-chest fragment, 41.2 cm. in height and 44.5 cm. in width, has a cusped diamond panel, bearing a shield with the arms of FANTLERoy, *Gules three infants' heads couped at the shoulders proper crined or, with an crescent for difference, impaling three fleur-de-lis, two and three* ? It is of mid- sixteenth century date and the arms confirm that the fragment is probably associated with the inscription and effigies in the chancel. The Prior of the Benedictine house of St Swithin's, Winchester,



▲ Fig. 152: *Tomb of Richard Norton, d. 1556 but erected c.1540 by Thomas Bertie of Winchester. Originally against the north wall of the chancel at East Tisted, Hants., but now in the south aisle. Recently restored. Scale: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 153: Renaissance flower emblems or motifs - **left**, by Thomas Bertie, c.1540 at East Tisted, Hants., **centre**, on the frieze at PETWORTH, c.1535 and **right**, on the chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I, 1532.



▲ Fig. 154: Two figures and an inscription, remains of the monument to Tristram Fantleroy, d. 1538 and wife, Joan née Holtwe. North wall, chancel, 142.5 cm. above first chancel step, and 4.93 m. from east wall. Michelmersh, Hants. Scale: 50 cm.

appointed Fantleroy as sub-steward of its lands and possessions in Hampshire and Wiltshire because of his ‘good and faithful service in the past’(Chambers, 2002, 14). His will (HSRO Genealogy/85) dated 25 July 1538 expressed his wish to be buried in the ‘Cathedral Church of Winchester or in the monastery church of Ambresbury in Our Lady Chapell or in the church of Michelmersh’ and left 40 shillings to the cathedral. There was some debate in my mind over the attribution of this monument; initially, I believed it could well belong to the Chichester group, but close examination revealed a delicacy in carving

that is entirely absent from most of those monuments. The inscription is very similar lettering to that on the porch at Sherborne St John and the crispness of the execution of the heraldry on the tomb-chest resembles that at East Tisted. Hence the attribution to Thomas



► Fig. 155: *Fragment of tomb-chest in north transept, Michelmersh, Hants., measuring 41.2 cm. in height and 44.5 cm. in width.*

Bertie. The curious wording of the inscription, referring only to Fantleroy's date of burial and the concluding invocatory prayer suggests a date of at least c.1540, well within Bertie's working life as he died in 1556. The last part was probably erased. The inscription reads: HERE LYET MASTER TRVSTRAM FAN / TELROY SQVYRE / AND IHOHAN HYS / WYFE WHYCH / TRVSTRAM WAS / BURYED THE XIV / DAY OF AVGVST / THE YERE OF OWR / LORDE GOD M CCCCC / XXX AND VIII WHOSE SOVLS GOD [PARDON] /'.

At Old Basing, Hants., (SU 6659 5291), the Paulett family created dignified chantry chapels with panelled depressed arches adjoining both sides of the chancel in Caen stone, beginning c.1520 which has no Renaissance emblems and continuing with William, first Marquis of Winchester, c.1545-60, which is adorned by Italianate strapwork. None seem to be the work of the Chichester masons, again because of the skill involved in carving. There are two other intriguing monuments in Caen stone in Hampshire which are worth examining if only to revisit their dating, as well as their attribution. The first, at



Swaythling, *alias* South Stoneham, (SU 4308 1543) on the outskirts of Southampton, commemorates a member of another branch of the family at PETWORTH, Sir Francis Dawtrey and his wife Blanche. Pevsner and Lloyd (1967, 573) date it *c.*1540 because of the predominance of Gothic elements; the depressed arch and the cusped panelling on the tomb-chest. However, there is also arabesque decoration to the tomb-chest and three panels



► Fig. 156: *Caen stone tomb of Sir Francis Dawtrey on the north wall of the chancel of Swaythling church. Previously dated *c.*1540, it should be re-dated to *c.*1570 because of the Renaissance ornamentation on its tomb-chest and its back wall.*

within the recess as well as the cartouches (fig. 156 above). The centre one has the initials 'F.D' and 'B.D' with a lover's knot and a winged cherub's head beneath, which one might easily expect to find on the top of an eighteenth century headstone in a churchyard. The monument, 251.5 cm. in height, 185 cm. in width and 37.8 cm. deep, is made up of light-grey Caen stone for the tomb-chest but the shafts and entablature are of a darker hue. It has a real classical feel and should be re-dated perhaps to *c.*1570, after Dawtrey's death. As to authorship, this tomb is clearly not by the Chichester masons nor by Bertie, who was dead by this date. Perhaps a London mason was responsible? The second tomb is at South



Warnborough (SU 7216 4719) to Sir Thomas White, d. 1566, and his wife (d. 1570) which Pevsner and Lloyd (1967, 604) suspected may have been an appropriated Easter Sepulchre, based on the absence of any Renaissance ornamentation which does not sit easily alongside the style of the kneeling effigies (fig.157, page 245). I believe they are correct in this assertion. Its position, on the north wall of the chancel, certainly matches this role in the Easter rites and the new inscription, figures and the three *putti* bearing shields on the tops of the octagonal shafts all look like later additions or insertions, probably in c.1570. It has a four-centred arch, Gothic cornice, niched side panels and soffit and a tomb-chest with three cusped panels bearing shields, all probably of c.1535. It would have been a simple matter to remove the religious iconography and rebuild the back wall of the recess with eight new carved panels consisting of the two main kneeling figures and their ridiculously tall prayer desk and the rows of sons and daughters behind on each side (fig.158, page 246). The original monument again does not seem to be a product of the Chichester masons; none of their monuments have grandiose shafts thrown out on either side and the carving, particularly in the double moulding around the recess, looks too crisp and precise for their handiwork. Perhaps another monument by Thomas Bertie?

At Stoke Charity (SU 4887 3926) we have already looked at the freestone recessed canopy tomb to John Waller, d. 1526, designed as an Easter Sepulchre with the associated image of the Mass of St Gregory, probably carved in Chichester (fig.159, page 247). This also figured in my thinking for inclusion in the list of monuments under investigation. There is no obvious reason to exclude it simply because it is carved in a different stone – it may have been a specific request – but the flamboyant style of carving and construction makes it problematical and therefore it has been excluded.

Back in Sussex, the later additions for the appropriation at Herstmonceux (TQ 6427 1019) and Caen stone additions look like work imported into the county and at Easebourne (SU 8948 2252) the alabaster effigy of Sir David Owen, d. 1542, is an effigy that was ordered 40 years before his death, set in a thirteenth century arched niche in the north wall of the church, at the junction of the nave and chancel (fig. 160, page 247). At Battle (TQ 7502 1580), the alabaster monument to Sir Anthony Browne, d. 1548, and his wife was ordered in his lifetime. Sir Anthony was standard bearer and master of the horse to Henry VIII and a well-known Francophobe, so the Renaissance tomb is unlikely to have

been made across the English Channel. It is more likely to have been carved by an Italian or Fleming working in London. The recumbent effigies lie on top of a high tomb-



▲ Fig. 157: *Monument of Sir Thomas White and wife at South Warnborough, Hants. This is probably an appropriation of an Easter Sepulchre of c.1535: note the additions of the three putti bearing painted shields on top of the octagonal piers.*



▲ Fig. 158: *Kneeling figures of Sir Thomas White and wife in Caen stone, inserted c.1570 to appropriate a former Easter Sepulchre of c.1535.*

chest, his wife's figure much smaller, so she has a canopy above her head to preserve symmetry. The sides are covered with Italianate motifs with pilasters rather than columns, as well as shell-tops, cherubs and wreaths (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 408). The inscription is in Roman capitals, not blackletter. For the first time in Sussex we have a tomb that comes close, in structure and style, to Torrigiano's monument to Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey of more than three decades before. Was this deference to the founder of the Tudor dynasty or a demonstration of Browne's position at court and a reflection of its metropolitan tastes? The Renaissance, in all its flamboyance and exuberance, had finally, and fully, arrived on a Sussex monument.



▲ Fig. 159: *Tomb of John Waller, c. 1530 in the north or Hampton, chapel at Stoke Charity, Hants., with the associated image of the Mass of St Gregory probably carved in Chichester, at right.*



◀ Fig. 160: *Alabaster effigy of Sir David Owen, d. 1542, at Easebourne, set into a thirteenth century niche in the north wall of the nave of the church. The Chellaston alabaster effigy was ordered 40 years before his death. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

## 14 – Conclusions

A TOTAL OF 32 MONUMENTS carved in Caen stone are attributed to masons operating in Chichester in the period c.1520-50, of which 23 carry the highest confidence weighting, (meriting inclusion in this discrete group of tombs) and eight the next highest. Based on documentary evidence and typological analysis, 23 of the tombs are re-dated more closely to their probable dates of construction; those of the remaining nine are confirmed. Fieldwork reports on all these monuments (including measurements, descriptions of the tombs and their heraldry, details of restorations, discussion on their original location within churches, together with biographical information on those commemorated) are contained in *APPENDIX I* in volume two.

This group of monuments are among the very latest tombs of the medieval tradition in England to include any religious sculpture, as the requirement for this category of sculpture virtually disappeared after about 1540, save for a handful of tombs erected during the short reign of Mary I. At least 14 were designed as Easter Sepulchres, with a prominent role in the pre-Reformation Easter rites. Two, BOXGROVE I and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, are chantry chapels. Three rare survivals of exterior monuments are at NORTH MUNDHAM, CHICHESTER I and CHICHESTER II and are bas-relief panels carved from a single slab. The imagery on the tombs has been identified and analysed, shedding light on personal allegiances to individual saints or religious iconography and revealing a strong desire to create a compelling motivation for prayers of intercession to be offered for the souls of the commemorated. The BVM, St George, probably the local saint, St Richard of Chichester, and Christ, portrayed as the ‘Man of Sorrows’, emerge as popular choices for imagery.

Nine of the monuments are hybrid, incorporating components produced by other masons or originating from other sources. These are predominantly Purbeck marble coverstones (PRESTON EPISCOPI, MICKLEHAM, CARISBROOKE, BRADING I, II, and III), but brasses were also supplied by London-based marblers for local re-fixing at SLAUGHAM and MICKLEHAM. Two large Burton alabaster effigies form part of the impressive tomb at GODSHILL.

At least four religious panels were also probably carved by these masons, who may have specialised in this type of sculpture. More were probably produced, but this class of sculpture is likely to have been especially targeted for destruction during the Reformation.

They were also involved in some secular jobbing work, producing Caen stone doorways (Chichester cathedral close), at HAMSEY and possibly at the now destroyed Fenn Place in East Sussex, as well as inserting new windows on the north side of the quire of Boxgrove Priory, c.1525-30.

Chichester is identified as the location of the masons' workshop on the basis of circumstantial evidence drawn from analysis of the distribution of the monuments and sixteenth century modes of transport. The masons were probably members of an institutionalised 'Cathedral Works Organisation' at Chichester which arguably became a centre of excellence in the visual arts for Sussex patrons, producing painted decoration and carved woodwork for both home and church, as well, it is propounded, Caen stone monuments with Renaissance motifs copied from high-status devotional works held in the Cathedral library. Study of a number of *Books of Hours* published in Paris 1498-1515 revealed conclusively that a number of woodcuts inspired the Renaissance decoration of some of these monuments, particularly BOXGROVE I, where some of the carved columns and panels mirror precisely the originals in the devotional works. Some motifs were replicated in decorative woodwork and painting commissioned by two of those who ordered tombs (BOXGROVE I and RACTON) from the putative Chichester workshop, demonstrating common sourcing. The masons' terms and conditions of employment with the cathedral allowed them ample time to carve monuments for clients outside their retained employment obligations. Denis Hycke, a mason named in the Chichester chapter archive, is identified as one of these masons. He may have died in 1544, as another, called Wolsey, was paid to repair a tomb in the Cathedral in that year and may have taken over the business. Whilst a link with Chichester Cathedral was therefore established, no documentary evidence for a relationship with the bishops of Chichester was uncovered. Although accounts for the port of Chichester are fragmentary for this period, one shipment of 20 tons of Caen stone, landed from an 'alien' ship, appears in the ledger for Bosham harbour for April 1533 to add weight to the case for Chichester being the location of the workshop. No other imports were found landed at other ports along the south coast of England.

This group of monuments is a much larger number of tombs than that suggested by earlier writers. Were more produced, but destroyed by iconoclasts in the Edwardine Reformation? Output is broadly in line with that of other regional workshops operating in

the same period and timescale, so this seems unlikely. Thirteen monuments were produced in the 1520s, ten in the 1530s and nine in the 1540s, indicating that an uncertain market, influenced by developing regulatory impact on the old liturgy, created periods of 'feast or famine'. Based on surviving examples, average production was roughly one tomb a year, so the masons frequently had little or no work on monuments; for example in 1523/4; 1527/8, 1534 and 1541-4. Hence the need for the workshop's diversification into allied activity such as religious panels and jobbing masonry. Other years show spikes in demand that required additional masonry skills to fulfil the orders. This was the case for large, complex projects such as BROADWATER I, BOXGROVE I and CARISBROOKE where the size of the tomb and chantry chapels demanded that perhaps three or four extra masons should be hired to carve figures, heraldry and motifs; assist in the pre-fabrication of components in the workshop and construction *in situ*, probably helped by local unskilled labour. The hand of an unusually skilled carver is obvious at BOXGROVE I whose work is repeated on the panels at PETWORTH and RACTON, but not elsewhere in this series. Perhaps he was another itinerant mason, paid on a piece-work basis, especially brought in for these commissions. Therefore, the size of the workshop may only have been Hycke and his apprentice during periods of low activity, rising to perhaps five masons, plus the assistant, to complete larger orders. The decline in the 1540s may also have been due to the lack of availability of trained masons for *ad hoc* work, caused by the construction of the Henrician coastal artillery forts in 1539-47, 11 of which were built in the Solent-Spithead area.

No masons' marks were found on the tombs, but a record of mainly seventeenth century graffiti inscribed on the monuments was made, as discussed in chapter 6. At CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, several outlines of shoes and right hands were scratched on the seat in front of the Harys chantry. Some date from the sixteenth century and may be coeval with the erection of the chapel; indeed, could have been left by the masons during its erection.

Many of those commemorated had close family links, suggesting a pattern of patronage based on loyalty to the masons' workshop or personal recommendation and also driven by local conservative taste in structure and iconography. It is significant that five tombs (SLAUGHAM, BROADWATER I, SOMPTING, BOXGROVE I, BROADWATER II) were constructed by patrons in their lifetimes to ensure their requirements were met, rather than

leaving decisions to their executors. Four (MICKLEHAM, RACTON, CHURCH NORTON, WEST WITTERING I) were erected for wives who pre-deceased their husbands and their spouses were later buried with them. These wealthy patrons followed the lead of their bishops and clergy in being loyal adherents to the old religion and it can be no coincidence that they actively sought the inclusion of religious iconography on their monuments even as the state was developing policies that changed the liturgy, eventually specifically abolishing imagery. Did the Chichester workshop flourish because its prospective patrons were religiously conservative - or was the local market attracted by tomb designs that matched their need to demonstrate their piety, as well as their wealth and status? These classic patronage models - personal choice, or decision-making influenced by peer networking - were not mutually exclusive. This was the case in Sussex and the IoW. There are five groupings which fit the 'networking' paradigm which together comprise more than 50% of this workshop's production: (1) those connected with the Shirley family (PRESTON EPISCOPI, SELMESTON, PETWORTH, WISTON and CLAPHAM); (2) the de la Warrs and those under their influence or enjoying their patronage (BROADWATER I, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, BOXGROVE I, BROADWATER II and possibly BOXGROVE II); (3) those connected with the Cooke family (BRADING I and II, RUSTINGTON I and RACTON); (4) the Covert family (SLAUGHAM and probably RUSTINGTON II) and (5) probably two Royse exterior panels (CHICHESTER I and II). Overlying this pattern of kinship and marriage ties are the informal networks formed by the executors or overseers to wills, nearly all of whom had erected tombs by this workshop in their lifetimes and so were familiar with its products and operations. Investigation of all known monuments erected during this period in Sussex and Hampshire shows a local decline in patronage from the 1530s of the Corfe and London marblers producing Purbeck marble tombs. Doubtless, lower transportation costs were an important factor in ordering tombs from Chichester rather than from London.

An analysis of the advent of Renaissance motifs demonstrates that with the exception of the de la Warr monuments at BROADWATER I, c.1524 and BOXGROVE I, 1532 (indicating the fashionable tastes of this noble family), this ornamentation did not begin to appear on monuments in Sussex until around 1535, at PETWORTH and RACTON. Previously there was adherence to the Gothic taste, possibly because of its emotional association with



earlier high status Purbeck tombs to the great and good and elements of this style lasted through to the end of the series in c.1550.

A case study of iconoclasm for Sussex and Hampshire has been constructed, demonstrating that defensive measures were undertaken by relatives of the deceased to protect some tombs from attack. Only three cases of full destruction are noted - at RUSTINGTON I and II, where fragments of the original monuments were buried face-down in the chancel and used as paving slabs and also at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II. Many monuments had their religious iconography carefully erased or had images hidden, as at BROADWATER II, where the effigies of St George and the BVM were turned to face into the monument and plastered over. Other iconography on this monument - the central Holy Trinity and three figures of saints - was erased and polished flat. On many tombs, the effigies also suffered damage to the heads and hands, triggered by the belief that such attacks would remove the status and power of those commemorated. On the balance of probability, it is likely that damage to these monuments occurred during the reign of Edward VI in 1547-53. No physical evidence was discovered of any attempt to restore the religious iconography on these monuments during the brief Counter-Reformation imposed by Mary I, other than the probable reconstruction of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II after 1553, which employed a portion of a *mensa*, bearing a consecration cross (*see* volume two, page 382). Perhaps, after the uncertainty of the latter years of Henry VIII's reign, relatives were wary of mercurial changes in government policy. Subsequent history demonstrates the wisdom of their judgement.

The new religious climate of the late 1540s and early 1550s, with the advent of a radical and reforming Protestant regency during the reign of Edward VI, almost certainly constrained and then snuffed out the local market for these tombs. It is significant that the last monument in the series at CLAPHAM, commemorating the judge Sir William Shelley, d. 1548, is religiously neutral in its iconography. Furthermore, almost two years after his death, his son's will, contains a request that 'my fathers Tombe be made upp & perfitley fynissished with all thinges belonging to the same as shalbe thought mete by my Executours' (TNA, PROB 11/34 90v). It seems it was then only partly erected and it is arguable that the monument was never completed. CLAPHAM thus supplies a plausible *terminus ante quem* for these masons' operations.

Through documentary evidence and fieldwork, the identities of those commemorated have been established for the hitherto anonymous memorials at CHICHESTER I, II and III as being named local officials serving the city and perhaps a merchant. NORTH MUNDHAM obstinately eluded identification, other than recovering the Christian name 'John' from the battered raised-letter inscription. Thus, almost all of the research objectives were fully achieved.

Aside from the importance of their religious iconography and the material evidence they provide on the nature and progress of Protestant iconoclasm, these tombs form a significant and sizeable group within the corpus of sixteenth century church monuments in England and Wales. BOXGROVE I, the last (virtually) complete chantry to be erected in Sussex, alone warrants further investigation and is worthy, by itself, of a separate D.Phil. dissertation.

A rival establishment, also using Caen stone, was operational in Winchester led by the mason Thomas Bertie who enjoyed the patronage of the bishops of Winchester. Other Caen stone monuments (Brede, Old Basing and the Salisbury chantry at Christchurch), were probably carved by foreign masons or in London.

\*\*\*\*\*

I hope this research has paved the way for further investigation into local groups of monuments. Up to now, scholars have focussed on the production output of the Purbeck marblers, the alabasterers of Burton-on-Trent and of the refugee sculptors in Southwark, myself included. Only by studying all monuments - sculpted, incised slabs and in brass - in a holistic manner can an accurate and viable picture emerge of this important area of English art history.

Finally, I am continuing research into the movement of tombs and the remains of those commemorated during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. We are only just beginning to comprehend the real impact of the Reformation on monuments of all types and I trust that this dissertation makes a contribution to that necessary debate.

# Bibliography

## Primary sources – manuscript

### Bodleian Library

Gough Maps 31, fol. 426 - Drawing of inner hall, Halnaker House, 1781 by S.H. Grimm.

Gough Maps 228\* fols.13-4 – Letter, c.1790, from Samuel Lysons to Richard Gough complaining about the whitewashing of monuments at Tewkesbury.

### British Library

#### Additional MSS

5,671, fol. 23 - Drawing of doorway, Fenn Place, Sussex, by S.H. Grimm,

- fol. 59 - Drawing of Selmeston monument, 1787, by S.H. Grimm,

5,673, fol. 31 - Drawing of Shirley monument, Wiston, 1781, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 61 - Drawings of Broadwater monuments, 1780, by S.H. Grimm.

5,674, fol. 3 - Drawing of Shelley monument, Clapham, 1789, and drawing of Burré monument, Sompting, 1789 by S.H. Grimm (the latter wrongly placed with Clapham).

- fol. 52 - Drawing of Dawtrey monument, Petworth, 1780, by S.H. Grimm.

5,675, fol. 41 - Drawing of Gounter monument, Racton, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 42 - Drawing of the interior of the hall at Racton House, 1782, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 43 - Drawing of donor's panel, Chichester Cathedral, 1791, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 66 - Drawing of Westhampnett monument, 1782, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 70 - Drawing of Ernle monuments, West Wittering, 31 May 1790, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 71 - Drawing of Lews monument, Church Norton, 1 June 1790, by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 73 - Drawing of great hall wainscot, Halnaker House, 1782 by S.H. Grimm.

- fol. 77 - Drawing of tomb of Thomas Myles, Boxgrove Priory, 1781 by S.H. Grimm.

- fols. 78-80 - Elevations of de la Warr chantry, Boxgrove Priory, 1781 by S.H. Grimm.

#### Cotton MSS

Cleopatra E IV, fol.234 - letter from Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, to Thomas Cromwell about the suppression of Boxgrove Priory, March 1536.

- fol.234v – letter from John Morise to Thomas Cromwell announcing the dissolution of Boxgrove Priory, 26 March 1537.

- fol. 267 - letter from Cromwell's commissioners on the defacement of the attainted countess of Salisbury's chantry chapel at Christchurch, 2 December 1539.

Cleopatra E V, fol.294 – *A brief and short instruction given the curates and clergy of the Diocese of Chichester by Richard, bishop of the same*, September 1538.

fol. 298 - Letter from Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester to Thomas Cromwell, London, 4 September 1538.

Otho C X, fol.172 - Interrogation of Sir Anthony Browne I, 10 June 1538.

### Devon Record Office, Exeter

23M/TB508 – Quitclaim dated 24 November 1524, concerning right and claim in four Devon manors and that of Wile, [*sic*] Dorset, held by Edward Lewkenor and his father-in-law Roger Copley and others, the gift of Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, as in a charter dated 1 October 1521.

### Hampshire Record Office, Winchester

77M84/PW18 – Letter from Revd. R.F. Biggs to R.C.W. Streatfield about 'a sculpture of the Mass of St Gregory' 22 April 1901.

77M84/PW53 – Conservation report on the Stoke Charity monuments by Roger Harris, conservator.  
 Genealogy/85 – Will of Tristram Fantleroy of Michelmersh, 25 July 1538.

### **The National Archives, Kew**

#### **Chancery documents**

C 65/147/22 – Indictment for treason of Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, May 1539.

#### ***Inquisitions Post Mortem***

C 142/47 no. 41 – Edward Lewkenor, 10 April 1529.

C 142/67 no. 91 - William Shirley, 1551.

C 142/75 no. 64 - William Ernle, 25 October 1546.

#### **Records of Exchequer, the Office of First Fruits and Tenths and Court of Augmentation, Records of the King's Remembrancer**

E 210/2638 – Agreement between Sir John Saye and Robert Stowell, freemason, 25 June, 1476.

#### **Exchequer - Pipe Office - E 356/24-26 customs accounts rolls, 1 Henry VIII-32 Henry VIII. King's Remembrancer's customs accounts rolls**

E 122/26/13 - Port of Chichester customs accounts, Rye, 1546.

E 122/200/6 fol. 20v – Port of Chichester customs accounts, 1533-5.

E 122/37/3 – Port of Chichester customs accounts 1549-50.

#### **Special Collections**

SC 12/15/54 - Valors of lands to be exchanged between Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, and the King at Halnaker, Boxgrove and Walberton.

#### **PCC Wills and probates**

PROB 11/11, fols. 21-21v - John Pympe of Nettlestead, Kent, 7 August 1496.

PROB 11/16, fols. 216-7 - Ralph Shirley of Wiston, dated 11 February 1510, proved 7 May 1510.

PROB 11/18, fols. 12-13 - Edward Elrington (PRESTON EPISCOPI), dated 13 March 1515; proved 18 November 1515.

PROB 11/22, fols. 11-14 - Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr (BROADWATER I), dated 8 October 1524; proved 12 February 1526

- fol.22v-23v - Joan Cooke (RUSTINGTON I), dated 26 April 1525; proved 12 February 1526.

- fols. 309v-310v - Edward Lewkenor (KINGSTON BUCI), dated 1 October 1527; proved 7 November 1528.

PROB 11/24, fols. 62v-63 – Sir Goddard Oxenbridge, dated 17 June 1530; proved 27 October 1531.

PROB 11/25, fols. 308-308v - Eleanor West, widow of Sir Thomas West I (BROADWATER I), dated 10 May 1536; proved 14 November 1536.

- fols. 310v-311 - Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester; dated 2 August 1536; proved 24 November 1536.

PROB 11/27, fols. 132v-135 - Edward Markewyck (HAMSEY), dated 12 November 1534; proved 22 May 1538.

- fol.262 - Sir Richard Wingfield of Calais, dated 10 August 1538; proved 12 November 1539.

PROB 11/28, fols. 171v-172 – Sir Richard Shirley (WISTON), dated 21 October 1540; proved 5 February 1541.

- fols.236-238 - Sir Alexander Culpeper of Goudhurst, Kent, dated 21 June 1541.

PROB 11/29 fols.90v-93 - Constance Culpeper of Goudhurst, Kent, dated 13 November 1542.

- fols.118-118v – Sir John Dawtrey I (PETWORTH), dated 23 August 1542; proved 1 February 1543.

PROB 11/30, fols. 96v-97v - Robert Palmer (Parham), dated 5 May 1544; proved 24 July 1544.

PROB 11/30, fols. 377-379v - Ellis Bradshaw (CHICHESTER III), dated 10 May 1544; proved 25 June 1545.

PROB 11/31, fols.19v-20v - William Ernle (WEST WITTERING I and II), dated 15 January 1546;

proved 15 February 1546.

- fols.377-379 - Richard Covert (SLAUGHAM), dated 16 March 1546; proved 2 November 1547.

PROB 11/32, fols.185-186 - Sir William Shelley (CLAPHAM), dated 6 November 1548; proved, 8 February 1549.

PROB 11/33, fols.75-77v – Sir Anthony Browne I of Battle, dated 22 April 1547.

PROB 11/34, fols.88v-90v - John Shelley esquire of Clapham, dated 8 August 1550.

PROB 11/37, fols.97v-100v - Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr (BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER II), dated 5 September 1554; proved 12 November 1554.

PROB 11/40, fols.236v-237v - John Gounter esquire (RACTON), dated 30 September 1557; proved 17 July 1558.

PROB 11/252, fols. 91-92 - Sir John Oglander of Brading, IoW, dated 10 November 1649; proved 31 January 1656.

#### **State Papers**

SP 1/133/fols. 51-53 - Account of the sermon of Thomas Cowley, *alias* Rochester, vicar of Ticehurst, 1538.

SP 11/1/fols.56-7v - Memoranda to Mary 1, relating to church goods, early August 1553.

SP 11/4/fols.15-6v - Estimate for payment of state debts, ?April 1554.

#### **Royal Armouries, Leeds**

IV.593 -Note on a Flemish or Italian jousting helm, c.1520, from Broadwater church.

#### **Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes**

Field notes of the late Verena Smith - Verena Smith papers, box no.16

#### **West Sussex Record Office, Chichester**

##### **Wills registered in Chichester Consistory Court**

STA I/1A, fol.50 - Richard Burré of Sompthing, 4 August 1527, proved 2 October 1527.

STC I/3, fol. 1 - William Royse of St Andrew's Oxmarket, Chichester, 11 April 1540. No date of probate.

STC I/10, fol.139 – John Wall, vicar of Clapham; dated 21 November 1558, no date of probate.

##### **Other documents**

Add. MS., 8,112 - Compoter's roll, dated 1555, of the Sussex estates of Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr.

Add. MS., 31,337 - Sale by Edward Lewkenor esquire to Robert Palmer, gentleman, of the manor of East Preston, Sussex, together with four messuages and 200 acres of land, 7 February 1526.

CAP I/23/1, fol.112 – Chapter cummunar's accounts, 1533.

CAP I/51/17 - Catalogue of books in Chichester Cathedral Library, c.1699.

CHICTY/AY/117 – Inspeximus of a decree of Court of Augmentations confirming indentures between William Fleshmonger, dean of Chichester and Ellis Bradshaw, mayor of Chichester, as now void in law; 8 February 1549.

CHICTY/AY/140 – Indentures between William Fleshmonger, dean of Chichester and Ellis Bradshaw, mayor of Chichester; 20 Sepyember 1538.

PAR 29/4/24 - Photograph and valuation of the Broadwater helm, dated February 1969.

PAR 29/4/25 - Form of faculty under Faculty Jurisdiction Measure 1964: Broadwater helm, dated 8 February 1974.

P 2282 - Notes on 'The sixteenth century Canopied Table Tomb' [at Racton] by Brig. V. A. Viner, 1981.

#### **Primary sources – printed**

APC - *Acts of the Privy Council*, n.s., vol. 3, 1550-52, ed. John Roche Dasent, London (Her Majesty's Stationery Office) 1890.

- Atree, F, (ed.), 1912 *Notes of Post Mortem Inquisitions taken in Sussex*, Lewes (SRS, vol. 14).
- Bateson, Mary (ed.), 1895, *A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council*, London (Camden Society, Miscellany, vol. 9).
- Byrne, M, 1981, *The Lisle Letters*, six vols., Chicago (University of Chicago Press).
- Clay, John (ed.), 1907, *Testamenta Eborensia*, six vols., Durham (Surtees Society/Andrews & Co.)
- Cook, G, 1965, *Letters to Cromwell and Others on the Suppression of the Monasteries*, London (John Baker).
- Cornwall, J, (ed.), 1956, *Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-5* (TNA, E 179), Lewes (SRS, vol. 56).
- CPR – *Calendar Patents Rolls, Philip & Mary*, vol. 3, 1555-7; ed. M.S. Giuseppi, London (His Majesty's Stationery Office) 1938.
- Dunkin, E, 1915, *Sussex Manors and Advowsons 1509-1833*, pt. 2, Lewes (SRS, vol. 20).
- Ellis, H, (ed.) 1825-7, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 2nd. series, three vols., London (Harding, Triphook & Lepard).
- Godfrey, W (ed.) 1935, *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, vol. 1 (Albourne-Chichester), Lewes (SRS, vol. 41).
- 1937, *ibid.*, vol. 2 (Chiddingly-Horsham), Lewes (SRS vo.42)
  - 1938, *ibid.*, vol. 3 (Hosted-Keynes-Pyecombe), Lewes (SRS vol. 43).
  - 1940, *ibid.*, vol. 4 (Racton-Yapton), Lewes (SRS vol. 45).
- LP - *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, (ed. J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie), 21 vols., London (Eyre & Spottiswood, Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 1862-1910.
- Marshall, William, 1535, (translator), *A treatise declaryng [and] shewig dyuers causes take[n] out of the holy scriptur[es] of the sente[n]ces of holy faders [and] of the decrees of deuout emperours, that pyctures [and] other ymages which were wont to be worshypped, are i[n] no wise to be suffred in the temples or churches of Christen men*, London (s.n.).
- Nichols, J, 1852, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, London (Camden Society, o.s., vol. 36).
- 1858, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London 1550-63*, London (Camden Society, o.s., vol. 42).
- Peckham, W. (ed.), 1952, *Chichester Chapter Acts, 1472-1544*, Lewes (SRS, vol. 52).
- 1954, 'The Valuation of Chichester Cathedral 1535', SAC, vol. 94, 157-78.
  - 1959, *Chichester Chapter Acts 1545-1642*, Lewes (SRS, vol. 58).
- Ray, E, 1931, *Sussex Chantry Records*, Lewes (SRS, vol. 36).
- Rives, B, 1646, *Mercurius Rusticus or The Countries Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries*, s.l., (s.n.).
- Turnbill, W, (ed.) 1861, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI 1547-53*, London (Longman & co).

### Devotional works

- Verard, A, 1510, *Benedicto dei patris cum angelis suis sume. Amen...; presentes heures a lusaige de [Paris], furent acheuees le xxi iour de iullet...* Paris (s.n.).
- 1511, *Benedictio dei patris cum angelis suis sit sume amen...* Paris (Philippe Pigouchet)
- Vostre, S, 1496, *Ces presentes heures a lusiage de Rome furēt acheuees le xx. Iour de Mil. CCC quatre vingtz xvi*, Paris, (Philippe Pigouchet)
- c.1505, *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Rome au long sans require...* Paris (Philippe Pigouchet)
  - c.1506, *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Reins ont este faictes...* Paris (Philippe Pigouchet)
  - c.1510, *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Paris*, Paris (Philippe Pigouchet)
  - 1510, *Ces presentes heures a lusaigne de [Châlons-sur-Marne] au lög sans requerir ont*

*este fan Gauche preta Libraire: demourant a Chaalons au pres de saint Alpin*, Paris (Philippe Pigouchet)  
 - 1515, *Tabula omnium officio orationum in presenti oratio contentorum; Hore intemerate dei genitricis virginis marie secundum vsum Romane curie*, Paris (Theilman Kerver).

### Secondary sources

- Anderson, M, 1935, *The Medieval Carver*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).  
 - 1963, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).  
 - 1971, *History and Imagery in British Churches*, London (John Murray).
- Arnold, F, 1864, *Petworth, a Sketch of its History and Antiquities*, Petworth (A.J. Bryant).
- Aston, M, 1988, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1, *Law Against Images*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- Aveling, John, 1976, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from the Reformation to Emancipation*, London (Blond & Briggs).
- Badham, Sally, & Blacker, Geoff, 2009, *Northern Rock: The Use of Ecclestone Marble for Monuments in Medieval England*, BAR British series no. 480, Oxford (Archaeopress).
- Bayliss, J, 1990, 'Richard Parker, the Alabaster man', *Jnl. CMS*, vol. 5, 39-56.  
 - 1991, 'Richard and Gabriel Royley of Burton-upon-Trent, Tombmakers', *Jnl. CMS*, vol. 6, 21-41.
- Benton, M, 1951, 'The Recovery of a Medieval Altar-slab and an Eighteenth Century Floor-slab in Borley Church,' *Trans. Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., vol. 24, 32-43.
- Berry, W, 1830, *County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Sussex*, London (Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper).
- Bertram, J, 1976, *Lost Brasses*, Newton Abbot (David & Charles).
- Bertram, J, (ed.), 1996, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, Stroud (Sutton Publishing).
- Biddle M, 1993, 'Early Renaissance at Winchester,' in Crook, J., (ed.), 1993, 257-304.
- Bindoff, S, 1982, *History of Parliament 1509-58*, three vols., London (Secker & Warburg).
- Birt, H, 1907, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London (Bell & sons).
- Bishop, J, 1976, *Guide to the Churches of Singleton, West Dean and East Dean*, Singleton (Beaver Print).
- Blaauw, W, 1854, 'Sussex Monasteries at the time of their Suppression', *SAC*, vol. 7, 217-228.
- Blair, J, 2001, 'Purbeck Marble' in Blair & Ramsey, (eds.), 2001, 41-56.
- Blair, J, and Ramsey, N, (eds.) 2001, *English Medieval Industries - Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, London (Hambledon Press).
- Bloxam, Matthew, 1834, *A Glimpse at the Monumental Sculpture of Great Britain*, London (W. Pickering/J.B. Nichols & son).
- Bond, F, 1910a, *Wood Carvings in English Churches. I, Misericords*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).  
 - 1910b, *Wood Carvings in English Churches, II, Stalls and Tabernacle Work*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).  
 - 1916, *The Chancel of English Churches*, London (Oxford University Press).
- Brailsford, W, 1888, 'The Monuments at Broadwater and Boxgrove and West Tarring Antiquities', *The Antiquary*, vol. 18, 96-98.
- Broderick, A, and Darrah, J, 1986, 'The Fifteenth century Polychromed Limestone Effigies of William Fitzalan, ninth Earl of Arundel and his wife, Joan Nevill, in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel', *Jnl. CMS*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 65-94.

- 'Buildings of England' series – see: Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, Pevsner & Lloyd, 1967, and Lloyd & Pevsner, 2006.
- Burges, W, 1879, 'The Tomb and Helm of Thomas de la Warr at Broadwater, Sussex', *Archaeological Jnl.*, vol. 36, 78-87.
- Busby, Richard, 1979, 'An Interesting Surrey Will', *MBS Bulletin* 20, 16.
- Cave, C, 1935: 'A note' in Purvis, 1936, 127-8.
- Chambers, J, 2002, *St Mary's Church, Michelmersh, s.l.*, (Friends of Michelmersh Parish Church).
- Chapman, R, 1865, 'Parochial History of Hamsey', *SAC*, vol. 17, 70-109.
- Clark, Peter, 1977, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640*, Hassocks (Harvester Press Ltd.).
- Cockerham, Paul, 2006, *Continuity and Change: The Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monuments Industry 1497-1660*, BAR British series no. 412, Oxford (Archaeopress).
- Comber, J, 1933, *Sussex Genealogies: Lewes Centre*, Cambridge (W. Heffer & sons).
- Cooper, Trevor, 2001, *Jnl. of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia*, Woodbridge, Suffolk (Ecclesiological Society/Bowdell & Brewer).
- Cooper, W, 1850, 'Pedigree of the Lewkenor Family', *SAC*, vol. 3, 89-102.
- Corfield, C, 1960, *A Short Description of Rustington Church*, Littlehampton (s.n.).
- Corrie, G, (ed.), 1844-5, *Hugh Latimer, Sermons and Remains*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Cox, J, 1903, 'Ecclesiastical History' in Doubleday (ed.), 1903, vol. 2, 1-231.
- Cox, E, 1950, 'Some XVth. Century Panelling', *SCM*, vol. 24, 422-7.
- Crook, J, (ed.), 1993, *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, Chichester (Phillimore & Co)
- 2008, 'Tomb of Prior Hunton in St James' Church, Hunton, *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, vol. 63, 9-36.
- Crossley, F, 1921, *English Church Monuments AD 1150-1550*, London (B.T. Batsford Ltd).
- Cumming, B, 2002, 'Iconoclasm and Bibliophobia in the English Reformation', in Dimmick *et. al.*, 2002, 185-206.
- Dallaway, J. & Cartwright, E, 1833, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, three vols., London (J.B. Nichols).
- Darby, H, 1953, *Hugh Latimer*, London (Epworth Press).
- D'Elboux R, 1943-51, 'External Brasses', *Trans. M.B.S.*, vol. 8, 150-155 and 208-219.
- 1948, 'Testamentary Brasses', *Antiquaries' Jnl.*, vol. 29, 188-91.
- Dengate, W, 1929, *Slaugham, a Parish in Sussex*, London (privately printed).
- Dimmick, J, *et. al.*, 2002, *Images, Idolatry and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- Done, W, 1965, *The Parish Church of SS Peter and Paul, West Wittering*, West Wittering (privately printed).
- Doubleday, A, (ed.), 1903, *VCH Hants.*, five vols., Westminster (Archibald Constable).
- Duffy, E, 1992, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, New Haven and London (Yale University Press).
- Dugdale, W, 1716, *History of St Paul's Cathedral, London*, by Sir William Dugdale, second edn., London (E. Maynard).
- Drury, G, 1949, 'The Use of Purbeck Marble in Medieval Times', *Proc. Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, vol. 70, 74-98.
- Elton, G, 1962, *England under the Tudors*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).



- 1972, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Esdaile, K, 1927, *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance*, London (SPCK).
- 1946: *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840*, London (B.T. Batsford).
- Evans, A, c.1930, *Westhampnett: The Parish Church of St Peter*, Eastbourne (Westhampnett Parochial Church Council).
- Ewbank, H, no date, *History of Carisbrooke Church, s.l. (s.n.)*.
- Ferrey, B & Brayley, E, 1834, *Antiquities of the Priory of Christ Church Hampshire*, London (privately printed).
- Finch, J, 2000, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration*, BAR British series no. 317, Oxford (Archaeopress.).
- Fines, J, 1994, 'Cathedral and Reformation', in Hobbs, (ed.), 1994, 47-68.
- Fisher, C, 2007, *The Medieval Flower Book*, London (The British Library).
- Ford, H, 1993, *The Tudor Screen: Details of the Sixteenth century Oak Screen in St Andrew's Church, Steyning, West Sussex*, Steyning (Steyning Museum Trust).
- Forster, J, 1985, *Christchurch Priory through 900 years, s.l. (s.n.)*.
- Fowler, J, 1873, 'On Medieval Representation of the Months and Seasons,' *Archaeologia*, vol. 44, 137-89.
- Fryer, A, 1924, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, London (Elliot Stock).
- Fuller, T, 1655, *Church History of Britain*, London (J. Williams).
- Gaimster, D, and Gilchrist, R, (eds.), 2003: *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, Leeds (Maney Publishing).
- Gardner, Arthur, 1940, *Alabaster Tombs of the Pre-Reformation Period in England*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Gittos, Brian and Moira, 1997, 'Alfred Fryer's "Monumental Effigies by Bristol Craftsmen": A Reassessment' in Keen, 1997, 88-96.
- 2002, 'The Ingleby Arncliffe Group of Effigies: A mid-Fourteenth century workshop in North Yorkshire', *Jnl. CMS*, vol. 17, 14-38.
- Glynne, S, 1877, *Notes on the Churches of Kent*, London (John Murray).
- Godfrey, W, 1951, *The Church of St. Mary Sompting*, Lewes (Sussex Archaeology Society).
- Goring, J, 1978, 'The Riot at Bayham Abbey, June 1525', *SAC*, vol. 116, 1-10.
- 1996, 'Reformation and Reaction in Sussex 1534-59', *SAC*, vol.134, 141-54.
- Gray, Madeleine, 2003, *The Protestant Reformation: Belief, Practice and Traditional*, Portland, Oregon (Sussex Academic Press).
- Grayling, F, 1920, 'Kingston Buci Church', *SAC*, vol. 61, 53-60.
- Green, B, 2006, *The Church of SS Mary and Michael, Stoke Charity*, Stoke Charity (Stoke Charity Parochial Church Council).
- Green, J, 1856, 'Note on the discovery of a buried monument at Rustington in 1844', *SAC*, vol. 8, 323.
- Greenhill, F, 1976, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, two vols., London (Faber & Faber).
- Greenwood, R, 1996, 'Wills and Brasses: Some Conclusions from a Norfolk Study' in Bertram, (ed.), 1996.
- Haigh, Christopher, 1975, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- 1995, 'Recent Historiography of the Reformation' in Todd, 1995, 13-32.
- Harper-Bill, Christopher, 2004, 'Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester' in Matthews & Harrison 2004, vol. 50, 283-4.

- Harrison, F, 1932, *St. Mary's Broadwater: the Parish Church of Worthing*, Worthing (Worthing Parochial Church Council).
- Harrison, F. & Leeney, O, 1933, 'The Church of St Mary, Broadwater, SAC, vol. 74, 99-130.
- Harvey, E, 1929, 'Hamsey', *SNQ*, vol. 2, 53.
- Harvey, J, 1971, *The Master Builders: Architecture in the Middle Ages*, London (Thames and Hudson).
- Hassell, C, 2003, *Report on the Paint of SS Mary and Blaise*, London (s.n.).
- Hassell-Smith, A, 1974, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603*, Oxford (The Clarendon Press).
- Heal, Felicity and O'Day, Rosemary (eds.) 1977, *Church and Society in England, Henry VIII to James I*, London (Macmillan).
- Heales, A, 1869, 'Easter Sepulchres, Their Object, Nature and History', *Archaeologia*, vol. 42, 263-308.
- Hearne, T, (ed.) 1770, *The Itinerary of John Leland, Antiquary*, nine vols., third edn., Oxford (James Fletcher and Joseph Pote).
- Herbert, C, 2005, 'Permanent Easter Sepulchres: A Victorian Re-Creation?' *Church Archaeology*, vols.7-9, 7-20.
- Heron-Allen, E, 1911, *Selsey Bill, Historic and Prehistoric*, London (Duckworth).
- Heslop, T, and Sekules, V, (eds.), 1986, *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln*, BAA Conference Trans., vol. 8, London (s.n.).
- Hewitt, P, 1993, *Godshill Church*, Godshill, IoW (Godshill Parochial Church Council).
- Hobbs, M, (ed.), 1994, *Chichester Cathedral: An Historical Survey*, Chichester (Phillimore).
- Holmes, L., and Harbottle, G., 1994, 'Compositional Characterisation of French Limestone: A New Tool for Art Historians', *Archaeometry*, vol. 36, 25-39.
- 2003, 'In the Steps of William the Conqueror: Neutron Activation Analysis of Caen Stone', *Archaeometry*, vol.45, 199-220.
- Howard F.E., and Crossley F.H., 1927, *English Church Woodwork*, London (B.T. Batsford Ltd.).
- Hudson, T, 1997, *VCH Sussex*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 'Rape of Arundel', Oxford, (Institute of Historical Research).
- Hunnisett, R, 1964, 'The Last Sussex Abjurations' SAC, vol. 102, 39-51.
- Hunnisett, R (ed.), 1985, *Sussex Coroners' Inquests 1485-1558*, Lewes (SRS, vol. 74).
- Hunt, John, 1974, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, two vols. Dublin and London (Irish University Press and Sotheby Parke Bernet).
- Hussey, A, 1852, *Notes on the Churches of Kent, Sussex and Surrey...* London (John Russell Smith).
- Hutchins, J, 1861, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, third ed., four vols., Westminster (John Bowyer Nichols).
- Hutchinson, R, 1999, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses, Incised Slabs and Ledger Stones in the Library of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes*, Lewes (privately printed).
- 2003, 'Tombs of Brass are Spent: Reformation Re-use of Monumental Brasses', in Gaimster and Gilchrist, (eds.) 2003, 450-468.
- 2006, *Elizabeth's Spymaster*, London (Weidenfeld & Nicolson).
- 2008, *Brasses and Monuments in St Mary the Virgin Church, Clapham, West Sussex*, Hove (privately printed).
- 2009, *House of Treason*, London (Weidenfeld & Nicholson).
- Hutchinson, R and Egan, B, 1993, 'History Writ in Brass': The Fermer Workshop', *Trans. MBS*, vol.16, 142-83.

- 1994, 'History Writ in Brass': pt. 2, 'The Brasses', *Trans. MBS*, vol.16, 256-81.
  - 1996, 'History Writ in Brass': pt. 3, 'The Brasses', *Trans. MBS*, vol.16, 465-85.
  - 2003, 'History Writ in Brass': pt. 7, 'The Brasses', *Trans. MBS*, vol. 17, 31-77.
- Huxford, J, 1982, *Arms of Sussex Families*, Chichester (Phillimore).
- Jackson, T, 1867, 'Some Account of Slindon Church', *SAC*, vol. 19, 126-33.
- James, J, 2003, *Hurst Castle: An Illustrated History*, Lymington (St Barbe Museum).
- Johnston, P, 1907, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture,' in *Page*, 1907, vol. 2, 327-79.
- Jones, D, 1983, 'The Cult of St Richard of Chichester in the Middle Ages, *SAC*, vol. 121, 79-86.
- Jones-Baker, D, 1996, 'Makers' marks engraved in Graffito on English Medieval and Post-Medieval Tombs,' *Antiquaries Jnl*, vol. 76, 254-8.
- Juignet P, 1992, 'De Pont-Audemer à Mont-Saint-Nichel' in *Terroirs et monuments de France* (ed. C.Pomerol), Orléans.
- Keen, L. (ed.) 1997, 'Almost the Richest City' *Bristol in the Middle Ages*, BAA Conference *Trans.*, vol. 19, London (*s.n.*)
- Kemp, B, 1980, *English Church Monuments*, London (Batsford).
- Kent, J, 1949, 'Monumental Brasses – a New Classification of Military Effigies', *Jnl. BAA*, third series, vol. 12, 70-97.
- Kitch M, 1978, 'The Chichester Cathedral Chapter at the time of the Reformation,' *SAC*, vol. 116, 277-92.
- 1981b 'The Reformation in Sussex' in Kitch, (ed.), 1981a, 77-98.
- Kitch, M, (ed.) 1981a, *Studies in Sussex Church History*, ed. M J. Kitch. London (Leopard Press/CCE, University of Sussex).
- Knoop, D. and Jones G.P., 1967, *The Medieval Mason*, Manchester (Manchester University Press).
- Lack, W, Stuchfield, M, and Whittemore, P, 2007, *Monumental Brasses of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Stratford St Mary, Suffolk (County Series).
- Laking, G, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, six vols. London (G. Bell and sons).
- Lambarde, F, 1929, 'The Easter Sepulchre in Faversham Church,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 41, 107-14.
- 1931, 'Coats of Arms in Sussex Churches', *SAC*, vol. 72, 218-42.
  - 1932, *ibid.*, *SAC*, vol. 73, 102-44.
  - 1933, *ibid.*, *SAC*, vol. 74, 181-208.
  - 1934, *ibid.*, *SAC*, vol. 75, 171-190.
- Leach, Rosemary, 1978, *An Investigation into the use of Purbeck Marble in Medieval England*, second. edn., *s.l.* (E.W.Harrison).
- Leslie, K, and Short, B, 1999, *Historical Atlas of Sussex*, Chichester (Phillimore).
- Lindley, P, 1988, 'The Sculptural Programme of Bishop Fox's Chantry Chapel', *WCR*, vol. 57, 33-7, Winchester.
- 2004, 'Disrespect for the Dead? The destruction of tomb monuments in mid-sixteenth century England', *Jnl. CMS*, vol. 19, 53-79.
  - 2007, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship, Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, Donington, Lincs. (Shaun Tyas Publishing).
- Livett, G, 1909, 'Nettlestead Church, Architectural Notes', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 28, 251-77.
- Llewellyn, Nigel, 2000: *Funerary Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Lloyd, D, & Pevsner N, 2006, *Buildings of England: Isle of Wight*, New Haven and London (Yale University Press).

- Lock, Julian, 2004, 'Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel' in Matthews & Harrison, (eds.), vol. 19, 758-64.
- Lower, M, 1850, 'Observations on the Buckle, the Badge of the Family [of] Pelham and is the Badge of the family of de la Warr', SAC, vol. 3, 211-231.
- 1852, 'The Descent of Wiston...' SAC, vol. 5, 1-28.
  - 1854, 'Memorials of the Town, Parish and Cinque Port of Seaford, SAC, vol. 7, 73-150.
  - 1867, 'The Tomb of Richard Burré in Sompting Church', SAC, vol. 19, 180-84.
  - 1870, *A Compendious History of Sussex, Topographical, Archæological and Anecdotal*, two vols., London and Lewes (John Russell Smith & W.J. Smith).
- MacCulloch, D, 1986, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- 1999, *Tudor Church Militant*, Harmondsworth (The Penguin Press).
- Mann, J.G., 1933, *English Church Monuments 1536-1625*, Walpole Society, vol.21, 1-26.
- Manning, O, & Bray, W, 1809, *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, three vols., London (John White & Co).
- Marks, R, 2004, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Stroud (Sutton Publishing).
- Marshall, P, 2007, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, Oxford (Oxford University Press)
- Maskell, J, 1864, *Collections in illustration of the Parochial History and Antiquities of... All Hallows Barking*, London (Bryan Corcoran & Co.).
- Matthews, G, & Harrison, B, (eds.), 2004, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols., Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- Mayo, D, 1995, *Broadwater Parish Church, s.l. (s.n.)*.
- McCann, T, 1974a, 'Catholic Schoolmasters in Sussex 1558-1603, Addenda & Corrigenda to Beale's Catholic Schoolmasters', *Recusant History*, vol.12, 235-7.
- 1974b, *Restricted Grandeur: Impressions of Chichester, 1586-1948*, Chichester (West Sussex County Council).
  - 1981, 'The Clergy and the Elizabethan Settlement in the Diocese of Chichester,' in Kitch, (ed.) 1981a, 99-126,
- Mosse, H, 1933, *The Monumental Effigies of Sussex*, Hove (Combridges).
- Muller, J, 1926, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction*, London (S.P.C.K).
- 1933, *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Nairn, I, & Pevsner N, 1965, *Buildings of England: Sussex*, Harmondsworth (Penguin Books).
- Nibbs, R, 1851, *The Churches of Sussex*, Brighton (privately printed).
- Norris, M, 1977, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials*, two vols. 154-76, London (Philips & Page).
- 1978, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, London (Faber and Faber).
- Northwood, J, 1995, *St Andrew's Church, South Warnborough, s.l.* (Friends of St Andrew's Church).
- 'ODNB' – see under Matthews & Harrison, 2004.
- Oxley, James, 1965, *The Reformation in Essex to the Death of Mary*, Manchester (Manchester University Press).
- Page, W, (ed.), 1907, *VCH Sussex*, three vols., London (Archibald Constable & Co).
- 1912, *VCH Hampshire*, vol. 5, London (Constable & Co).
  - 1926, *VCH Kent*, vol. 2, London (St Catherine Press).
- Page-Phillips, J, 1999, *A Sixteenth Century Workshop*, London (MBS).
- Palliser, D.M., 1977, 'Popular Reaction to the Reformation' in Heal & O'Day, 1977.
- Peristiany, J, (ed.) 1965, *Honour and Shame, The Values of Mediterranean Society*, London (Weidenfeld & Nicolson).

- Pevsner, N & Lloyd D, 1967, *Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Harmondsworth (Penguin Books).
- Phillips, J, 1973, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660*, Berkeley (University of California Press).
- Pierce, H, 2003, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473-1541*, Cardiff (University of Wales Press).
- Pitt-Rivers, J, 1965, 'Honour and Social Status', in Peristiany, (ed.) 1965, 200-35.
- Potter, David, 2004, 'Sir John Gage' in Matthews & Harrison, (eds.) 2004, vol. 21. 251-3.
- Prior, E.S. & Gardner, A, 1912, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Purvis, J, 1936, 'The Use of Continental Woodcuts and Prints by the 'Ripon School' of Woodcarvers in the early sixteenth century', *Archaeologia*, vol. 85 (second series, vol. 35), 107-128.
- Ramsey, Nigel, 1981, 'Makers of Sixteenth Century Church Monuments', *MBS Bulletin* 27, 9-10.
- Ray, J, 1916, 'Parish Church of All Saints Herstmonceux and the Dacre Tomb', *SAC*, vol. 58, 21-64.
- Riall, N, 2007, 'Thomas Bertie, Bishop's Mason and the Early Tudor Renaissance Tomb of Ralph and Edith Pexall at Sherborne St John Hants.', *Proc. Hants. Field Club Archaeological Society*, vol. 62, 143-67, (Hampshire Studies).
- 2008, 'The Diffusion of Early Franco-Italian *All'Antica* Ornament', *Antiquaries Jnl.*, vol. 88, 258-307.
- Riordan, M, 2004, 'Thomas West, ninth Baron de la Warr,' in Matthews & Harrison (eds.) 2004, vol. 58, 242-4.
- Robison, William, 2004, 'Sir William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton', in Matthews & Harrison, (eds.) 2004, vol. 20, 961-4.
- Roffey, S, 2007, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel, An Archaeology*, Woodbridge (Boydell Press).
- Rogers W.H., 1877, *Antient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon*, Exeter (s.n.).
- Roper, I, 1931, *Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol*, Gloucester (privately printed).
- Rushforth, G, 1936, *Medieval Christian Imagery as illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church, Worcestershire*, Oxford (Clarendon Press).
- Russell, J, 1994, 'A Mensa Stone found at Rustington Parish Church', *SAC*, vol. 132, 195-200.
- Sadler, A, 1969, *Lost Monumental Brasses of West Sussex*, Ferring-on-Sea (privately printed).
- 1970, *Lost Monumental Brasses of East Sussex*, Ferring-on-Sea (privately printed).
- Salzman, L, 1952, *Building in England Down to 1540*, Oxford (The Clarendon Press).
- 1954, 'Sussex Religious at the Dissolution', *SAC*, vol. 92, 24-36.
- Salzman, L, (ed.), 1935, *VCH Sussex*, vol. 3, London (University of London, Institute for Historical Research).
- 1953, *VCH Sussex*, vol. 4, 'Rape of Chichester', London (University of London, Institute for Historical Research).
- Saul, N, 2009, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, Oxford (Oxford University Press).
- Sekules, V, 1986, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered,' in Heslop and Sekules, (eds.) 1986, 118-131.
- Shagan, E, 2003, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Sheingorn, P, 1987, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, Kalamazoo, Michigan (The Medieval Institute).
- Sherlock, P, 2008, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, Aldershot (Ashgate Publishing).

- Smith, A, 1988, 'The Chantry Chapel of Bishop Fox', *WCR*, vol. 57, 27-32, Winchester.
- Spokes, S, 1929, 'Report of Lewes Local Secretary,' *SAC*, vol. 70, 221.
- Spraggon, Julie, 2003, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, Woodbridge (Boydell Press).
- Standing, G, 2006, '1669: A Good Year for Graffiti', *Current Archaeology*, vol. 18, 40-42.
- Steer, F, 1958, 'The Heraldic Ceiling at the Bishop's Palace, Chichester, *Chichester Papers*, no.10. (s.n.).
- 1964, 'Chichester Cathedral Library', *Chichester Papers*, no 44, Chichester, (s.n.).
  - 1965, *Guide to the Church of St Julian, Kingston Buci*, Chichester (Sussex Historic Churches Trust).
- Stephens, W, 1876, *Memorials of the South Saxon See and Cathedral Church of Chichester*, London (Richard Bentley & son).
- Stephenson, M, 1926, *List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, London and Ashford (Headley Brothers).
- 1970, *List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey*, Bath (Kingsmead Reprints).
- Stone, Lawrence, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth (Penguin Books).
- Stone, P, 1891, *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, two vols., London (privately published).
- Swales, R.J.W., 1976, 'The Howard Interest in Sussex Elections 1529-58', *SAC*, vol. 114, 49-60.
- Tabor, M, 1908, *The Saints in Art*, London (Methuen & Co.).
- Tanner, J, 1952, *Tudor Constitutional Documents 1485-1603*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Tatton-Brown, T, 1994, 'The Buildings of the Bishop's Palace and the Close', in Hobbs, (ed.), 1994, 225-246.
- Thomas, S, 2002, 'Chichester and its Cathedral of the eve of the Reformation', *Urban History*, vol. 29, 165-186.
- Thomas-Stanford, T, 1924 'The Tomb of Edward Elrington at Preston', *Brighton & Hove Archaeologist* no.2, 73-80, Brighton, (Brighton & Hove Archaeological Society).
- Thorn, R, no date: *Boxgrove Priory from the Norman Conquest to the Elizabethan Settlement*, Boxgrove (Boxgrove Priory Historical Studies).
- Todd, Margo (ed.) 1995, *Reformation to Revolution: Politics and Religion in early modern England*, London (Routledge).
- Townsend, Eleanor, 2009, *Death and Art, Europe 1200-1530*, London (V & A Publishing).
- Tummers, H, 1994, 'Church Monuments', in Hobbs, (ed.), 1994, 203-224.
- Young, K, 1920, *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, Madison, Wisconsin (University of Wisconsin Press).
- 'VCH' – see Doubleday, 1903, Hudson, 1997, Page, 1907, 1912 and 1926 and Salzman, 1935, 1953.
- Walcott, M, 1865, *Memorials of Chichester*, Chichester (Mason and Wilmhurst).
- Wark, K.K., 1971, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, Manchester (Cheetham Society).
- Weever, J, 1631, *Ancient Funerall Monuments...* London (Thomas Harper).
- Wells, R, 1913, *Boxgrove Priory, a Short History, s.l.*, (privately printed).
- Wells-Cole, Anthony, 1997, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints 1558-1625*, New Haven and London (Yale University Press).
- Whinney, M, 1964, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Harmondsworth (Penguin Books).
- White, A, 1999, 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors c.1560-c.1660', *Jnl. Walpole Society*, vol. 61, 1-162.

- 2009, 'Addenda and Corrigenda', *ibid.*, vol.71, 325-51.
- Whittick, C, 2004a, 'Sir William Shelley' in Matthews & Harrison 2004, vol. 50, 214-6.
- 2004b, 'Sir John Ernle', *ibid.*, vol. 18, 510.
- Willis, R *et al*, 1861, *Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral....of Boxgrove Priory and Shoreham Collegiate Church*, Chichester (William Hayley Mason).
- Woodward, B, 1861-9, *A General History of Hampshire...* three vols., London (privately published).
- Woolfson, J & Lush, D., 2007, 'Lambert Barnard in Chichester Cathedral: Ecclesiastical Politics and the Tudor Royal Image'. *Antiquaries Jnl.*, vol. 87, 259-280.
- Worsley, R, 1781, *History of the Isle of Wight*, London (A. Hamilton).

### Unpublished dissertations

- Cockerham, Paul, 2003, *Continuity and Change: The Memorialisation and the Cornish Funeral Monuments Industry*, D.Phil. thesis, University of Exeter.
- Cooper, Tarnya, 2001, *Memento Mori Portraiture: Painting, Protestant Culture and the Patronage of Middle Elites in England and Wales, 1540-1630*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex.
- Edis, Jonathan, 2000, *The Totternhoe School of Masons c.1567-c.1618: A Midlands stone carving workshop producing funerary monuments in the Dutch style*, Ph.D. thesis, De Montfort University, Leicester.
- Faunch, Christine, 1998, *Church Monuments and Commemoration in Devon, c.1530-c.1630*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter.
- Harris, Amy, 2006, *The Funerary Monuments of Ireland 1560-1660*, D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex.
- Łabno, J. J., 2005, *The Monumental Body and the Renaissance Child: Funeral Monuments in Poland and their European Context 1500-1650*, D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex.
- Llewellyn, Nigel, 1983, *John Weever and English Funeral Monuments of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London.
- Shilliam, N.J., 1986, *Foreign Influences on and Innovation in English Tomb Sculpture in the first half of the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick.
- Spraggon, Julie, 2000, *Puritan Iconoclasm in England, 1640-60*, Ph.D. thesis, University College, London.
- Yorke, Peter, 1997, *Iconoclasm, Ecclesiology and the Beauty of Holiness: Concepts of Sacrilege and the Peril of Idolatry in Early Modern England c.1590-1642*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury.

# Piety in Peril

*A religiously conservative sixteenth century  
school of church monuments in  
Sussex, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*

## **Volume 2 - Appendices**

David Robert Hutchinson

Candidate for a Doctor of Philosophy degree  
in Archæology

University of Sussex

Submitted: November 2010



## Volume 2

List of Illustrations. . . . . iii

*Note: Pagination continues from volume 1*

## Appendix 1: Catalogue of ‘Chichester’ workshop monuments

1.	Preston Episcopi, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	267
2.	Mickleham, Surrey, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	275
3.	North Mundham, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	283
4.	Slaugham, c.1520-47	...	...	...	...	...	...	289
5.	Carisbrooke, IoW, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	300
6.	Brading I, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	311
7.	Brading II, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	...	...	318
8.	Broadwater I, c.1524.	...	...	...	...	...	...	324
9.	Chichester I, c.1525.	...	...	...	...	...	...	335
10.	Christchurch Priory I, c.1525.	...	...	...	...	...	...	342
11.	Sompting, c.1525.	...	...	...	...	...	...	353
12.	Rustington I, c.1526.	...	...	...	...	...	...	361
13.	Godshill, c.1529.	...	...	...	...	...	...	367
14.	Christchurch Priory II, c.1530.	...	...	...	...	...	...	376
15.	Kingston Buci, c.1530.	...	...	...	...	...	...	385
16.	Boxgrove I, 1532.	...	...	...	...	...	...	395
17.	Selmeston, c.1533.	...	...	...	...	...	...	409
18.	Petworth, c.1535.	...	...	...	...	...	...	416
19.	Brading III, 1536.	...	...	...	...	...	...	427
20.	Church Norton (or Old Selsey), 1537.	...	...	...	...	...	...	438
21.	Hamsey, c.1538.	...	...	...	...	...	...	451
22.	West Wittering I, c.1538.	...	...	...	...	...	...	460
23.	Racton, c.1538.	...	...	...	...	...	...	470
24.	Chichester II, c.1540.	...	...	...	...	...	...	482
25.	Westhampnett, c.1540.	...	...	...	...	...	...	490
26.	Rustington II, c.1540.	...	...	...	...	...	...	501
27.	Wiston, c.1540.	...	...	...	...	...	...	508
28.	Chichester III, c.1545.	...	...	...	...	...	...	520
29.	Broadwater II, c.1545.	...	...	...	...	...	...	531
30.	West Wittering II, c.1547.	...	...	...	...	...	...	542
31.	Boxgrove II, c.1547.	...	...	...	...	...	...	554
32.	Clapham, c.1550.	...	...	...	...	...	...	561
<b>Appendix 2: List of churches investigated, 2004-09</b>				...	...	...	...	572
<b>Appendix 3: Choice of Monument Type in Sussex, 1510-50</b>				...	...	...	...	576
<b>Appendix 4: Choice of Monument Type in Hampshire, 1510-50</b>				...	...	...	...	581

## List of Illustrations

*Note: Numbering follows on from volume 1*

161.	Tomb-chest of Edward Elrington, Preston Episcopi, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	268
162.	North and south sides of tomb at Preston Episcopi.	...	...	...	...	269
163.	North panel at Preston showing sacred monogram 'IHS'.	...	...	...	...	270
164.	Panels bearing arms of ECHINGHAM and BRAOSE impaling SHIRLEY, Preston.	...	...	...	...	271
165.	Shields bearing arms of BLOUNT impaling AYALA and an unidentified coat impaling ECHINGHAM at Preston.	...	...	...	...	272
166.	Lost recessed canopy tomb at Preston ( <i>after Nibbs, 1851</i> ).	...	...	...	...	273
167.	Tomb of William Wyddowsoun and wife at Mickleham, Surrey, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	276
168.	Rubbing of brass to William Wyddowsoun and wife ( <i>after Stephenson, 1970</i> ).	...	...	...	...	278
169.	Grapevine frieze at Mickleham.	...	...	...	...	278
170.	Tomb-chest with octofoil panels and shields at Mickleham.	...	...	...	...	280
171.	Graffiti at Mickleham dated 1784 and 1789.	...	...	...	...	282
172.	Exterior monument on porch at North Mundham, c.1520.	...	...	...	...	283
173.	Main figures at North Mundham.	...	...	...	...	284
174.	Close-up of two panels at North Mundham.	...	...	...	...	285
175.	North Mundham church in 1851 ( <i>after Nibbs, 1851</i> ).	...	...	...	...	288
176.	Tomb of Richard Covert and three wives at Slaugham, c.1520-47.	...	...	...	...	290
177.	Brass plates on back panel of the tomb at Slaugham.	...	...	...	...	292
178.	Upper portions of the brasses of the second and third wives at Slaugham.	...	...	...	...	292
179.	Cornice of leaves and balls and quatrefoil frieze, Slaugham.	...	...	...	...	294
180.	Tudor rose as boss on central pendant, Slaugham.	...	...	...	...	294
181.	Tomb-chest with Victorian replica brass shields, Slaugham.	...	...	...	...	297
182.	Interior of Covert vault, Slaugham in 2007 ( <i>George Anelay, West Sussex Archaeology Ltd.</i> )	...	...	...	...	298
183.	Monument to Lady Margaret Wadham, Carisbrooke, IoW, c.1520	...	...	...	...	301
184.	Figures from the left-hand side of the main effigy at Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	302
185.	Figures from the right-hand side of the main effigy at Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	302
186.	Two views of the effigy of Lady Margaret Wadham, Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	303
187.	Two views of upper part of effigy showing head-dress, Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	304
188.	Angel bearing shield with sacred monogram, Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	305
189.	Carved Tudor rose on boss of soffit, Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	306
190.	Arms at Carisbrooke: WADHAM and POPHAM impaling SEYMOUR.	...	...	...	...	307
191.	Graffiti of shoe at Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	308
192.	Confused scratching, resembling a merchant's mark at Carisbrooke.	...	...	...	...	309
193.	Measured drawing of Carisbrooke ( <i>after Stone 1891</i> ).	...	...	...	...	309
194.	Tomb of William Howlys, c.1520 at Brading I, IoW.	...	...	...	...	312
195.	Tudor rose in the centre of the south side of Brading I.	...	...	...	...	313
196.	Inscription on shields one and two on north face of Brading I.	...	...	...	...	314
197.	Shields three and four on north and west sides of Brading I.	...	...	...	...	315
198.	Shields five and six on south face of Brading I.	...	...	...	...	315
199.	Measured drawing of Brading I, ( <i>after Stone, 1891</i> )	...	...	...	...	316
200.	Monument of Elizabeth Howlys at Brading II, c.1520, IoW.	...	...	...	...	319
201.	West end of Brading II, showing start of inscription.	...	...	...	...	320
202.	Shields three and four on south face of Brading II.	...	...	...	...	321
203.	Tudor rose in centre panel of south face of Brading II.	...	...	...	...	322

204.	Measured drawing of Brading II ( <i>after Stone 1891</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	323
205.	Monument (and Easter Sepulchre) to Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, at Broadwater I, c.1524.	...	...	...	...	...	325
206.	Massive pendants below the canopy at Broadwater I.	...	...	...	...	...	327
207.	Entablature at Broadwater I.	...	...	...	...	...	327
208.	Erasures of images of saints on tomb-chest, Broadwater I.	...	...	...	...	...	329
209.	Erasures of bishop-saints on left-hand pier, Broadwater I.	...	...	...	...	...	329
210.	Shields on Broadwater I.	...	...	...	...	...	331
211.	Grimm's drawing of Broadwater I, dated 1780 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	332
212.	Nineteenth century engraving of Broadwater I ( <i>after Dallaway &amp; Cartwright, 1833</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	333
213.	Monument to Thomas Royse and wife, c.1525, Chichester I.	...	...	...	...	...	336
214.	Close-ups of male and female kneeling effigies, Chichester I.	...	...	...	...	...	337
215.	Assumption of BVM with supporting angels, Chichester I.	...	...	...	...	...	338
216.	Left-hand angel, Chichester I.	...	...	...	...	...	339
217.	Two-line inscription, Chichester I.	...	...	...	...	...	340
218.	Chantry chapel to Robert Harys, c.1525, Christchurch Priory I, Hants.	...	...	...	...	...	343
219.	Christchurch Priory I from the south-east.	...	...	...	...	...	344
220.	Western image niche with short triple canopy, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	346
221.	Smashed corbel on western niche of Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	346
222.	Spandrels and crocketed image corbel in central niche, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	347
223.	Western lower fascia of chantry, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	347
224.	Eastern section of fascia of chantry, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	349
225.	Section of inscription wrapped around a branch, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	350
226.	Rebus of Robert Harys on shield, Christchurch Priory I.	...	...	...	...	...	350
227.	Christchurch Priory I in 1832 ( <i>after Ferrey &amp; Brayley, 1834</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	351
228.	Tomb of Richard Burré, c.1527 at Sompting.	...	...	...	...	...	354
229.	Head and face of angel, neatly chiselled off, Sompting.	...	...	...	...	...	356
230.	Oak leaf and acorn motif in spandrel, Sompting.	...	...	...	...	...	356
231.	Three shields on tomb-chest at Sompting.	...	...	...	...	...	358
232.	Angel bearing a shield with arms of SALTFISHMONGERS, Sompting.	...	...	...	...	...	358
233.	Grimm's drawing of Sompting in 1789 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	359
234.	Damaged tomb-chest to Thomas Cooke, c.1526, Rustington I.	...	...	...	...	...	362
235.	Close-ups of shields at Rustington I.	...	...	...	...	...	365
236.	South side of monument to Sir John Leigh and wife, c.1529, Godshill, IoW.	...	...	...	...	...	368
237.	North side of Godshill monument.	...	...	...	...	...	369
238.	Head of Sir John Leigh, resting upon helmet at Godshill.	...	...	...	...	...	371
239.	Two cowed bedesmen sitting with a boar on Godshill monument.	...	...	...	...	...	372
240.	Sacred monogram and a Tudor rose carved on the soffit at Godshill.	...	...	...	...	...	372
241.	South side of tomb-chest at Godshill.	...	...	...	...	...	373
242.	Measured drawing of the Leigh monument ( <i>after Stone, 1891</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	375
243.	Monument appropriated by Robert White 1619, Christchurch Priory II, Hants.	...	...	...	...	...	377
244.	Cornice on Christchurch Priory II.	...	...	...	...	...	378
245.	Insertion of two small quatrefoils on back wall of Christchurch Priory II.	...	...	...	...	...	378
246.	Crude egg and dart decoration to arch at Christchurch Priory II.	...	...	...	...	...	379
247.	Consecration cross on west end and adapted east end, Christchurch Priory II.	...	...	...	...	...	380
248.	Right-hand section of tomb-chest at Christchurch Priory II.	...	...	...	...	...	381
249.	Monument to ?Edward Lewkenor II, c.1530 at Kingston BucI.	...	...	...	...	...	386
250.	Entablature at Kingston BucI.	...	...	...	...	...	387
251.	Two views of the Resurrection at Kingston BucI.	...	...	...	...	...	388
252.	The Pietà at Kingston BucI.	...	...	...	...	...	389

253.	The Holy Trinity at Kingston Buci.	...	...	...	...	...	...	390
254.	Remains of an angel holding a shield at Kingston Buci.	...	...	...	...	...	...	391
255.	Shields on tomb-chest at Kingston Buci.	...	...	...	...	...	...	392
256.	Drawing of Kingston Buci tomb in 1851 ( <i>after Nibbs 1851</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	393
257.	de la Warr chantry, 1532, at Boxgrove I from the north.	...	...	...	...	...	...	396
258.	Boxgrove I from the west.	...	...	...	...	...	...	396
259.	Boxgrove I from the south-east.	...	...	...	...	...	...	397
260.	Contemporary wrought iron gates to Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	398
261.	Central pendant in fan vaulting of Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	399
262.	Angel carved beneath pendant on south side of Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	399
263.	Bottom of central pendant in vaulting of Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	400
264.	Depiction of the Holy Ghost on boss of Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	400
265.	Error in inscription at Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	403
266.	Grimm's drawing of 1781 of north elevation, Boxgrove I ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	405
267.	Grimm's drawing of south of Boxgrove I ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	406
268.	Grimm's drawing of west and east of Boxgrove I ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	406
269.	Early nineteenth century view of Boxgrove I ( <i>after Dallaway &amp; Cartwright, 1833</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	407
270.	Anonymous print of 1840 of Boxgrove I.	...	...	...	...	...	...	407
271.	Monument of Dame Beatrix Bray, c.1533, Selmeston.	...	...	...	...	...	...	410
272.	Flattened arch with inscription above, Selmeston.	...	...	...	...	...	...	411
273.	Crudely carved grapevine and flower motif, spandrel, Selmeston.	...	...	...	...	...	...	412
274.	Portion of chamfer inscription and inscription on back wall, Selmeston.	...	...	...	...	...	...	413
275.	Grimm's drawing of Selmeston, 1787 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	415
276.	Monument to Sir John Dawtrey I, c.1535, at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	417
277.	Plug in coverstone at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	418
278.	Kneeling figure of Sir John Dawtrey I at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	419
279.	Figure of Jane, <i>née</i> Shirley at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	420
280.	Damage to Tudor rose at base of central pediment at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	420
281.	Outline of central Holy Trinity, effaced, at Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	421
282.	Grapevine architrave and frieze with <i>putti</i> , Petworth.	...	...	...	...	...	...	422
283.	Tomb-chest at Petworth with moulded base of columns.	...	...	...	...	...	...	423
284.	Grimm's drawing of Petworth, dated 1780 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	426
285.	North side of tomb to Oliver Oglander, 1536, Brading III., IoW.	...	...	...	...	...	...	428
286.	South side of Oglander monument with kneeling effigies at Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	428
287.	Two mendicants from north side of Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	429
288.	Shrouded corpse from north side of Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	430
289.	Female beggar and orphaned youth, Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	431
290.	Kneeling figures of daughters and wife, Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	433
291.	Kneeling sons at Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	433
292.	Kneeling effigy of Oliver Oglander, Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	434
293.	Remains of painted inscription, Brading III.	...	...	...	...	...	...	435
294.	Drawing of Brading III in 1891 ( <i>after Stone, 1891</i> ).	...	...	...	...	...	...	437
295.	Monument of John Lews and wife, 1537, Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	439
296.	Joins down central shield and moulded tomb-chest lid, Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	440
297.	Effigy of John Lews at Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	441
298.	Upper portion of effigy of Agatha Lews, Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	442
299.	Martyrdom of St Agatha and figure of St George, Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	443
300.	Inscription on back wall above male effigy, Church Norton.	...	...	...	...	...	...	445

301.	Inscription on back wall, above female effigy, Church Norton. ... ..	445
302.	Left and centre shield on tomb-chest fascia, Church Norton. ... ..	446
303.	Right-hand shield on tomb-chest, Church Norton. ... ..	447
304.	Early nineteenth century engraving of Church Norton ( <i>after Dallaway &amp; Cartwright, 1833</i> ). ... ..	448
305.	Grimm's drawing of Church Norton in 1790 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	449
306.	Probable tomb of Edward Markewyck, c.1538 at Hamsey. ... ..	452
307.	Right hand of recessed canopy showing insertions of slabs at Hamsey. ... ..	453
308.	Gothic cornice with quatrefoil frieze at Hamsey. ... ..	455
309.	Polygonal column and side panels at Hamsey. ... ..	456
310.	Tomb-chest at Hamsey, with joints indicated. ... ..	457
311.	Graffiti on back wall at Hamsey. ... ..	458
312.	Graffiti on tomb-chest coverstone at Hamsey. ... ..	458
313.	Monument to William Ernle and his first wife, c.1538, West Wittering I. ... ..	461
314.	Double layer of trefoil niches in side panels at West Wittering I. ... ..	462
315.	Grimm's drawing of the lost frieze at West Wittering I ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	463
316.	Resurrection at West Wittering I. ... ..	464
317.	Tomb-chest at West Wittering showing niches for imagery. ... ..	465
318.	Angels bearing shields at West Wittering I. ... ..	467
319.	Two roundels with initials and lover's knots, West Wittering I. ... ..	467
320.	Grimm's drawing of West Wittering I ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	468
321.	Monument to John Gounter and his second wife, c.1538, at Racton. ... ..	471
322.	West end of Racton tomb showing pelicans in her piety. ... ..	472
323.	Blank east end of Racton showing marking out lines. ... ..	474
324.	Female effigy at Racton. ... ..	475
325.	Male effigy at Racton. ... ..	475
326.	Crudely carved figure of Christ in Majesty at Racton. ... ..	477
327.	Left and right friezes at Racton. ... ..	477
328.	Shields on tomb-chest fascia at Racton. ... ..	479
329.	Arms of GOUNTER on the west end of the tomb-chest at Racton. ... ..	479
330.	Grimm's drawing of Racton, c.1782 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	481
331.	Exterior panel to William Royse and wife, c.1540, Chichester II. ... ..	483
332.	Kneeling effigy of William Royse, Chichester II. ... ..	484
333.	Kneeling effigy of Joan Royse, Chichester II. ... ..	485
334.	Two patronal saints at Chichester II: St Catherine and ?St Richard. ... ..	486
335.	God the Father within a mandorla, Chichester II. ... ..	487
336.	Tomb of Richard Sakevyle and wife, c.1540, Westhampnett. ... ..	491
337.	Male and female kneeling effigies at Westhampnett. ... ..	492
338.	Holy Trinity on the Sakevyle monument at Westhampnett. ... ..	494
339.	Soffit at Westhampnett. ... ..	495
340.	Side panels at Westhampnett. ... ..	495
341.	Left-hand and centre shield on tomb-chest at Westhampnett. ... ..	497
342.	Right-hand shield at Westhampnett. ... ..	497
343.	Graffiti on top of tomb-chest at Westhampnett. ... ..	498
344.	Grimm's drawing of Westhampnett in 1782 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ). ... ..	499
345.	Nineteenth century engraving of Westhampnett ( <i>after Dallaway &amp; Cartwright, 1833</i> ). ... ..	499
346.	Battered state of Rustington II, c.1540. ... ..	502
347.	Kneeling effigies at Rustington II. ... ..	503
348.	Christ portrayed as the 'Man of Sorrows' at Rustington II. ... ..	505
349.	Renaissance serif on the left spandrel of the arch at Rustington II. ... ..	505

350.	Present state of tomb of Sir Richard Shirley and two wives, c.1540 at Wiston.	...	...	509
351.	Victorian rebuild of the Shirley monument at Wiston.	...	...	511
352.	Oblique view of male effigy at Wiston.	...	...	512
353.	Two kneeling wives at Wiston.	...	...	513
354.	Tomb-chest at Wiston, as reconstructed.	...	...	515
355.	Drawing by Grimm of the Wiston tomb in 1781 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	516
356.	Shirley monument before destruction in 1867 ( <i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i> ).	...	...	517
357.	Tomb to Ellis Bradshaw, c.1545, Chichester III.	...	...	521
358.	Chichester III from the south, showing three-line inscription on base.	...	...	522
359.	Left-hand frieze panel at Chichester III.	...	...	523
360.	Left-hand spandrel and pilaster with Renaissance motifs, Chichester III.	...	...	524
361.	Cherub with a lute and an ape with an urn, Chichester III.	...	...	525
362.	Naked man with a hat and a climbing cherub, Chichester III.	...	...	526
363.	A demon playing a guitar and a two-headed mask, Chichester III.	...	...	527
364.	Another cherub with a lute and a naked man with a hat, Chichester III.	...	...	528
365.	Wodehowse playing a lute and a tower with three heads above, Chichester III.	...	...	528
366.	Tomb to Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, c.1545, at Broadwater II.	...	...	532
367.	Friezes at the top of monument, Broadwater II.	...	...	533
368.	Three views of the image of the BVM, Broadwater II.	...	...	535
369.	Two views of the image of St George, Broadwater II.	...	...	535
370.	Upper portion of figure of St George and dragon, Broadwater II.	...	...	536
371.	Effaced Holy Trinity, Broadwater II.	...	...	536
372.	Grimm's drawing of Broadwater II of 1780 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	539
373.	Opening of de la Warr vault, Broadwater church ( <i>Charles Randall, Worthing</i> ).	...	...	540
374.	Tomb of William Ernle and his second wife, c.1547, at West Wittering II.	...	...	543
375.	Kneeling figures and religious iconography within recess, West Wittering II.	...	...	544
376.	Drawing by Grimm in 1790 of the lost frieze at West Wittering II ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	545
377.	Figures of Ernle and his wife, West Wittering II.	...	...	546
378.	Christ in Majesty, West Wittering II.	...	...	547
379.	Annunciation panel at West Wittering II.	...	...	548
380.	Renaissance motifs at West Wittering II.	...	...	549
381.	Further Renaissance motifs at West Wittering II.	...	...	550
382.	Grimm's drawing of West Wittering II, 1790 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	551
383.	Tomb of Thomas Myles, c.1547, Boxgrove II.	...	...	555
384.	Left-hand portion of the tomb-chest at Boxgrove II.	...	...	556
385.	Left and right spandrels at Boxgrove II.	...	...	557
386.	Indent of lost three-line brass inscription at Boxgrove II.	...	...	558
387.	Broken shield bearing the arms of ST JOHN at Boxgrove II.	...	...	559
388.	Grimm's drawing of 1781 of Boxgrove II ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	560
389.	Tomb of Sir William Shelley and wife, c.1550 at Clapham.	...	...	562
390.	Female effigies at Clapham.	...	...	564
391.	Kneeling effigy of Sir William Shelley in judge's robes, Clapham.	...	...	564
392.	Eldest daughter of Sir William Shelley and his wife at Clapham.	...	...	565
393.	Entablature at Clapham with miniscule Gothic cornice.	...	...	566
394.	Mask and trailing flowers on central pendant at Clapham.	...	...	567
395.	Initials 'W.S' scratched on the front of Clapham.	...	...	568
396.	Three heraldic roundels at Clapham.	...	...	569
397.	Grimm's drawing of Clapham in 1789 ( <i>British Library Board</i> ).	...	...	570

## **Appendix One**

### **Catalogue of ‘Chichester’ workshop monuments`**

Monument number: 01

## Preston Episcopi, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 3039 0638/ TQ 30 NW 136.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Peter.

(3) *Location:* Preston Drove, Preston Park, Brighton, East Sussex, BN1 6SD.

(4) *Commemorated:* Edward Elrington Esquire.

(5) *Purpose:* Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☒  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☐

Tomb-chest was reused as main altar after the 1877 restoration by Ewan Christian, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners - even though stone altars were then still technically illegal within the Church of England.

(6) *Type:* Military & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Civilian & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Lady ☐  
 Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐  
 Other ☐ Not known ☒

(7) *Date of death:* 7 July 1515.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB/11/18, fols.12-3, dated 13 March 1515; proved 18 November 1515.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Recessed canopied tomb destroyed in 1877 restoration. Tomb-chest only remains.

*If lost, give source of information:* A Victorian engraving (Nibbs, 1851, no. 10), shows a recessed canopied tomb, without side columns, resembling MICKLEHAM, on the north wall of the chancel.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 4, on the basis of affinity with MICKLEHAM. The carving of the tomb-chest resembles that of BRADING I and II.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* Recessed canopy tomb destroyed in 1877 restoration.

(13) *Position in structure:* Tomb-chest now serves as main altar in chancel, 134 cm. south of north wall and 134 cm. north of south wall of chancel.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments:* Speculative in the absence of any hard evidence. However, the monument's position on the north wall may indicate the presence of religious iconography, now lost.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☒ NO ☐



Tomb-chest moved from north wall to centre of chancel.

**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: White Caen stone, with blue-grey Purbeck marble coverstone.

(18) *Description*: What is now the west front consists of five cusped quatrefoil panels bearing shields with corresponding panels on the north and south sides. The latter has two thin shallow double trefoil niches set on top of each other at their west ends. Above is a shallow frieze bearing a number of small shields with sacred motifs. On top is the bevelled Purbeck marble coverstone, without indents for brass plates.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 11.

(21) *Lost components*: Recessed canopy tomb with moulded sides; ?inscription and possibly religious iconography on back panel of monument.

(22) *Method of construction*: Five separate panels form the sides and five Caen stone blocks make up the footing. On top is the bevelled Purbeck coverstone.



▲ Fig. 161: *Tomb-chest of Edward Elrington, PRESTON, now serving as the main altar of the church. Scale: two metres.*

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography:* None surviving, other than the row of small shields containing sacred symbols.

(26) *Description:* N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* N/A.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* A shallow frieze containing 24 small shields with sacred emblems runs on top of the cusped quatrefoil panels: four on the north side; 16 on the west fascia and four on the south side.

(31) *Other:* N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Cusped quatrefoil panels; the sacred monogram 'ihs' carved in raised blackletter ulc on the frieze on the north side. Blind trefoil niches.

*Renaissance elements:* None.



▲ Fig. 162: The north and south sides of the tomb-chest at PRESTON, showing the narrow frieze bearing shields and the four trefoil blind niches on the outer edge. The large shield on the north panel, (**left**) bears ELRINGTON impaling ECHINGHAM and the corresponding shield on the south panel, (**right**) bears an unidentified coat, possibly USBORNE of Kent impaling BLOUNT.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☒ Chamfer ☐

*Type:* Capitals ☒ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* The sacred monogram 'ihs' remains on the frieze above the panel on the north side. There is no trace of a brass fillet inscription on the chamfer of the blue Purbeck coverstone, so presumably another inscription, carved in raised blackletter ulc or on a brass inscription, was on the back panel of the now destroyed and unrecorded recessed canopy tomb.

*Line 1* - North panel, on frieze over cusped quatrefoil: 'ihs'.

*Errors:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 163: North side panel at PRESTON showing the sacred monogram 'IHS' above the cusped quatrefoil.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 192 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 167·8 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 54·6 cm.

Plinth measures 61·7 cm. in depth and 183·4 cm. in width. Purbeck coverstone measures 176 cm. in width, 11 cm. thick and the chamfer is 4·3 cm. in depth.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Front 1 (from left) - Height: 82·3 cm. Width: 80 cm.

Front 2 (from left) - Height: 82·3 cm. Width: 79·8 cm.

Front 3 (from left) - Height: 82.3 cm. Width: 80 cm.

Front 4 (from left) - Height: 82.3 cm. Width: 79.7 cm.

North panel - Height: 82.2 cm. Width: 80 cm. Niches 10.5 cm. wide.

South panel: - Height: 82.2 cm. Width: 80 cm. Niches 10.5 cm. wide.

(39) *Measurement of figures: N/A.*



▲ Fig. 164: *From left of west face of tomb-chest, Panel two bears the arms of ECHINGHAM; the shield on panel three bears BRAOSE impaling SHIRLEY.*

### (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Six: one side within a cusped quatrefoil on north side; four within panels on west and one further on south side.

Shield one, (north side) - *Argent, on a fess dancettée sable, between three Cornish choughs proper as many besants* (ELRINGTON of Middlesex) impaling *Azure, a fret argent* (ECHINGHAM).

Shield two (from left, west side) - *Azure, a fret argent* (ECHINGHAM).

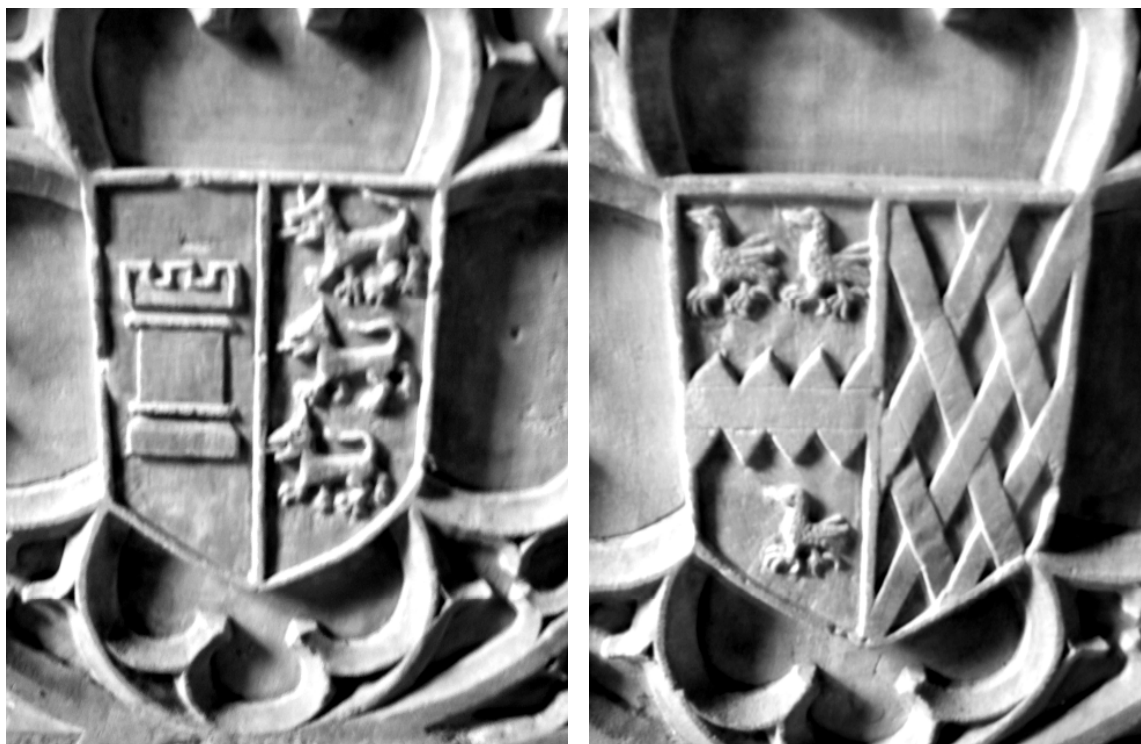
Shield three (from left, west side) - *Azure, a semée of crosses crosslet gules, a lion rampant or, armed and langued of the second* (BROASE) impaling *Paly or and azure, a canton ermine* (SHIRLEY)

Shield four (from left, west side) - *Or, a tower azure* (BLOUNT) impaling *Argent, three wolves*

*sable in pale* (AYALA). Thomas-Stanford (1924, 80), blazons the whole coat as BLOUNT but this is incorrect. The Spanish coat of AYALA is also wrongly blazoned with three instead of two wolves.

Shield five (from left, west side) - Unidentified coat impaling ECHINGHAM.

Shield six (south side) - Unidentified coat possibly *Argent, five ermine spots* (USBORNE of Kingsdown, Kent) impaling BLOUNT.



▲ Fig. 165: Panel three bears BLOUNT impaling a wrongly blazoned coat for AYALA and panel four bears another unidentified coat impaling ECHINGHAM.

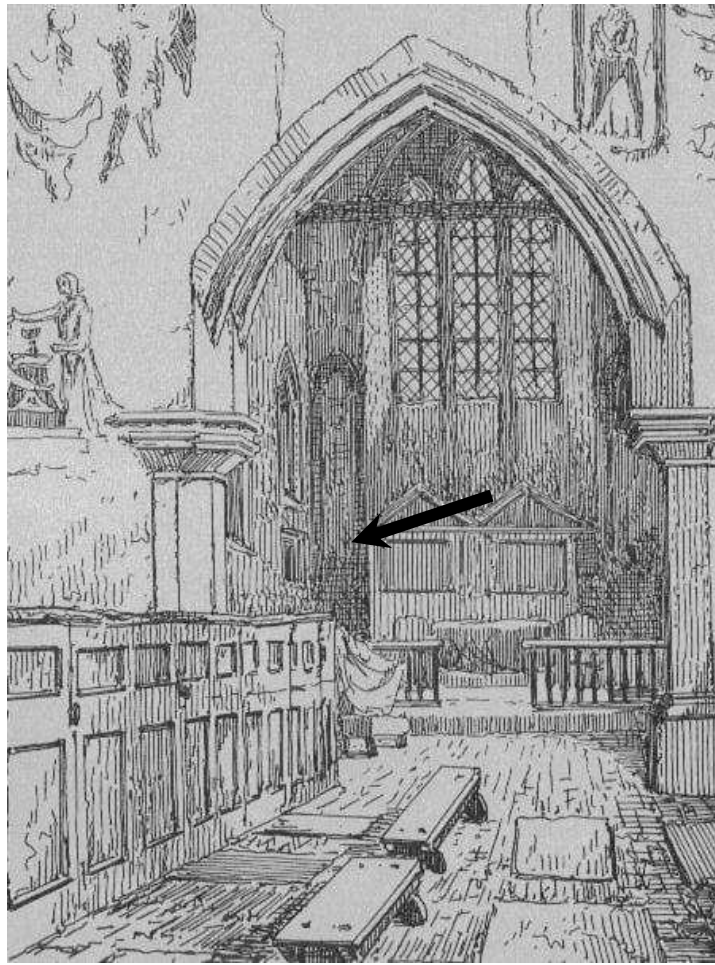
### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: A drawing of the interior of Preston church, done in 1851, shows the structure before restoration with the recessed canopy tomb in position on the north side of the chancel (Nibbs, 1851, no 10). He describes it as: 'In the chancel... is a tomb of the Decorated period (*sic*) to one of the Shirley family. It is not in high relief but beautifully designed'.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 10 May 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: Edward Elrington was the youngest son of Sir John Elrington of Hoxton, Middlesex, an eminent servant of the crown under Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III, who married, secondly, Margaret, elder daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Echingham. She was the widow of Walter, son of Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Lord High Treasurer 1464-66.



▲ Fig. 166: *The lost recessed canopied tomb of Edward Elrington is shown in this engraving of 1851 of PRESTON church (arrowed). (After Nibbs, 1851, no.10)*

Edward married, before 1503, Beatrix, the third daughter of Ralph Shirley and sister to Sir Richard Shirley at WISTON, whose estates had formed part of those previously held by the house of Braose, based at Bramber. He lived at Wiston and moved to Preston after the death of his father-in-law in 1509. The following year Bishop Sherborn of Chichester leased the manor of Preston Episcopi to Elrington for 80 years for £23 a year (Stanford-Thomas, 1924, 73-78). For further family connections, see PETWORTH and WISTON reports.

Elrington died on 7 July 1515. His youngest son Richard was then four years old. His will, proved in November that year, asked that his 'synfull body to be buried in the church of Preston or Weston where myne executours and overseers think most convenient.

I bequeath to my mother church of Chichester 3s 4d. and I bequethe to the church of Preston and to the reparacions of the same 6s 8d and I bequethe to the same Churche for my tythese negiligently forgotten 10s...

I bequethe to every parisshe church standing about the down between the water of Lewes and the water of Bramber to the mayntenance of the said churches to every on of them 20d. I bequeathe to every preste at the daye of my burial and the day of my monethes mynde to have 8d and mete and drynke.

And at the daye of my burial every man woman and child that will take money to have to pray for my soule, 1d.

I will that Richard my youngest sonne when that he comith to the age of 22 yeres have my yeres of my farme of Preston and such store as foloweth, that is to say 20 oxen, eight kine and a bull, four harrowing horses, two waynes and two plowes with all the apparel belonging.... 800 ewes, 350 weders with the lanes both whete and barly sown to his handes....

I will that myn executrix shall cause an obbite evry yere to be done there as I am buried for the space of 12 yeres at here after followeth that is to saie 30 prestes and every prest to have for his labour 8d with mete and drynk and at the day of the same obbite to be delt in almes 8s 4d to pour people to pray for my soule.

Elrington also asked for his executors to 'cause a stone or ellis a tombe to be laid upon me as my executrix and overseers shall think most convenient' (TNA, PROB 11/18, fol.12-13). His executors were Sir Thomas West I (BROADWATER I) and Sir Richard Shirley (WISTON). His son Richard later married Mary, widow of his cousin, William Shirley, son of Sir Richard..

His widow married again in 1516 to Sir Edward Bray. She died in 1532 and is commemorated by another monument of this series at SEMESTON.

Monument number: 02

## Mickleham, Surrey, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 1707 5338/ TQ 15 SE6.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Michael.

(3) *Location:* Old London Road, Mickleham, Surrey RH5 6EB.

(4) *Commemorated:* William Wyddowsoun, citizen and mercer of London, patron of the church and wife, Joan.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death:* Wife's death occurred on 27 September 1513. Husband's date of death not known.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5, on the basis that the leaf decoration on the cornice matches others of this series. The grapevine panels on the architrave closely resemble BRADING III, GODSHILL and PETWORTH. Another case of sub-contracting with brasses is at SLAUGHAM. The moulded frame resembles that destroyed at PRESTON EPISCOPI.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of north chapel, 85.7 cm. from east wall of chapel.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments:* Speculative, but position against north wall of north chancel is suggestive.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Probably associated with image niche in Caen stone, c.1520, mounted on east wall of chapel.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

Recorded in this position in 1809 (Manning & Bray, 1809, vol. 2, 659).



**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: White Caen stone.



▲ Fig. 167: *Tomb of William Wyddowsoun and wife at MICKLEHAM, showing the associated image niche to its east. The base of the tomb-chest is 22.5 cm. above the floor; this may have been lowered during the restoration of 1872. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

(18) *Description*: Recessed canopied tomb with no columns with leaf frieze and grapevine panels on architrave. Set into the back panel are London 'F' workshop brass plates showing kneeling figures of a man and woman, with two prayer scrolls. Three shields lost, as is a representation of the Holy

Trinity above. The two upper shields have not been rebated into the Caen stone blocks nor has the Trinity; the latter may have been painted as there is no discernable method of fixing a brass plate to the stonework. In front, is a tomb-chest with three octofoil panels supporting painted shields on the south and there is another on the west face. The (unseen) east face is completely blank. On top of the tomb-chest is a massive grey-blue Purbeck marble slab with concave bevelling and top and bottom.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date:* N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components:* 20, plus the Purbeck marble coverstone.

(21) *Lost components:* Two brass shields lost, as is the Trinity of uncertain material. The shield bearing the arms of the Mercers' Company was lost during the latter part of the twentieth century.

(22) *Method of construction:* Tomb-chest fascia carved all in one piece, with the west side face just 2.5 cm. in thickness, but the east edge is 4.5 cm. thick. Two strips forming the cornice are joined in the centre, as are the grapevine panels forming the architrave.

Two modules forming the spandrels and shallow soffit also join at the centre, with two more modules forming the moulded sides of the upper portion of the monument.

Only the figures, the central shield, inscription and scrolls were rebated into the Caen stone blocks. The other two shields and perhaps the Trinity were fixed flush onto the stone, although there is cement filling for the lead plug holes.

(23) *Description of figures:* The brass plates show the man kneeling with long hair, wearing an embroidered tunic beneath a furred gown. Over the right shoulder is thrown a hood with a long scarf once inlaid with coloured resin. There is a large pouch at the belt.

His wife, also kneeling, wears a pedimental head-dress, with a lappet again once inlaid with coloured resin, and a fur-trimmed gown. Around her hips is an ornamented girdle fastened by two large rose-shaped buckles, from which hangs a chain terminating in a metal pomander. A rosary also hangs from this girdle.

(24) *Paint traces?* Traces of red pigment remain on the shields on the tomb-chest.

(25) *Religious iconography:* Extant ☐ ?Erased ☒ Destroyed later ☒

*Medium:* Carved ☐ ?Painted ☒

*Type:* Our Lord in Majesty ☐ Pieta ☐ Resurrection ☐

Holy Ghost ☐ Trinity ☒ Crucifixion ☐

Annunciation ☐ BVM ☐ Martyrdom ☐

Other saint(s) ☐ Angel(s) ☐ Other ☐



▲ Fig.168: *Rubbing of the brass to William Wyddowsoun and wife at MICKLEHAM. The male figure is 31.7 cm. in height. The central shield, bearing the arms of the Mercers' Company, is now lost. (After Stephenson, 1970, 369).*

(26) *Description:* The image of the Holy Trinity, measuring 17.8 cm. in height and 12.7 cm. in width, is lost. This is the right size and shape to have been in brass, but there are no indication of rivet or lead plugs which would have fixed it to the Caen stone blocks. The outline is clearly visible where the surrounding stone has darkened over time. Was it painted onto the stone?



▲ Fig. 169: *The frieze at MICKLEHAM: the grapevine is unusually sinuous and vigorous.*

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method:* The clarity of the 'ghost' or outline of the Holy Trinity would suggest that the religious iconography was present for a considerable period of time.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Big and small leaved.

(31) *Other:* Unusually vigorous grapevine with fruit and leaves.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Quatrefoil spandrels and shallow blind niched soffit.

*Renaissance elements:* None.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

Brass inscription beneath figures on back wall.

*Position of text:* Foot ☒ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* N/A.

*Text* ("/" denotes end of line)

*Line 1* Here lyth the body of Wylly'am Wyddowsoun Cytezin & Mercer of Lond'n & of y<sup>e</sup> parych church of /

*Line 2* Alekpyllham late patorne & allsoo here lythe y<sup>e</sup> body of Jone hys wife the wyche dyscesyd the /

*Line 3* xxviiday of Septe'mbr the v<sup>th</sup> yere of Kynbg hary the viii on whos soulls god haue mercy ame' /

*Errors:* None.

*Erasures:* None.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):*

1: ~~D~~'ne dues miserere sup animabz. 'Almighty God, have mercy on our souls'.

2: ~~H~~is xps ~~M~~iserere sup animabz. 'Jesus Christ, have mercy on our souls'.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* None.

### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height:* 275 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 153.5 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 84 cm.

The monument is 22.5 cm. off the floor of the chapel revealing its foundations. The floor may have been lowered during the restoration of the church in 1872.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 51 cm. Width: 51 cm.

Centre - Height: 51 cm. Width: 49.5 cm.

Right - Height: 50.1 cm. Width: 51 cm.

The Purbeck marble slab measures 153.2 cm. in length; 84 cm. in width and is 13.5 cm. thick.

(39) *Measurement of (brass) figures*:

Male - Height: 31.7 cm. Width: 18 cm.

Wife - Height: 31.7 cm. Width: 18 cm.

(40) *Other - Type*: Inscription. Height: 8.3 cm. Width: 68.4 cm.



▲ Fig. 170: *Tomb-chest at MICKLEHAM. Note the traces of paint remaining on the three shields. Scale: 50 cm.*

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three painted shields on the front of the tomb-chest; one on the west face.

In addition, there were three brass shields on the back panel of the recessed canopy tomb, all now lost. The shield between the kneeling figures, present until quite recently, bore the arms of the Mercers' Company: *Gules, a demi-virgin couped below the shoulders, issuing from clouds, all proper, vested and crowned or, her long flowing hair wreathed with roses, all within a bordure of clouds proper* (Stephenson, 1970, 369). This measured 12.7 cm. in height and 10.1 cm. in width.

Left - Height: 23 cm. Width: 19 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known.

Centre - Height : 23 cm. Width: 19 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known.

Right - Height: 23 cm. Width: 19 cm

*Blazon*: Not known.

Other - West face of tomb-chest – Height: 19 cm. Width: 23 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known.

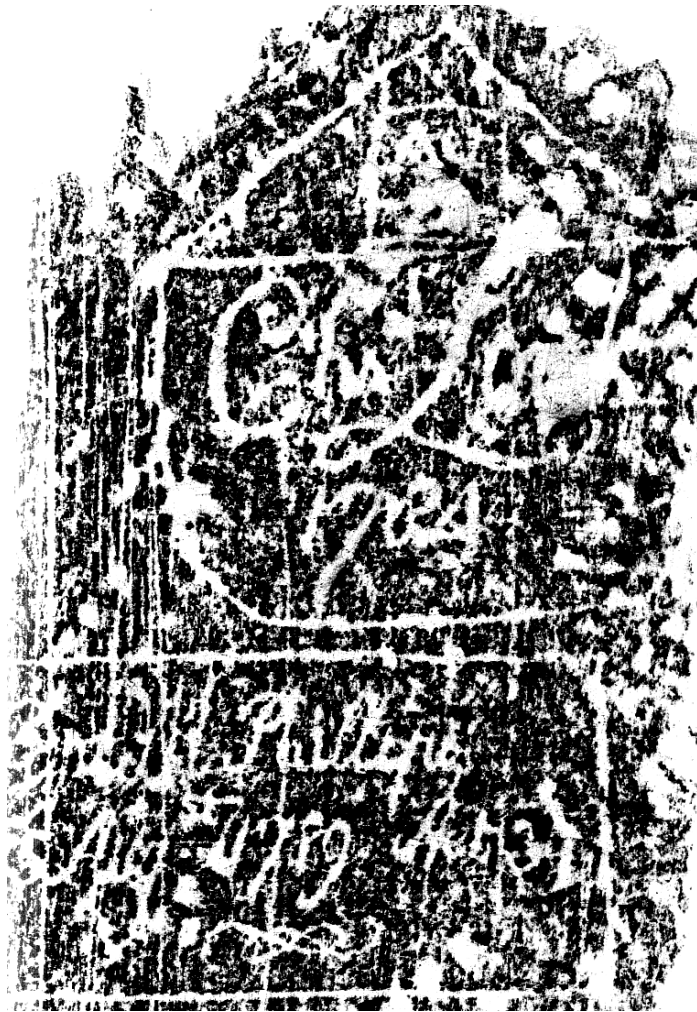
**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: Two examples on the southern corner of the east face of the tomb-chest. The upper has the name 'Chas Lock' and the date '1784' within a scratched rectangle with a triangle on top, like a house. The lower has 'Capt. H. Philby' and the date '5 Aug 1789' within a rectangle.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 2 May 2009.

(45) *Biographical information*: In 1449, Richard Horton, gentleman, enfeofed John Wydoweston, citizen of London and Isabel his wife and their heirs, all his lands and tenements in Mickleham called the manor of 'Mickelham *alias* Frydeles' with the advowson of the church. His son, John Wyddowsuon – probably commemorated by this monument - presented to the church in 1492 (Manning & Bray, 1809, vol. 3, 655).



▲ Fig. 171: Graffiti at MICKLEHAM on the east face of the tomb-chest. At top, 'Chas Lock' and the date '1784' within a scratched rectangle with a triangle on top, The lower has 'Capt. H. Philby' and the date '5 Aug 1789' within a rectangle. Height: 17.6 cm.

Monument number: 03

## North Mundham, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SU 8744 0213/ SU 80 SE 82.

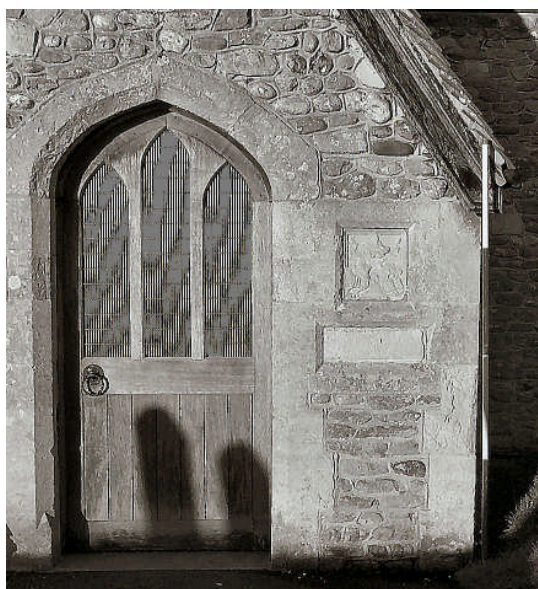
(2) *Church dedication:* St Stephen.

(3) *Location:* Church Road, North Mundham, West Sussex PO20 1JU

(4) *Commemorated:* Not known. An apparently non-armigerous ?merchant, probably with the Christian name 'John' which can just be made out from the inscription. John Fylylode of 'Bremfast' in North Mundham, who signed his will on 19 April 1540 and asked to be buried in the 'chircherd of Mundham' is suggested by testamentary evidence (Godfrey, 1938, 229) but he was described as a 'housbandman' and would probably not have had the means to pay for a monument of this type.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civ. & wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>

(7) *Date of death:* Not known.



▲ Fig. 172: *Exterior monument of c. 1520 on east jamb of the porch, built in 1883, on the south side of St Stephen's church, NORTH MUNDHAM. Scale: two metres.*



(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520, comparable with a dateable exterior monument at St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester (CHICHESTER I). Nairn and Pevsner (1965, 275) suggest c.1497 -but provide no evidence for this dating other than the monument is 'believed to commemorate someone who died' in that year.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5 on the basis of typological similarities with other the exterior monuments, particularly CHICHESTER I, c.1525, in the way the legs of the effigies are carved and the treatment of the image of Christ in Majesty.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 173: Monument carved in bold relief, showing male effigy left and female effigy right, beneath a depiction of Christ in Majesty. Panel measures 35.7 cm. in height.

(13) *Position in structure*: On east jamb of exterior wall of south porch, 31.7 cm. west of east corner and 131 cm. above current ground level. An engraving of North Mundham church dated 1851 (Nibbs, 1851, no. 62) indicates that the monument was not present in this position at this date. The church was extensively restored in 1883 by the London architect A.W. (later Sir Arthur) Blomfield and the monument must have been re-sited here then, when the porch was rebuilt. Erosion levels suggest that it was always an exterior monument.

- |  |                                     |    |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| (14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i> YES            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i> YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (16) <i>Moved?</i> YES                       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/>            |



▲ Fig. 174: Close-up of the two panels of the NORTH MUNDHAM monument. The name 'John' can just be made out in the middle of the top line of the inscription panel. Scale: 50 cm.

## (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: White Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: Two panels, one with a religious scene with a kneeling family group beneath and ribbon-like prayer scrolls within a thin raised border, with a separate panel below bearing three lines of inscription in blackletter raised ulc, now almost illegible.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date*: New frames, with chamfered interior edges, cut for main slab and inscription slab, probably when the monument was moved to its current position in 1883

(20) *Number of separate components*: Two, monument and separate inscription.

(21) *Lost components*: None known. Original stone frame?

(22) *Method of construction*: Carving in bold relief with inscription in raised-letters.

(23) *Description of figures*: Two kneeling figures, male left, with two sons kneeling behind, in long merchant's gowns with hanging false sleeves. Facing these effigies is a female figure, with one kneeling daughter behind, possibly both wearing over-gowns, the mother with rosary beads hanging from her waist. There is no sign of a prayer desk between them but a suggestion of a low object, possibly a chalice?

(24) *Paint traces*? None.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input type="checkbox"/> Erased	<input type="checkbox"/> Damaged	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>Type</i> : Christ in Majesty	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/> Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/> Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/> Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM	<input type="checkbox"/> Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: Single figure standing on a cloud, the head and halo cutting into the surround at the top.

(27) *Erasures*? YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method*: The head and body of Christ in Majesty have been smashed or cut away; similarly the heads of the family group beneath.

(28) *When*? Probably during the Edwardine Reformation, 1548-53.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Poor. The slabs have been exposed to the weather and have been considerably eroded.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30-31): N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Inscription is in blackletter ulc.

*Renaissance elements*: None.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☒ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*: The three line inscription in raised-letters probably began with the appeal 'Of your charity...' The first three letters of the Christian name of 'John' can then be made out. The remainder is indecipherable. The inscription has irregular edging.

*Errors*: None.

*Erasures*: The lettering may well have been erased.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls*: Two ribbon like scrolls rising above two main effigies with raised-lettering.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls*: Both scraped down. Remains of lettering midway up on left-scroll.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Top panel height*: 35.7 cm.

(36) *Top panel width*: 32.2 cm.

(37) *Top panel depth*: 2.2 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*: N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures*:

Male - Height: 13.9 cm. Width: 11.1 cm. (including two sons).

Wife - Height: 17.2 cm. Width: 12.2 cm. (including daughter).

(40) *Other - Type*: Inscription.

Height: 14.2 cm. Width: 52 cm.

Left scroll: 17 cm. length.

Right scroll: 18 cm. length.

Religious iconography: 13.2 cm. height; 14.5 cm. width.

**(F) - Heraldry**

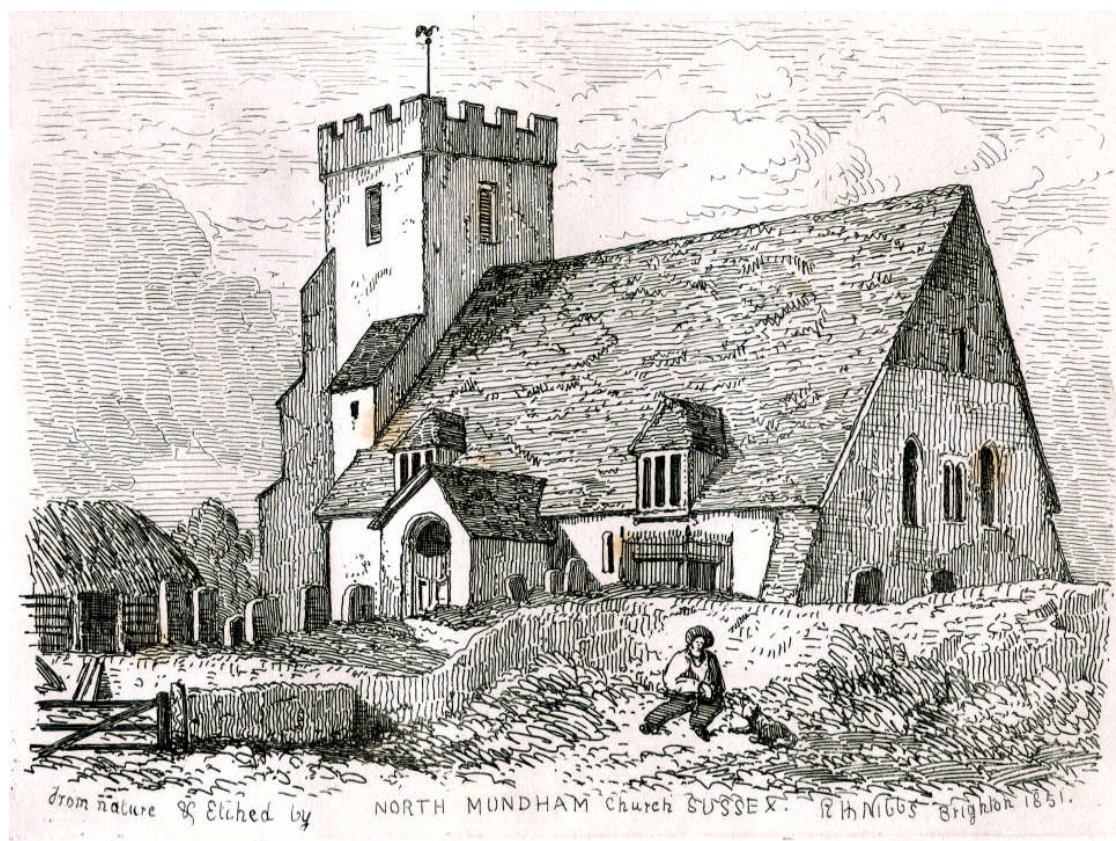
(41) *Heraldry*: N/A.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: An engraving dated 1851 (Nibbs 1851 no. 62) shows the church before restoration with no sign of the monument on the south porch at this date.





▲ Fig. 175: *NORTH MUNDHAM church from the south east in 1851* (Nibbs' 1851, no. 62). *No sign of the monument on the porch.*

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 15 May 2006 and 20 December 2006.

(45) *Biographical information:* N/A.

*Monument number:* 04

## Slaugham, c.1520-47

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 2573 2807/ TQ 22 NE 5.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Mary.

(3) *Location:* Staplefield Road, Slaugham, West Sussex RH17 6AG.

(4) *Commemorated:* Richard Covert and three wives (1) Elizabeth Faggar, (2) Elizabeth Nevile and (3) Blanche Vaughan.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ 3 ] wife(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death:* 7 June 1547.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520 with additional brass plates inserted up to 1547. Covert's will dated 16 March 1546, asks that his body be buried 'in the Chaunsell of the p'ishe Church of Slaug'm 'neath unto my Tombe now there and made' (TNA, PROB 11/31, fol.377).

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/31, fols. 377-9.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. The cresting and cusped quatrefoil roundels in the frieze resemble those at HAMSEY and CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II, as does the blind arcading on the side panels beneath the depressed arch. The diamond pattern of the soffit has an affinity with the decoration on the back wall of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II. Like MICKLEHAM, this Caen stone monument has brasses.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of chancel, within altar rails, alongside the Sussex marble recessed canopy tomb to Elizabeth Covert, d. 1586, 183 cm. from east wall of chancel.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments:* The back wall of the monument bears a brass plate of c.1520 with a conventional representation of the Resurrection.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?*

YES

☐ NO☒

▲ Fig. 176: *Tomb of Richard Covert and three wives at SLAUGHAM, c.1520-47. Like that at MICKLEHAM, it includes brass plates in the design of the monument. To the right is the Petworth marble monument with brasses to Jane Covert, d. 1586, a product of the Johnson workshop in Southwark. Scales: two metres.*

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* White Caen stone with 15 brass plates on back wall and three brass shields on the tomb-chest.

(18) *Description:* The recessed canopy tomb has a tomb-chest with three cusped octofoil panels bearing modern brass shields at their centres, separated by two thin double trefoil niches. Above is a

moulded coverstone. The recess has octagonal shafts with concave sides and moulded capitals and bases. The flattened arch, with plain spandrels, has a pendant keystone, with a Tudor rose beneath.

The frieze has quatrefoil roundels above this a moulded cornice of delicately carved decorated leaves, alternating with small balls at the base. The sides of the recess are panelled and the soffit has a ribbed lattice ornament.

On the back wall are the kneeling figures, in brass, of Richard Covert and his three wives, prayer scrolls, two inscriptions, and a plate depicting the Resurrection. The second and third of the four shields, slightly larger than the others, belong to the monument in the church to John Covert, d. 1503, and were placed here during the restoration by Joseph Clark in 1859-60.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date:* Three blank brass shields added to cusped panels in 1859-60.

(20) *Number of separate components:* 14, excluding brass plates.

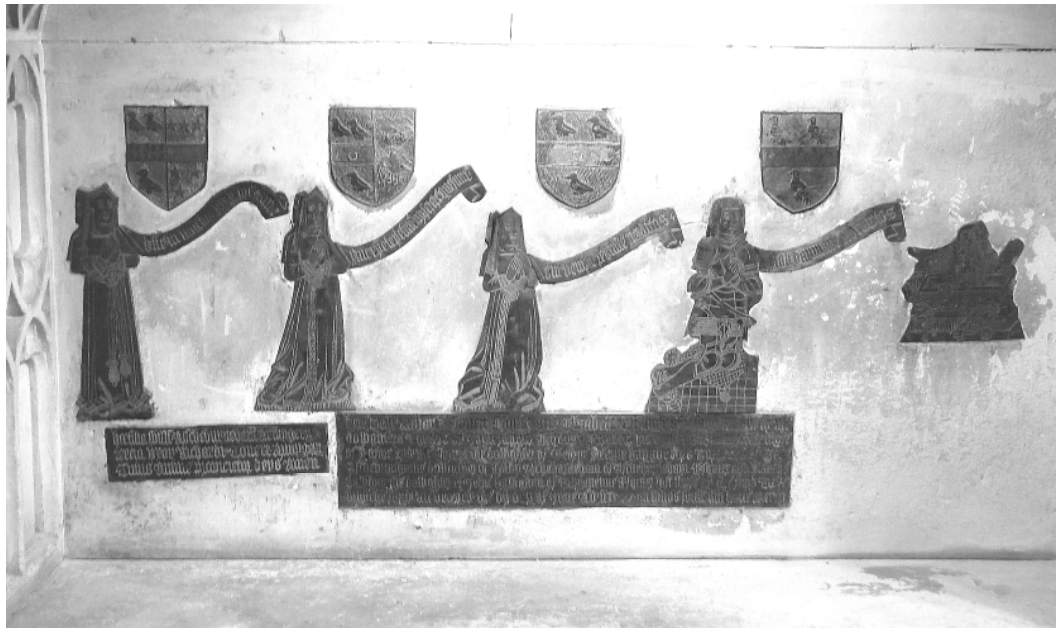
(21) *Lost components:* Two brass shields. Their indents have been enlarged to take two earlier shields from the 1503 Covert brass in the church, as part of the 'tidying up' often seen after Victorian restorations.

(22) *Method of construction:* The tomb-chest fascia is in two equal halves, with the join offset above the two moulded slabs forming the monument footing. The moulded Caen stone coverstone is all in one piece. The two side shafts of the columns incorporate the side panels. Above are two modules forming the spandrels and the soffit, with the centre pendant forming a keystone to the flattened arch. Within the monument, the back panel is one thin slab of Caen stone, measuring 153 cm. in width and 76 cm. in height. Above the arch, the pendant tops of the columns and a short length of frieze and cornice form two separate components, with a long central portion of crest and frieze completing the monument.

The brasses were inserted in three distinct development phases. The figures of Covert and his first two wives, their prayer scrolls, and the Resurrection plate were almost certainly supplied loose from the London marblers' workshop and then riveted into the back panel, possibly before the monument was erected on site. Around 1535, the figure of Covert's third wife, from the London 'G' 'Rufford' workshop, was inserted into the monument, together with her prayer scroll and inscription, after again having been supplied loose. The difficulty of such an operation is probably emphasised by the fact that her small inscription, 32.3 cm. in width and 7.6 cm. in height, has been set crooked in the Caen stone. There was insufficient space and the plate had to be squeezed in.

Finally, after Covert's death in 1547, a second inscription plate, 67.8 cm. in width and 14.3cm. in height was set beneath the figures of Covert and his first two wives.





▲ Fig. 177: Brass plates on back panel at SLAUGHAM to Richard Covert and his three wives. The main inscription plate is 67.8 cm. in width and 7.6 cm. in height.



▲ Fig. 178: Upper portions of the second (*left*) and third (*right*) wives of Richard Covert at SLAUGHAM. The figure of the third wife, 34.3 cm. in height, is a deliberate copy of the earlier style of engraving and fashion, with some distinctive features, like the loop in the girdle added. Was this deliberate antiquarianism or merely a love of symmetry?

(23) *Description of figures*: The brass kneeling figures of Richard Covert and his first two wives, their prayer scrolls, shields and the Resurrection plate, are products of the London 'F' workshop, engraved c.1520.

At right, Covert is shown as a rather ungainly figure, kneeling facing right, in armour on a chequered tiled floor, facing the Resurrection plate, with a prayer scroll emanating from his clasped hands. Behind him, his first wife appears to be kneeling and wears a pedimental head-dress and a long girdle.

The second wife, behind her, seems to be standing, and wears similar costume. Finally, the third wife, inserted c.1535, is dressed similarly to her predecessors, although the fashion had disappeared a decade before. She is also standing. Prayer scrolls emanate from all their hands.

(24) *Paint traces?* None on stonework; some remains on the first brass shield on the left.

(25) *Religious iconography*: Extant ☒ Erased ☐ Destroyed later ☐

*Medium*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐

Brass plate.

*Type*: Our Lord in Majesty ☐ Pieta ☐ Resurrection ☒

Holy Ghost ☐ Trinity ☐ Crucifixion ☐

Annunciation ☐ BVM ☐ Martyrdom ☐

Other saint(s) ☐ Angel(s) ☐ Other ☐

(26) *Description*: Conventional depiction of Resurrection with Christ rising from the tomb with sleeping soldiers about the sepulchre. He holds the traditional cross-staff with a pennon in his left hand, the right being raised in blessing. Three of the soldiers, in full armour, are asleep. A fourth, at left, seems to have awoken suddenly. The spiked weapon held by the soldier on right – a so-called 'Morning Star' – is similar to one seen on the Resurrection brass at Swansea, engraved c.1500. The stippled background is an indication of a starry night.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method*: N/A.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good. Some corrosion on the brass plates.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: Row of quatrefoil roundels.

(31) *Other*: Delicately carved leaves, alternating with small balls at base on cornice.

(32) *Gothic elements*: As above.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 179: *Cornice of leaves and balls above a frieze of quatrefoil roundels at SLAUGHAM.*



▲ Fig. 180: *Tudor rose carved beneath the central pendant at SLAUGHAM.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

Two brass inscriptions beneath the brass plates depicting Richard Covert and his two wives.

Type: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

The shorter inscription was inserted after the death of the third wife, Jane Ashburnham in c.1535:

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line)

*Line 1* Hec filia Will(elm)I Asscheburnham Armygery /

*Line 2* tertia uxor Richard Couert Armygery /

*Line 3* Cuius Anime propicietur dues Amen.

(This is the daughter of William Ashburnham esquire, third wife of Richard Covert esquire, on whose soul may God have mercy, Amen).

Inscription inserted after death of fourth wife, Blanche Vaughan, c.1547:

*Line 1* Here lyeth Richard Covert Esquier and Elizabeth firste wyfe of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Ric’ one of the /

*Line 2* dowghters & heiers of John Faggar Esquier & Elizabeth his wife & Elizabeth secu(u)nde wyfe /

*Line 3* of y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Ric’ Covert the dowghter of George Newple Knyght Lord Burgeuene & Jane /

*Line 4* Aschburnehame dowghter of Will(ia)m Aschburnham of Aschburnham Esquier also Blanche /

*Line 5* Vawhan the dowghter of John Vawghan of Burgeuene Esquier last wyfe of the sayd Ric’ /

*Line 6* whych e said Ric’ decessed the vii day of June A<sup>e</sup> d(omi)ni 1547 on whos soull’ ih(es)u have Mercy. /

The lettering is ‘script 4’ from the London workshops, used between 1530 and 1547, and is the last dated example extant (Page-Phillips 1999, 43). This supplies confirmatory dating evidence for this development phase.

This plate is re-used Reformation spoil, probably from one of the London monastic churches. On the reverse is another inscription, which has been scraped down to make it almost illegible, discovered by the author and Bryan Egan when it was conserved in 1974. It reads:

Of yor charite pray for the soule of (Elizabeth)... (s)eamstres to Kyng Henry the viii & to his sister... to the / quene of ... to prince henry t... the seid kyng /

Henry the viii whiche Elizabeth decessed the second day of July mv<sup>c</sup> xiii (?). /

Henry’s sister Margaret was wife to James IV, killed at Flodden in 1513. Prince Henry, a child of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, died in 1511 only a few weeks after his birth.

*Erasures:* None.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls:* Those plates laid down c.1520 should be read left to right as they are a continuous text from the responsory to the ninth lesson of Matins of the Dead. This text is also found on brasses at Hambledon, Buckinghamshire of 1500; Longworth, Berkshire 1509 and on an alabaster tomb in St Aldate's Oxford, 1522. My thanks to Jerome Bertram for this information.

### 3: Noli damnare depemptos

The prayer scroll engraved c.1535 is not part of the Office of the Dead and therefore not in the sequence of the other scrolls. It reads:

‘Lord, in your mercy I have ever hoped’.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* None.

### (E) - Dimensions

(37) *Monument depth*: 59.5 cm.

Right - Height: 43 cm. Width: 43 cm.

Third wife - Height: 34.3 cm. Width: 10.6 cm.

Height: 18.9 cm. Width: 17.7 cm.



▲ Fig. 181: *Tomb-chest at SLAUGHAM with Victorian replica brass shields fixed at the centre of the cusped panels. Scale: two metres.*

#### (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved

☐ Painted ☐

Brass shield

Type: Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: One original shield remains right, above the male effigy

Height: 14.8 cm. Width: 11.5 cm.

*Blazon*: *Gules, a fess between three martlets or* (COVERT).

The next two shields from the right were probably COVERT impaling FAGGAR and COVERT impaling NEVILLE. Their indents were enlarged and filled by shields from the 1503 Covert brass in 1859-60.

The interlopers from the 1503 Covert brass, 12.4 cm in width, are: *Gules, a fess between two martlets or, an annulet for difference*, (COVERT), for John Covert, the younger son of William Covert, and COVERT impaling *Azure, three pelicans argent*, (PELHAM), for John Covert's marriage to Isabel, only daughter of Sir John Pelham of Laughton, Sussex.

#### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

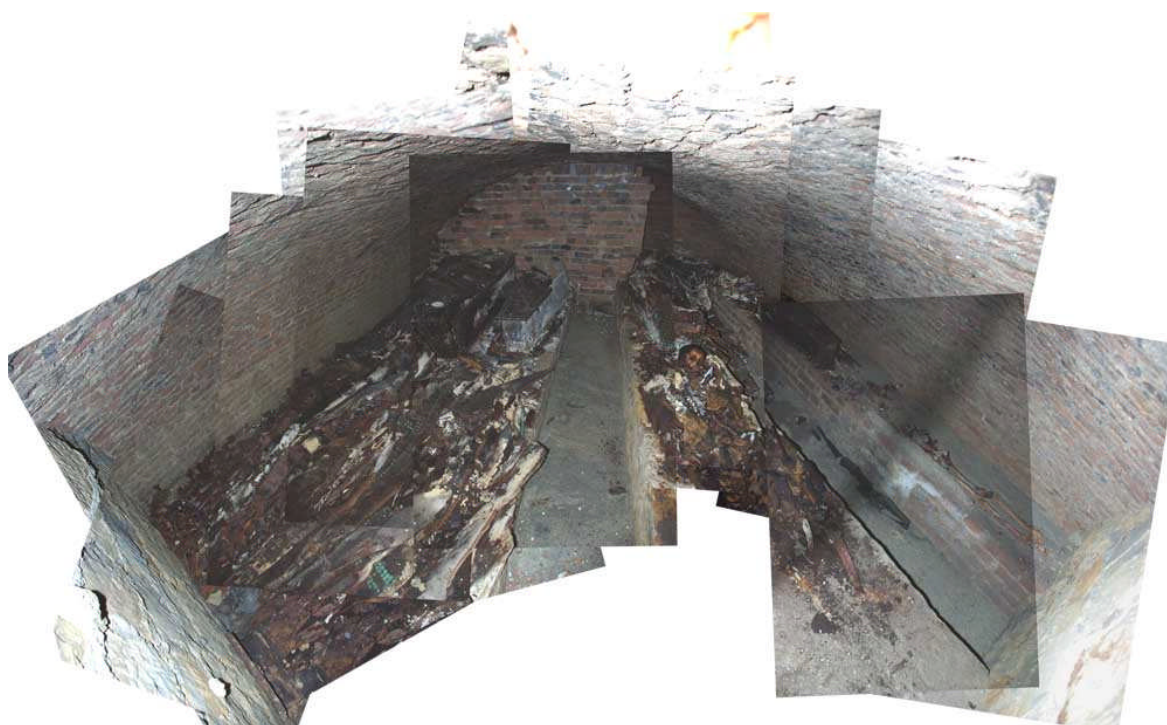
(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 10 May 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: Richard Covert was the son of Thomas Covert, d.1495, and his

wife Elizabeth, *née* Sidney, who were commemorated by a three-line brass inscription, now lost, in the middle aisle of the nave of Horsham church.

He presented Thomas Shaa to the rectory of Hascombe, Surrey, in 1509 and was High Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1523. He was a Commissioner of Sewers in 1534, responsible for the repair of sea-walls and the clearing of rivers (Dengate, 1929, 29). Covert acted as an executor in the will of John Theccher, or Thatcher, of Ringmer, Sussex, dated 13 July 1526 (Godfrey, 1941, 5-6) and as surveyor of the will of Richard Burré, 4 August 1527, at SOMPTING (WSRO, STA I/A1/fol. 50). In his will (TNA, PROB 11/31.fols. 377-9), Covert asked to be buried 'in the Chausell of the p'ishe Church of Slaug'm 'neath unto my Tombe now there and made and I will that my body be buried as soon as it is dead and may be conveniently conveyed to that place where is shalbe buryed and I will that my body be buryed wi'out great ceremonies or solemnities other than belongeth to a good and true Cristian man'. He left 3s 4d to 'the modyr Church of Chichester' and 20 shillings to 'the p'son of Slaythem for tithes forgotten'. Sir William Shelley (CLAPHAM) and Walter Grindley esquire, attorney-at-law, were appointed overseers to resolve any 'doubts or ambiguities' that arose from his will.



▲ Fig. 182: *Montage of photographs of the Covert vault beneath the monument and chancel, when it was opened in February 2007. (George Anelay, West Sussex Archaeology Ltd.).*

John Covert, son of the fourth marriage to Blanche Vaughan, succeeded Richard and was MP for the county in 1553 and Sheriff in 1555 (Dengate, 1929, 31). He died in 1558. Blanche, in her will dated 18 January 1552 and proved on 12 May 1553, asked to be buried in the 'chaunsell of the psh of Twineham, yf my sonne John Covert and the Parsone of Twyneham so graunt it yf my bodye be buried in the chaunsell I bequeath to the said chaunsell tenne shillinges or elles my bodye to be buried in the church in some convenient place' (Godfrey, 1940, 262).



*Monument number:* 05

## Carisbrooke, IoW, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SZ 4705 8802/ SZ 48 NE 89.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Mary the Virgin.

(3) *Location:* High Street, Carisbrooke, IOW, PO30 1NN.

(4) *Commemorated:* Lady Margaret Wadham, second wife of Sir Nicholas Wadham, captain of the IoW, 1509-20 and captain of Carisbrooke Castle.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* Before 1519. Wadham and his third wife, Elizabeth, late wife of Sir Giles Bruges deceased, were granted Bruges' lands in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire on 13 May 1519 (LP, vol. 3, pt. 1, 93).

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520.

(9) *Will reference:* None extant.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence factor: 4. The tomb is included on the basis that the design of the crest, cusping of the arch and the panels closely resemble GODSHILL. Like BRADING III, it includes small effigies of the sick and lame, this time flanking the main kneeling figure. The use of the central angel bearing a shield resembles GODSHILL, SOMPTING and KINGSTON BUCI. The grapevine frieze resembles that at BRADING III. The monument has a greenish Purbeck marble coverstone as at BRADING III.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of present chancel, 117.7 cm. from east wall. The old chancel was pulled down by Sir Francis Walsingham, Lord of the Manor, in 1560-70 after falling into disrepair after 1540. This monument may have been in the chancel and was possibly moved and reconstructed then.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* There is no religious iconography to indicate this use.

- (15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒
- (16) *Moved?* YES ? ☒ NO ☐



▲ Fig. 183: *Tomb of Lady Margaret Wadham, d. before 1519, at CARISBROOKE. North wall of new chancel. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Greyish white and creamy Caen stone. Coverstone is greenish Purbeck marble.

(18) *Description*: Recessed canopy tomb with back wall panelled with blind trefoil arcading with a shield at centre. Below are six figures of beggars and lame folk, three on each side of the central kneeling effigy of Lady Margaret Wadham, her body turned to face the main altar of the church. On each side are octagonal columns supporting an entablature with a depressed arch, cusped and sub-cusped. Above is a grapevine frieze below a crenellated cornice. At centre is an angel bearing a shield on which is inscribed, in shallow raised-letters, the sacred monogram: 'IHS'.

The tomb-chest has four panels with complex quatrefoils with Tudor roses at each centre, alternating with three trefoil niches.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

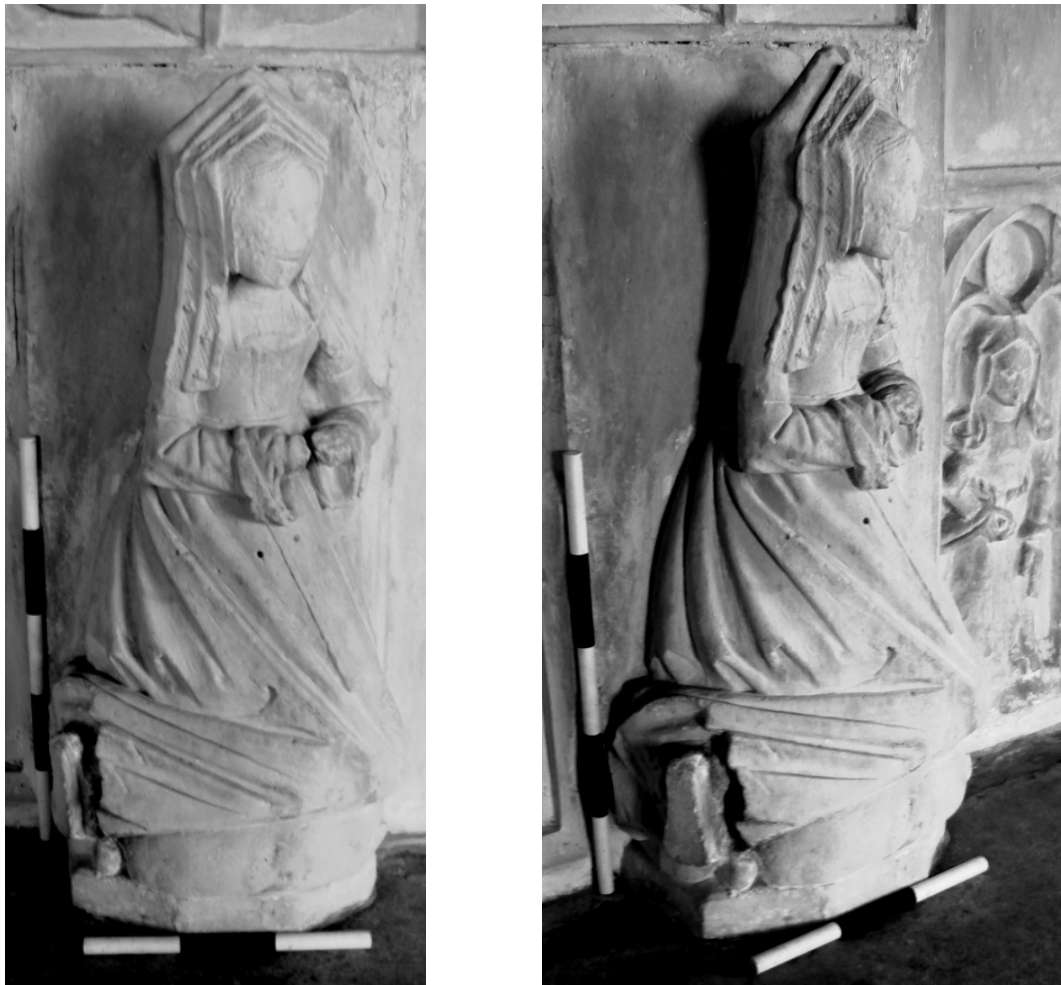
(20) *Number of separate components*: 49.



▲ Fig. 184: *Figures from the left-hand side of the main effigy. The beggar on the left has a crutch. Scales: 50 cm. and 30 cm.*



▲ Fig. 185: *Effigies of the poor and sick on the right side of the main effigy. Scales: 50 and 30 cm.*



▲ Fig. 186: Two views of the effigy of Lady Margaret Wadham, kneeling on a cushion. The figure is carved from a single massive block of Caen stone, cemented into the back wall of the monument. Scales: 50 cm. and 30 cm.

(21) *Lost components*: None, although it is possible that the bases, (9 cm. in height and 21 cm. in width) of the side panels supported religious imagery.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest fascia is all one piece, 193 cm. wide and 40 cm. in height. On top is a bevelled Purbeck marble coverstone, 198 cm. in width and 58 cm. in depth, with a bevelled or chamfered edge. This is three cm. in height - compared to the 2.5 cm. of the chamfers of the adjoining Caen stone modules and this is confirmatory evidence of manufacture of these components in two places.

The figures of the 'poor and impotent' folk in niches on the back wall are carved in separate blocks. Above them, the trefoiled arcading is inserted in five separate blocks, with a single component containing the shield at centre.

Within the arch, the curved soffit is in four pieces, with a join in the centre of a boss on which is carved a Tudor rose. The tracery at left differs markedly from that on the right.

As usual with these tombs, separate blocks contain the spandrels with sections of the arch and frieze, but the centre of the arch forms a keystone. Above, the shafts, left and right, also include portions of the crenellated cornice.



▲ Fig. 187: Two views of upper part of effigy of Lady Margaret Wadham at CARISBROOKE, showing the delicate carving of the decoration to her pedimental head-dress with lappets and her hair beneath. Effigy is 79.4 cm. in height.

(23) *Description of figures:* Lady Margaret Wadham kneels obliquely, facing what would have been the main altar in the chancel. She is wearing a delicately carved pedimental head-dress with lappets hanging down on her shoulders on either side. She wears an over-gown over some form of tunic and her round-toed shoes protrude beneath the skirts of her gown.

The small effigies on either side of her are from left to right: (1) Man with crutch, 52.5 cm. in height (2) Lady with a veiled head-dress and a belted gown, 50.7 cm. in height, (3) A beggar with his hand on his heart, 51 cm. in height, (4) A woman, 51.7 cm. in height; (5) A bearded man

with his hand on his heart, 52.3 cm. in height and (6) A younger man with a crutch, 52.8 cm. in height. All seem to be holding purses, presumably for the receipt of alms.

(24) *Paint traces?* None. In 1719 the monument was covered with whitewash (Woodward, 1861-9, vol. 3, 55).

(25) *Religious iconography:* Extant ☐ Erased ☐ Destroyed later ☒

(26) *Description:* N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method:* N/A.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Main effigy's nose and hands have been smashed. Damage to cusping and crenellated cornice.



▲ Fig. 188: Angel bearing a shield with the sacred monogram at CARISBROOKE with the crenellated cornice and grapevine below. Height of angel: 29 cm.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Grapevine.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cusped arch, tomb-chest, trefoil panels, crenellated cornice.

*Renaissance elements*: None.

#### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☐  
*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒  
*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*: Not known.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: N/A.



▲ Fig. 189: Carved Tudor rose on boss in the centre of the soffit at CARISBROOKE, with a join in the centre (arrowed).

#### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height*: 248.9 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 292 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 63.8 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

From left to right:

1 - Height: 40 cm. Width: 37 cm.

2 - Height: 40 cm. Width: 35· 5 cm.

3 - Height: 40 cm. Width: 36 cm.

4 – Height: 40 cm. Width: 36·5 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Wife - Height: 79·4 cm. Width: 26 cm. Effigy is 18 cm. deep.

(40) *Other - Type:* See (23) above.

## (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type:* Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* One shield placed centrally on the back wall, above and behind the main effigy.

Height: 49 cm. Width: 45·5 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly of four, 1. *Gules a chevron between three roses argent* (WADHAM), 2. unidentified coat, 3. *Gules a fess and two bucks' heads in chief or* (POPHAM), 4. unidentified coat, impaling *Gules two wings conjoined in lure, or* (SEYMOUR), (Worsley, 1781, 92; Stone, vol. 2, 20).

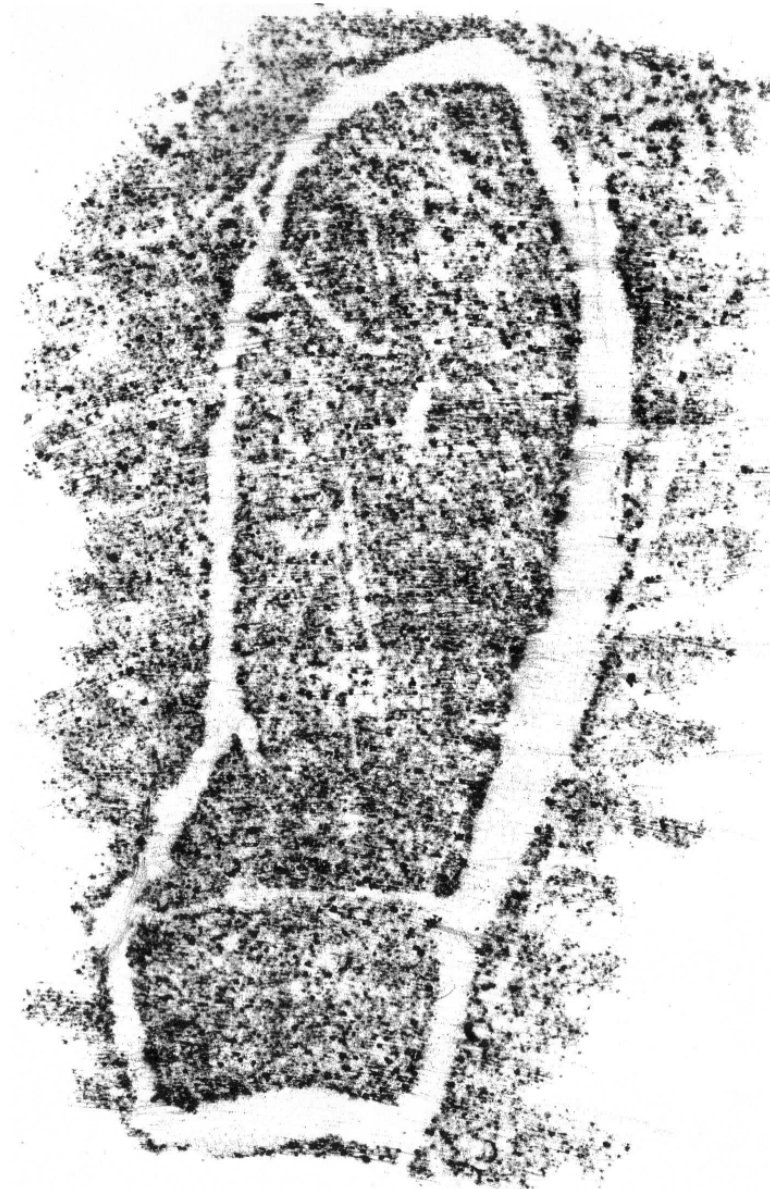


▲ Fig. 190: *Arms at CARISBROOKE with WADHAM and POPHAM and unidentified coats impaling SEYMOUR. Height: 49 cm.*

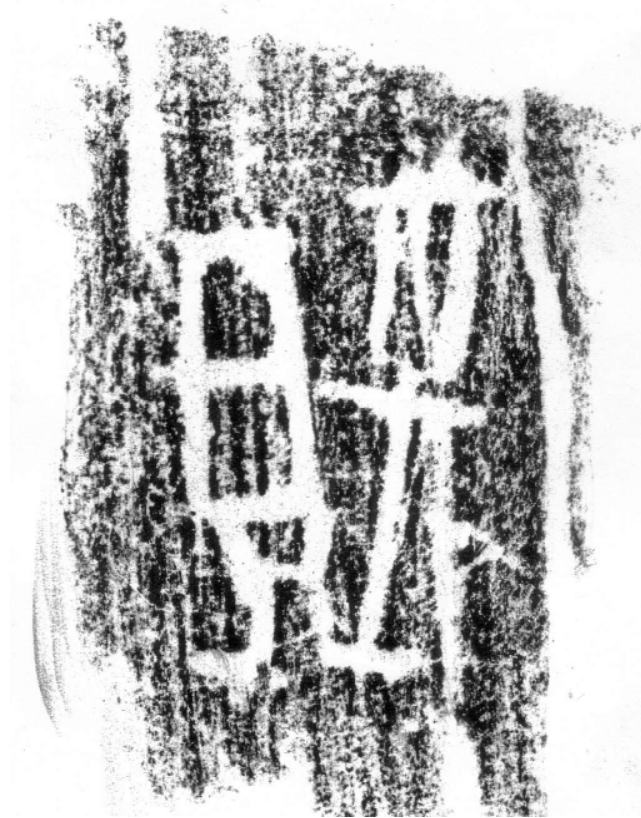


**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: Cross, 13.2 cm. in height, inscribed in the centre of a trefoil niche on right of blind arcading. Shoe shape, 16 cm. in length, cut into the single niche on the left hand side of the monument. Initials 'R.N' in seventeenth century script, 4 cm. in height, cut into lower trefoil niche, third from left. Circular shaped with internal scratchings, 4.5 cm. in diameter, on lower niche of side shaft. ?Initials and confused deep incision, resembling a merchant's mark, 7 cm. in height, upper trefoil niche, third from right.

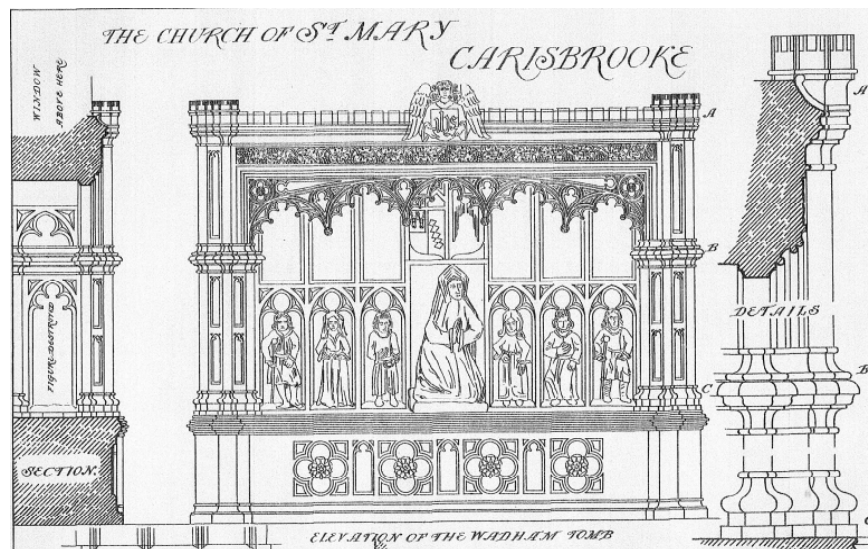


▲ Fig. 191: *Shoe shape, 16 cm. in length, deeply incised in single niche on left hand side of monument at CARISBROOKE.*



▲ Fig. 192: *Confused scratching, seven cm. in height, resembling a merchant's mark, upper trefoil niche, third from right at CARISBROOKE*

(43) *Antiquarian drawings: Stone, 1891, vol. 2, pl. 76.*



▲ Fig. 193: *Measured drawing of CARISBROOKE monument done in the late nineteenth century. (After Stone, 1891, vol. 2, pl. 76)*

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 8 June 2009.

(45) *Biographical information:* Lady Margaret Wadham was the daughter of John Seymour of Wolf Hall in Wiltshire and aunt (some sources say sister) to Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII. She was the second wife (of four) of Sir Nicholas Wadham, (c.1472-1541), captain of the IOW and of Carisbrooke Castle 1509-20, when he was succeeded by James Worsley (LP, vol. 1, 13; vol. 3, 298). He was vice admiral to the Earl of Surrey in 1523 and was elected MP for Somerset in 1529. Wadham was an ally of Thomas Cromwell and took his son Gregory into his household. His grandson by his first wife was Nicholas Wadham who, with his wife Dorothy, founded the Oxford College.

Lady Margaret apparently founded a local hospital for the 'sick and impotent' – hence the iconography on her tomb – about which there is no information. She died before 1519 as on 13 May that year, Wadham and his third wife, Elizabeth, late wife of Sir Giles Bruges deceased, were granted Bruges' lands in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire (LP, vol. 3, pt. 1, 93).

Monument number: 06

## Brading I, IoW, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SZ 6066 8731/SZ 68 NW 30.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Mary the Virgin.

(3) *Location:* High Street, Brading, IoW, PO36 06D.

(4) *Commemorated:* William Howlys.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* 1520.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 4. The blackletter script on the shields and the style of panels, with Gothic Kentish cusps, are similar to PRESTON EPISCOPI.

The rose motif on the tomb-chest resembles that at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I and on that found on the soffit at GODSHILL and CARISBROOKE.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* Between north or de Aula chapel and the chancel, 221 cm. from the east wall of the north chapel, beneath the east arch of the arcade.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* N/A.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Linked with BRADING II, his wife's tomb on the north wall of the north chapel.

The inscription unusually continues on the second monument, suggesting they may have been erected concurrently.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒



▲ Fig. 194: *Tomb of William Howlys, c.1520 at BRADING I. The inscription is unusually inscribed on the shields on the north, west and south sides of the monument. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: White Caen stone with brown Purbeck marble coverstone.

(18) *Description*: Tomb-chest with three cusped quatrefoil panels on the north and diamond-shaped panels on the west and south sides. The western panel is flanked by thin trefoil niches on each side. The eastern face is hidden by the north wall of the chancel.

An inscription in raised-letters is carved on the six shields, beginning at the east end of the north face. A Tudor rose is carved in the centre of the south fascia *vice* a shield. On top is a brown Purbeck marble coverstone with a bevelled edge.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: Six, plus eight Caen stone blocks for footings.

(21) *Lost components*: None.

(22) *Method of construction*: North and south panels carved all of a piece.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces*? Deep red present on shields and a considerable amount of a vermillion pigment remains on the Tudor rose in the centre of the south fascia.

(25) *Religious iconography*: None present

(26) *Description*: N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method*: N/A.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good.

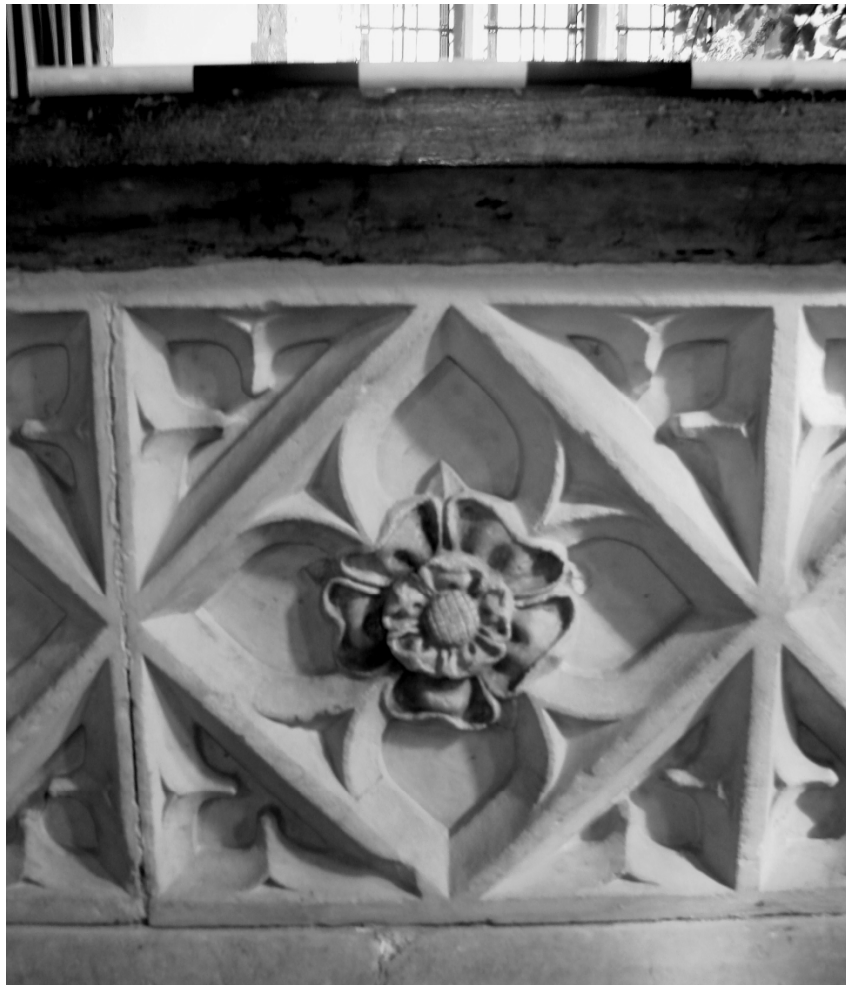
**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: None.

(31) *Other*: None.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cusped panels; blackletter ulc inscription.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 195: *The Tudor rose in the centre of the south side of BRADING I, with a considerable amount of pigment remaining. Scale: 50 cm.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

The inscription is carved in raised-letters on shields running from the east end of the north side, then on a shield on the west face, and finally on two shields on the south side of the altar tomb. These are separated by the centre panel which contains a Tudor rose.

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*:

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line)

*Line 1* (Shield 1 from east end, north side) *Th'u / haue /*

*Line 2* (Shield 2) *mer / ci on /*

*Line 3* (Shield 3) *Wyl / iiam /*

*Line 4* (Shield 4, west end) *ho / wyls /*

*Line 5* (Shield 5, south side) *solyl / ame' /*

*Line 6* (Shield 6) *m / rrrr xx.*

*Errors*: None.

*Erasures*: None.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls* (left to right): N/A.



▲ Fig 196: *The inscription, in raised blackletter ulc, on shields one and two on the north face of the altar tomb to William Howlys at BRADING I. Scales: ten cm.*



▲ Fig. 197: Shields three and four on the north and west sides of BRADING I. Note the change in design from quatrefoils on the north side to diamond panels on the west and south sides. Scales: 50 cm. and ten cm.



▲ Fig. 198: Shields five and six on the south fascia of the altar tomb at BRADING I, with the last providing the date of death, 1520. Scales: ten cm.

#### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) Monument height: 94.5 cm.



(36) *Monument width*: 169 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 88.5 cm.

The Purbeck coverstone is 169 cm. in length; 88.5 cm. in depth and 8.2 cm. thick.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Panel 1 (north side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Panel 2 (north side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 44.5 cm.

Panel 3 (north side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Panel 4 (west side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 44.5 cm.

Panel 5 (south side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 45.5 cm.

Panel 6 (south side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 45.5 cm.

Panel 7 (south side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 44.5 cm.

Panel 8 (south side) - Height: 46.5 cm. Width: 46 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

#### **(F) - Heraldry**

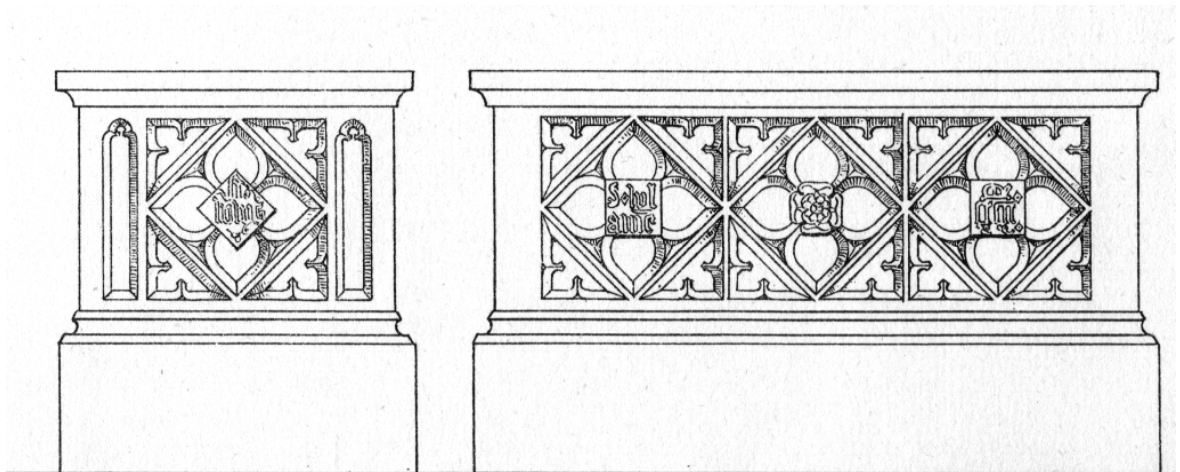
(41) *Heraldry*: None.

*Number and position*: N/A.

#### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Stone, 1891, vol. 1, pl. xii.



▲ Fig. 199: *Measured drawing of BRADING I* (after Stone, 1891, vol.1, pl. xii), *showing the west and south faces*.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 23 April 2009.

(45) *Biographical Information*: Howlys or Howles is a derivation of de Aula. There is no evidence to suggest that this family were responsible for the rebuilding of the chapel in the fifteenth century, even though the structure is traditionally named after them. Little is known of William Howlys: he served on the commission of array for the Isle of Wight in July 1511, (LP, vol. 1, 273). Howlys may have been married twice; firstly to a Joan and secondly to Elizabeth.

In 1514, he leased the manor of West Milton and East Standen in Brading from Joan Cooke (RUSTINGTON II), who may have been his daughter by his speculative first wife. In her will (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.22v) she asked for prayers to be said for 'William Howles and Joane his wife'. Later in the sixteenth century the tenancy came into the hands of the Meux and Bannister families (Page, 1912, vol. 5, 162)

Monument number: 07

## Brading II, IoW, c.1520

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SZ 6066 8731/SZ 68 NW 30.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Mary the Virgin.

(3) *Location:* High Street, Brading, IoW, PO36 06D.

(4) *Commemorated:* Elizabeth Howlys.

(5) *Purpose:* Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☐  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☐  
 (6) *Type:* Military & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Civilian & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Lady ☒  
 Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐  
 Other ☐ Not known ☐

(7) *Date of death:* Not known. Possibly second wife to William Howlys.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1520. Erected at the same time as BRADING I.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 4, on the basis of the affinity of the blackletter ulc script and style of panels, with PRESTON EPISCOPI and BRADING I.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of north chapel, 254 cm. from east wall of chapel.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* N/A.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Linked with BRADING I, the tomb of her husband William. Her inscription reads on from that carved on William Howlys' monument.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* White Caen stone with a Purbeck marble coverstone.

(18) *Description:* Tomb-chest with wide double niche containing shields at west end, with three cusped quatrefoil panels on south face, two with shields and the centre displaying a large Tudor

rose. Like her husband's tomb, the shields contain an inscription in carved raised capitals. The east end is blank. On top is a bevelled brownish Purbeck marble coverstone.



▲ Fig. 200: *Monument of Elizabeth Howlys, c.1520 at BRADING II. Similar design to her husband's monument and executed at the same time. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date:* Some repairs probably undertaken in the eighteenth century: a brick of this date is embedded at the foot of the east face of the monument which may have been reconstructed during this period.

(20) *Number of separate components:* 12.

(21) *Lost components:* None.

(22) *Method of construction:* The tomb-chest consists of four separately carved panels, with a blank panel at the east end, placed on four tapered Caen stone blocks used as footings. On top is a bevelled Purbeck marble coverstone.

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography*: None present.

(26) *Description*: N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method*: N/A.

(28) *When?* N/A.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: N/A.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cusped quatrefoil panels, double cusped niche at the west end and blackletter ulc.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 201: West end of tomb of Elizabeth Howlys, BRADING II, showing the beginning of her inscription on two shields within a double niche, with curious flamboyant flourishes as decoration beneath. Scale: 50 cm.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

Like BRADING I, carved on shields on the west end and south face of the tomb-chest and broken by a carving of a Tudor rose at the centre of the south fascia. Two flamboyant flourishes are below the script on the two shields at the west end.

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line)

*Line 1* (Shield 1, left of pair at west end) *heli*z

*Line 2* (Shield 2, right of pair at west end) *abeth*

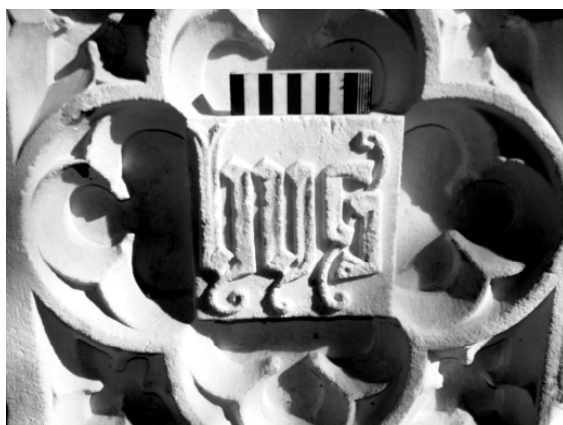
*Line 3* (Shield 3, left, south face) *hys*

*Line 4* (Shield 4, right, south face) *wyf*

*Errors*: None.

*Erasures*: None

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: N/A.



▲ Fig. 202: Shields three and four on south face of BRADING II with the conclusion of the inscription. Scale: ten cm.

(35) *Monument height*: 93.4 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 149.2 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 73.5 cm.

Purbeck marble coverstone measures 143.9 cm. in width; 65.7 cm. in depth and 8.5 cm. thick.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 45.6 cm. Width: 42 cm.

Centre - Height: 45.6 cm. Width: 43 cm.

Right - Height: 45.6 cm. Width: 44.5 cm.

On the west face, the double niche is 38 cm. in height and 45 cm. in width.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

(40) *Other - Type*: N/A.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: None.

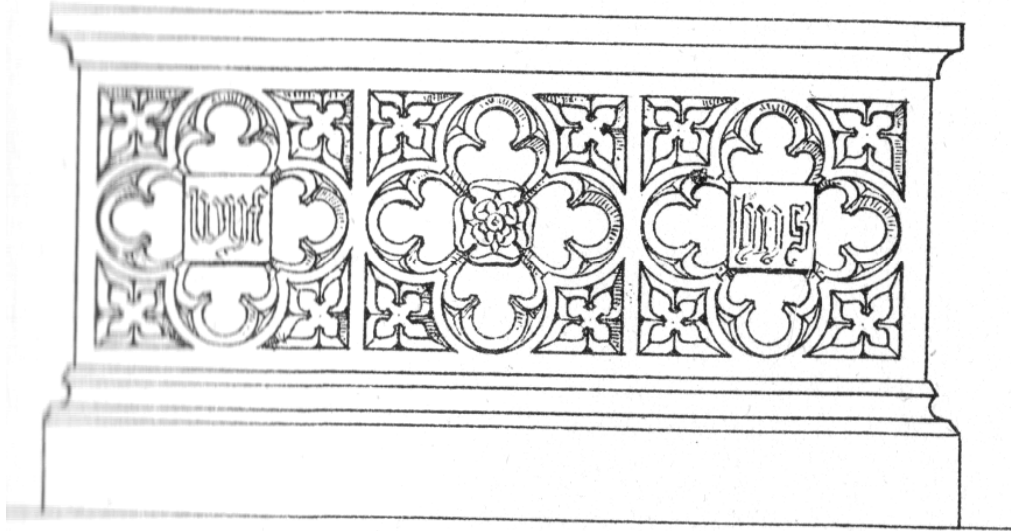


▲ Fig. 203: *Tudor rose in the centre panel of the south face of the tomb-chest of BRADING II. Scale: 50 cm.*

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Stone, 1891, vol. 1, pl. xii.



▲ Fig. 204: *Measured drawing of BRADING II*, (after Stone, 1891, vol.1, pl. xii), showing the south face.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 23 April 2009.

(45) *Biographical Information*: As BRADING I.



Monument number: 08

## Broadwater I, c. 1524

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 14661 04396/ TQ 10 SW 19.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Mary.

(3) *Location*: Broadwater Road, Worthing, West Sussex BN14 8HT.

(4) *Commemorated*: Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr and wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Copley (*see* KINGSTON BUCI).

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death*: 11 October 1525 at his seat at Offington (Atree, 1912, 235).

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1524. West's will, dated 8 October 1524, requests burial in 'the Tombe of freestone within the Chauncell of the parishe Church of Brodwater' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.11) implying it had already been erected. His wife, Eleanor, in her will dated 10 May 1536, asked for burial 'in the tombe with my lord Thomas LaWare my late bedfellow being in the Chauncell of the parishe Churche of brodewater' (TNA, PROB 11/25, fol.308).

(9) *Will reference*: TNA, PROB 11/22, fols.11-14 (West); TNA, PROB 11/25, fols.308-308v (Dame Eleanor West).

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence factor: 5. The monument's triple ogee arches resemble the single arch at KINGSTON BUCI. The frieze is similar to some panels on BOXGROVE I and the lost friezes at WEST WITTERING II and WISTON.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of chancel, 3.62 metres from east wall.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments*: The tomb had 'paintings on the back and sides' (Mayo, 1995, 8; Harrison 1932, 11) – presumably religious imagery.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒



▲ Fig. 205: *Monument (and Easter Sepulchre) to Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, c.1524, on north wall of chancel, BROADWATER I. Scale: two metres.*

## **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Light grey Caen stone for tomb-chest and lower portion of monument and creamy stone forming the entablature, implying either different shipments of stone or imports from different quarries.

(18) *Description*: The entablature has three crocketed ogee arches springing from five-sided piers and two central columns, all capped with bulbous finials, decorated with acanthus leaves. These have shallow canopied niches containing images of saints – predominantly bishop-saints – now all effaced. The lower portion of the entablature has three sections of tall, thin blind trefoil niches, five in each section.

Above is a frieze of sinuous trailing mythical plants, similar to those found on the panels at BOXGROVE I. Above, forming the top of the monument, are three friezes, with left to right, two grotesque bearded masks facing two swans (fig. 98, volume one, page 184); two naked cherubs with mermaid tails grasping an urn (fig. 99, volume 1, page 185) and two griffins' heads, flanked by stylised dolphins, with a full-face mask wearing a hat with a curved brim (fig. 100, volume one, page 185). Beneath the canopy are five bulbous pendants, the front two larger than the three within the recess.

The tomb-chest has four panels with complex cusping, bearing single shields and is separated by five wide niches bearing figures of saints with the BVM in a mandorla in the central niche. At the top is a frieze with a grotesque mask (?a Green Man) from whose mouth springs a trailing 'mystic' rose (fig. 101, volume 1, page 186), the symbol of the BVM.

Various heraldic badges associated with the de la Warrs, together with the initials 'T' for 'Thomas' and 'E' for 'Eleanor' are carved on the bases of the two piers. Set rather incongruously within the recess is a Gartered shield bearing the arms of LA WARR.

A Flemish or Italian jousting helm of c.1520 was once associated with this monument as part of a garniture of funerary armour (fig. 72, volume one, page 151). There seems little doubt that this helm was made for use in the tiltyard or the battlefield rather than for mere decoration. This helm may be the object seen lying in front of the tomb in Grimm's drawing of 1780 (fig. 211, page 332). A photograph of the monument in the early twentieth century shows it on top of the cornice, over the middle frieze (Harrison & Leeney, 1933, 125) and in the late nineteenth century it was chained to the hasp still embedded in the coverstones of the tomb-chest (Burgess, 1879, 78). Earlier still, it did service hanging in front of the pulpit as a collection box for alms for the poor (Harrison, 1932, 17). After some controversy, it was sold for £22,000 in 1974 to the Royal Armouries and is now on display in the Royal Armouries galleries in Leeds (WSRO, PAR 29/4/25).



▲ Fig. 206: Massive pendants at the base of the central shafts and (right) the central boss within the recessed canopy with Renaissance decoration at BROADWATER I.



▲ Fig. 207: Entablature at BROADWATER I with three crocketed ogee arches and blind trefoil niches beneath a frieze of twisted mythical plants and three Renaissance panels between the large finials to the shafts.

(19) Restored:

YES



NO



Details/Date: The monument has been 'skilfully repaired' (Harrison & Leeney, 1933, 125). The

back wall is now plastered over. ?Early twentieth century.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 69 plus 12 blocks as footings and others forming the sides and the back wall of the recess, now plastered over.

(21) *Lost components*: Painted iconography.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest is in three sections, divided down the centre of shields, covered by six separate slabs, now cracked and uneven. The soffit is in four sections with joins to right and left of the bosses which form separate components. These presumably were cemented into place before being placed within the recess.

The five-sided piers are in eight sections with separate blocks for the canopied niches containing images of saints.

On the entablature, the blind trefoil niches are in three sections, divided into two layers with the central shafts forming individual modules. The three panels at the top were slotted in between components forming the base of the four bulbous finials. These are separate, placed on top and probably held by wrought iron dowel pins.

A number of patches were inserted in the moulding of the tomb-chest and in the right-hand pier as repairs during construction (fig. 42, volume one, page 105).

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces*? None remaining but the monument was said to have been painted and gilded: 'At one time the back of the wall was adorned with paintings of some saintly subject and interspersed with gilding which was found on other parts of the memorial' (Brailsford, 1888, 96).

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> :					
	Carved	<input type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>Type</i> :					
Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: The piers have two canopied niches containing the effaced images of predominantly bishop-saints as indicated by the outline of their mitres and crosiers. The upper niches were roughly chiselled away; the lower one neatly polished off, together with the canopies above their heads

On the tomb-chest were images of other saints. Left to right, they were: A bishop; ?a female saint; Our Lady of the Assumption in a mandorla; St George (fig.130, volume one, page 215) and an unidentified saint, perhaps with an animal at the foot. These have been roughly chiselled off.



▲ Fig. 208: *Erasures of saints on the tomb-chest at BROADWATER I. Left to right, a bishop; ?a female saint and an unidentified saint, perhaps with an animal. Note the rough chiselling. Scales: ten cm.*



◀ Fig. 209: *Erasures of bishop-saints on left-hand pier at BROADWATER I.*

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Both roughly chiselled off and carefully smoothed down to erase, possibly by two different hands - or two different periods of erasure?

(28) *When?* Possibly after the destruction of the shrines to St Thomas à Becket and St Richard at Canterbury and Chichester in September and December 1538 and during the Edwardine Reformation 1547-53.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Twisted trails of mythical flowers, similar to BOXGROVE I.

(31) *Other:* Three Renaissance panels on top of monument, described earlier.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Canopied niches for saints, tomb-chest (the panels are similar to Purbeck marblers' designs) triple ogee arches, crocketed and finialled, blind trefoil niches.

*Renaissance elements:* Friezes and decoration to pendants and frieze with Mask and trailing rose along the top of the tomb-chest.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☐  
*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐  
*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* Position and nature of inscription not known.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* N/A.

### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height:* 2.138 metres.

(36) *Monument width:* 315.7 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 82 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left to right:

1 - Height: 41.5 cm. Width: 37 cm.

2 - Height: 41.5 cm. Width: 36.8 cm.

3 - Height: 41.5 cm. Width: 37 cm.

4 - Height: 41.3 cm. Width: 37 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other* - Type: N/A.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved

☒ Painted ☐

Type: Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Central Gartered shield, with two smaller shields on each pier and two shields on the central shafts.

Central Gartered shield - Height: 43 cm. Width: 39 cm.

*Blazon*: Quarterly of 4, 1. and 4. *Gules, crusily fitchy, a lion rampant argent* (LA WARR), 2. and 3. *Azure, three leopards' heads inverted jessant-de-lis or* (CANTELUPE). Note: The crosslets normally on the la Warr coat are not shown (Lambarde, 1931, 233).

Lower left pier - Height: 23 cm. Width: 18 cm.

*Blazon*: *Gules, crusily fitchy a lion rampant argent* (LA WARR).

Upper left pier – Height: 23 cm. Width: 18 cm.

*Blazon*: *Azure three leopards' heads inverted jessant-de-lis or* (CANTELUPE).

These are repeated, interchanged in position, on the right-hand pier, with the same measurements.



▲ Fig. 210: The de la Warr lion rampant on the lower shield, 23 cm. in height on the left pier at BROADWATER I with **right**, the Gartered arms of LA WARR quartered with CANTELUPE. Scale: 50 cm.



Tomb-chest, left to right:

(1) – Height: 15 cm. Width: 10 cm.

*Blazon*: LA WARR without the crosslets.

(2) - Height: 15 cm. Width: 10 cm.

*Blazon*: One of the leopard heads from the CANTELUPE arms.

(3) - Height: 15 cm. Width: 10 cm.

*Blazon*: LA WARR without the crosslets.

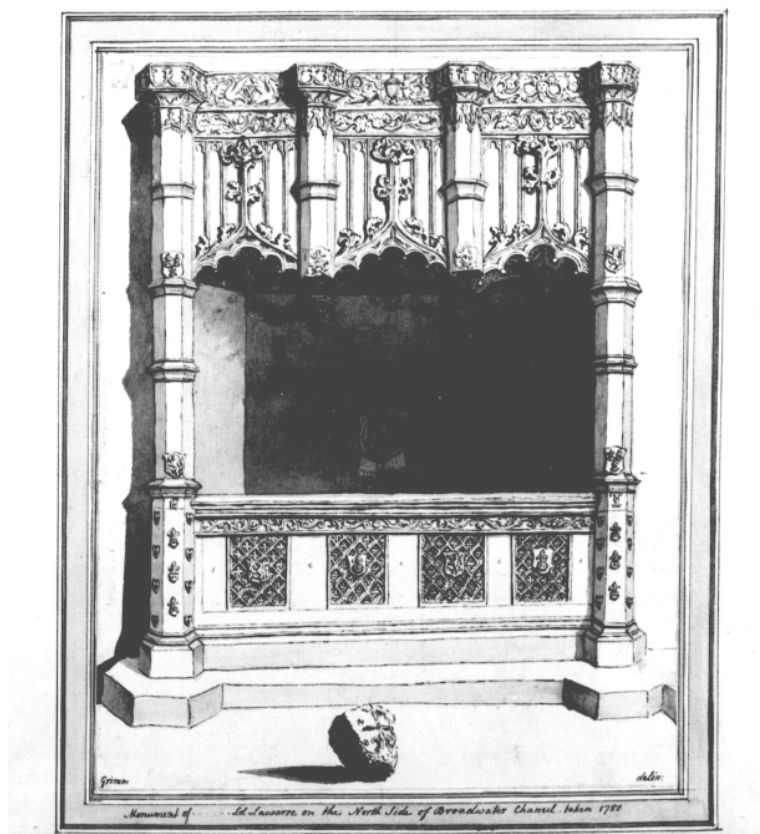
(4) – Height: 15 cm. Width: 10 cm.

*Blazon*: One of the leopard heads from the CANTELUPE arms.

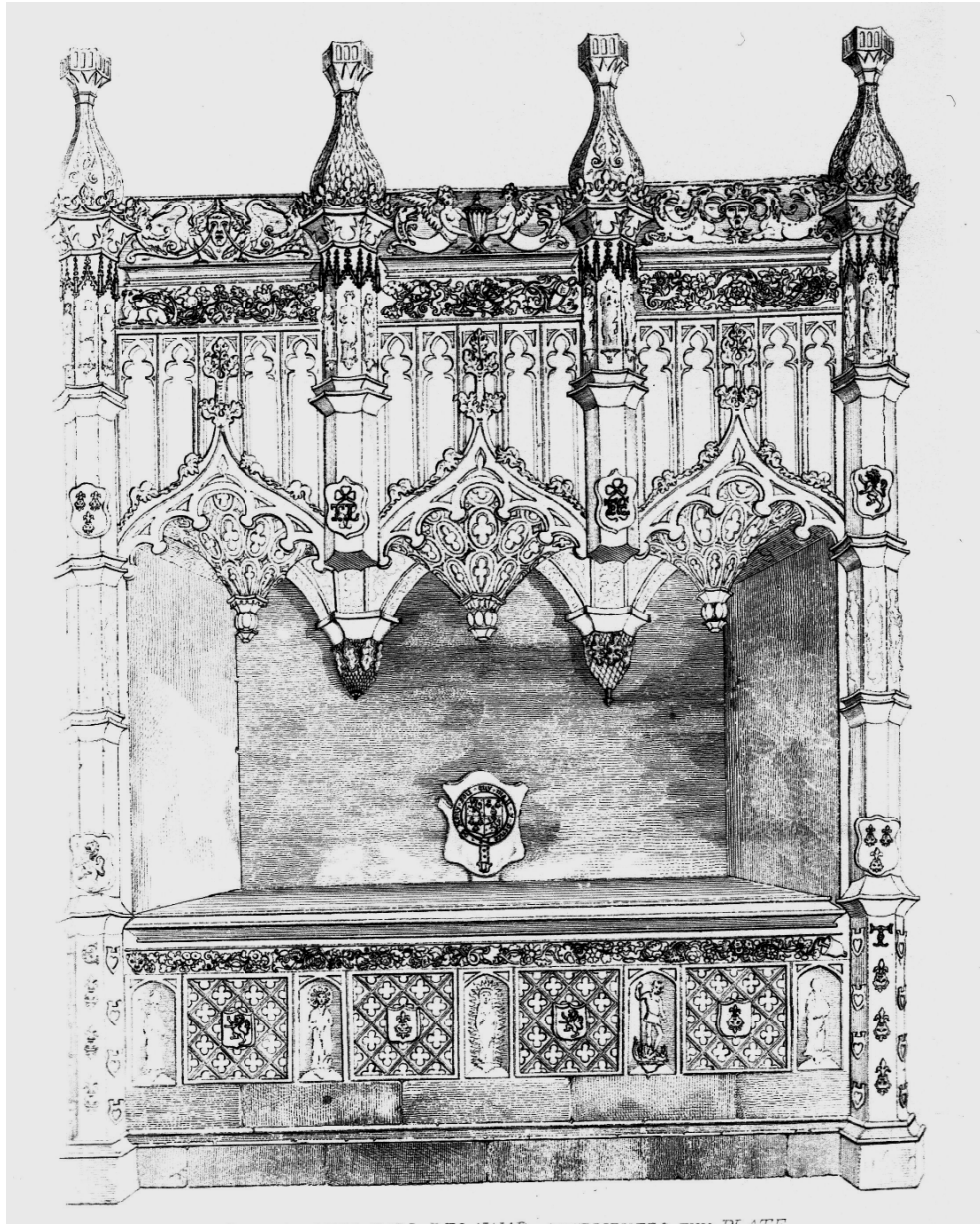
### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: Assemblage of late seventeenth century graffiti on right-hand pier, with dates and initials (*see* Fig. 143, volume 1, 231). Crosses (?votive crosses) inscribed on left hand pier, together with initials in seventeenth century lettering 'M N' and 'T H' and 'M M' with the date '1819'.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by S. H. Grimm, dated 1780, is in BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 61. Another engraving of the tomb dates from the early nineteenth century (Dallaway and Cartwright, 1833, vol. 3, facing 38).



◀ Fig. 211: Grimm's drawing, dated 1780, of BROADWATER I. (BL, Add. MS 5,673, fol. 61. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 212: *Early nineteenth century engraving of BROADWATER I* (after Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol. 3, facing 38).

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 3 June 2009.

(45) *Biographical information:* Sir Thomas West I was born around 1457 and was created a Knight of the Bath in 1478. He was apparently a supporter of Henry VII, for which service he received grants of various manors in Sussex (Harrison & Leeney, 1933, 126). West was summoned to Parliament 1482-1523. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1510 (Comber, 1933, 305). He first married Elizabeth daughter of Hugh Mortimer of Mortimer's Hall, Hampshire, and by her had six

sons and five daughters. The eldest, Thomas, succeeded him as ninth baron de la Warr, but the other five sons died without issue. Of the daughters, only Eleanor survived childhood and married Sir Edward Guildeford, constable of Dover Castle and Marshal of Calais.

He married secondly, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Roffey, near Horsham, Edward Lewknor II at KINGSTON BUCI also married one of Copley's daughters. By Eleanor, he had seven sons and two daughters. These were: Sir Owen West (will proved 30 October 1551), Sir George, Leonard, (MP for New Shoreham 1554), Thomas, John, William and one other unnamed son. The daughters were Barbara, wife of Sir John Guildeford and Catherine, wife of Sir Nicholas Strelley; she died in October 1525 aged about 68 (Comber, 1933, 306-7).

In his will (TNA, PROB 11/22, fols. 11-14), West asked that his executors should bury 'me according to my honour as shall seme best by their distrecion and ij d in almes to be gevn to every man and woman that will come and Receyve it at the said Church of Brodewater'. To pay for his funeral, he instructed that 'my Colar of golde of garters my chayne I usuall were, my great Basyn and Ewer of silver, ij of my gretist pottes of silver and iij great goblettes with the Covers shalbe solde by my said executors'. He bequeathed to Broadwater church his 'mantell of blewe velwet of the garter and my gown of Crymsyn velwet belonging to the same mantel therwith incontynently after my decesse to make two awter clothes'. West gave his son and heir apparent 'all the hangings and beddings within my great chamber at Offyngton and the Chapell Chamber there and also the Chapell as it is nowe adorned with awter Clothes of white satten browdered with the garters and a bedde of Tynsell satten and Crymsyn Damasske browdered with myn arms and the garter and my Crymsyn velwet gowne furred with blak bage'.

The residue of his estate passed to his wife Eleanor, and after her death to Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr, who would have 'rule custody and keeping of my doughters unto the tyme they be married or otherwise avaunced. Provided always that if my said doughter Mary happen to entre into Religion and be professed a none afore she married That then she shall not have my bequest to hir made of five hundred marces nor yet have £10 for hir fynding till she be married. But that then she shal have towards and for the avaucement of hir profession oon hundred marces and £10 for her fynding till she be professed...' (TNA, PROB 11/122, fol. 308v).

Edward Lewkenor was one of the witnesses to the will.

Monument number: 09

## Chichester I, St Andrew Oxmarket, c.1525

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SU 8623 0482/SU 80 SE 116.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Andrew Oxmarket. (Now redundant and used as an arts centre).

(3) *Location*: St Andrew's Court, off East Street, Chichester, West Sussex PO19 1YH.

(4) *Commemorated*: Thomas Royes [Royse] and wife Joan.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> :	Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Grave	<input type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type</i> :	Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death*: Not known.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1525.

(9) *Will reference*: Not known.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Similar to other exterior monuments of this group at NORTH MUNDHAM and to a later member of the Royse family at CHICHESTER II. The "spotting" stab-marks seen on the mound between the two figures is associated with effigies on other monuments of this group, e.g. RACTON and CHURCH NORTON and CLAPHAM.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: Heads of figures smashed. Religious iconography erased rather than damaged. Badly weathered.

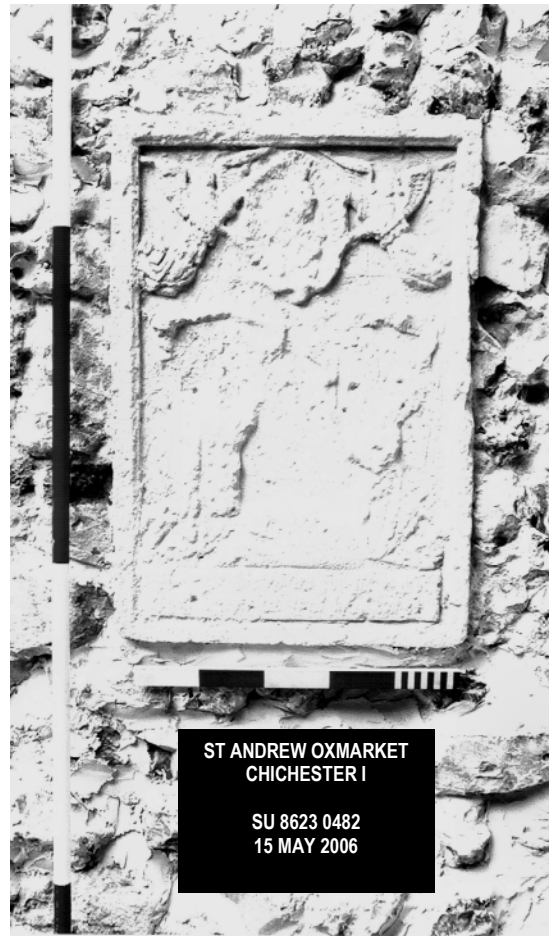
(13) *Position in structure*: Mural on exterior of thirteenth century south wall of structure, 104.3 cm. above pavement level and 93.5 cm. from junction of south-west buttress and south wall.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments*: None.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☐ ? ☒



▲ Fig. 213: *Previously anonymous exterior monument on south wall of St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester, now identified as commemorating Thomas Royse and wife. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: White Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: Kneeling figures of a civilian and wife, with a mound between them, with prayer scrolls rising above to an image of the Assumption of the BVM, supported by two vigorous angels, all within a chamfered frame. Beneath, a two line inscription in black letter raised ulc.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

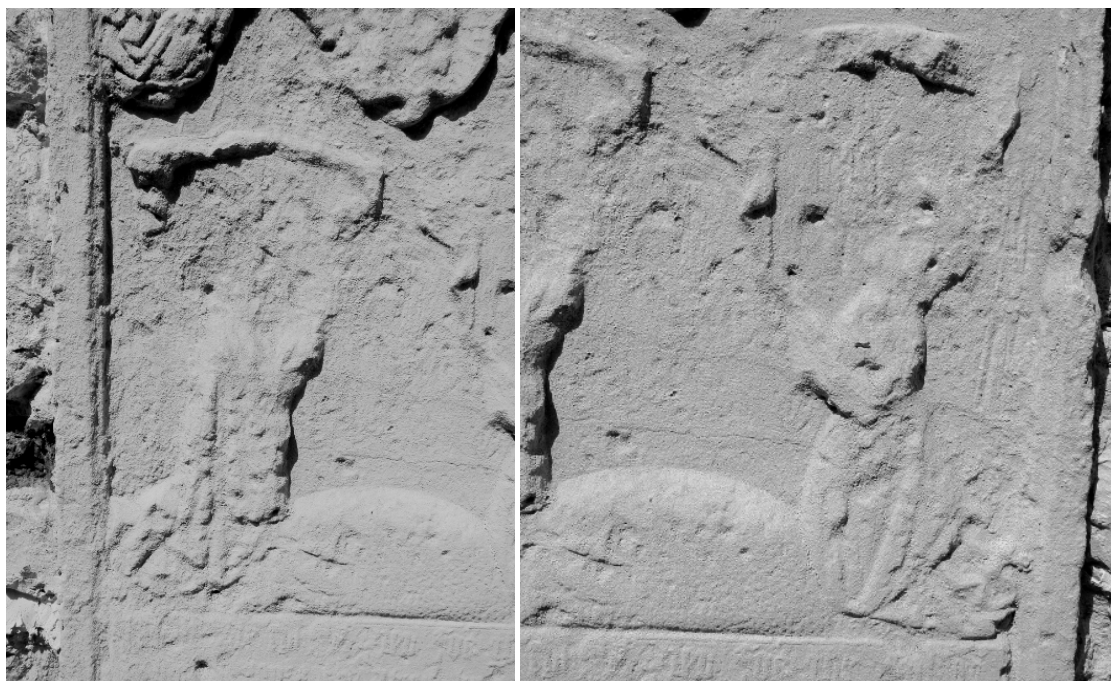
*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: Single slab.

(21) *Lost components?* None.

(22) *Method of construction*: Single slab with iconography carved in shallow relief.

(23) *Description of figures:* At left, male effigy, now headless, kneels before a semi-circular mound, wearing a furred gown, apparently with many folds and long sleeves. The feet stick out prominently from beneath the gown, very similar to the male figures at NORTH MUNDHAM. His wife, also



▲ Fig. 214: Close-ups of male (*left*) and female effigies, kneeling before a 'spotted' mound, heads raised towards religious iconography; all carved in shallow relief on CHICHESTER I. Height of male figure: 26 cm.

headless, kneels opposite on the edge of the mound. She has the remains of a pedimental or kennel head-dress with the lappets folded up, and is wearing an over-gown, secured at the waist by a girdle, with perhaps a rosary hanging from it.

(24) *Paint traces:* None. Unfortunately, the slab has recently been coated with cement paint which has obscured much of the remaining features.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i>	Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Erased	<input type="checkbox"/> Damaged later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i>	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>Type:</i>	Christ in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/> Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/> Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/> Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/> Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other saints	<input type="checkbox"/> Angels	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* The Assumption of the BVM, within a mandorla, supported by two flying angels, with hands clasped in prayer on either side, with curved prayer scrolls rising from the two kneeling effigies below.

(27) *Erasures:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Whilst the slab is heavily weathered, it is clear the heads of the angels have been destroyed, although a crude face has been scratched on the figure of the angel at left. The heads of the two main figures have also been smashed. The figure of the BVM may have been erased rather than smashed, although the shallowness of the relief carving might be a factor.



▲ Fig. 215: *The Assumption of the BVM, wearing a crown and surrounded by a rayed mandorla, supported by two vigorous angles with bent knees to indicate flight. The ribbons beneath are the remains of two prayer scrolls. The Assumption is 22.1 cm. in height.*

(28) *When?* Possibly during the Edwardine Reformation, although Chichester – particularly the Cathedral - suffered from damage by Parliamentary forces during the Civil War.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Poor. It is remarkable that this external monument has survived. It is badly weathered and regrettably, in the last few years, the slab has been coated with cement paint.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30-31) N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: The monument is purely Gothic in concept and its iconography parallels contemporary wall brasses made in London and elsewhere.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 216: *Figure of left hand angel from CHICHESTER I, 28 cm. in height, showing folds of garment and remains of quite delicate carving, indicating the feathers of the angelic wings. Note the crude face recarved on the figure.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) <i>Main inscription</i> :	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known/lost	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Position of text</i> :	Foot	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Frieze	<input type="checkbox"/> Chamfer	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Type</i> :	Capitals <input type="checkbox"/> Blackletter ulc	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rounded	<input type="checkbox"/> Humanist	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Text*:

*Line 1*: [Of your] cha[ri]te prey for the soule' of /



*Line 2: Thom[as] Ropes and Jhean hys [wife] /*

(Words within square brackets indistinct)

*Errors: None*

*Erasures: None*

(34) *Prayer Scrolls:* Both show no signs of carving, so the inscriptions may have been painted.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* None apparent.



▲ Fig. 217: *Two-line inscription in raised blackletter ulc, within second line border at foot of CHICHESTER I. Inscription is 44.5 cm. in length.*

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 78.6 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 53.8 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 23 mm. (Slab 4.5 cm. thick).

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 26 cm. (Reduced by erasures) Width: 14 cm.

Wife - Height: 30.1 cm. Width: 14.7 cm.

(40) *Other - Type:* Religious iconography Height: 22.1 cm. Width: 15.3 cm.

Left angel: 28 cm. height. Width: 18 cm.

Right angel: 27 cm. height. Width: 17.5 cm.

Male scroll: 19.8 cm. long. Width: 22 cm.

Female scroll: 20.1 cm. long. Width: 12 cm. (broken).

Inscription: 44.5 cm. in width; 7.5 cm. in height.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: N/A.

**(G) - Other Information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 15 May 2006; 25 July 2008.

(45) *Biographical Information*: None known. Possibly the parents of William Royse, d/ c.1540 (CHICHESTER II).

Monument number: 10

## Christchurch Priory I, Hants., c.1525

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SZ 1600 9245/SZ 19 SE 14.

(2) *Church dedication*: Holy Trinity.

(3) *Location*: Quay Road, Christchurch, Dorset, BH23 1BU

(4) *Commemorated*: Robert Harys, thirteenth vicar of the priory and rector of Shroton, now known as Iwerne Courtney, Dorset.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	Chantry	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: 1525.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1525.

(9) *Will reference*: Not known.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 3. The raised blackletter inscription is similar to other early monuments in this group. The design of the side-panels, the execution of the spandrels and the finials of the small canopied niches containing images, resemble those on BOXGROVE I.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North side of south quire aisle, squeezed between first and second piers on south side of the Great Quire, immediately adjoining on the east the choir stairway into the chancel. The chapel is 21.34 m. from the east end of the aisle and 7.32 m. from the west end.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: The south front of the chantry has reticulated open screen work with mouchettes and cusps and contemporary iron grillwork inserted within the openings. There is a doorway in the

centre, 66.5 cm, in width and 180 cm. in height, with a flattened arch and spandrels each bearing a shield with a hind or stag and a long trail of leaf-work.

Immediately above this doorway is a tall crocketed image niche with thin side shafts and a short and narrow triple canopy with intricate interior vaulting and crenellation. This is mirrored by smaller versions on the west and east corners. Beneath three trefoiled open screen work spaces with crenellated tops, there are one and a half cusped diamond panels, bearing shields or emblems, like a tomb-chest front, on the west side together with a blank panel at the western end, (perhaps originally with a painted image) and the other bearing two panels plus two halves on the east.



▲ Fig. 218: Chantry chapel to Robert Harys, c.1525 at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY. Scales: two metres.

One shield on the west side has a rebus - an initial 'R' with a carved hare below it - for 'R Harys' (fig.226, page 350). The two shields on the eastern side are blank and may have been painted. These panels are positioned above a low seat with cusped tracery laid sideways beneath. The rebus is also found on a scroll with carved raised blackletter entwined around a horizontal branch or rod, immediately beneath the moulded cornice on each side of the central image niche.

Inside, the tiny chapel, measuring 266 cm. in length and 148.5 cm in width, would have had an altar at the east end. There is a wooden ceiling, partly contemporaneous with the chapel. There is also a low flat arch in the north wall of the chantry, 96.5 cm in height and 279 cm. in width. Above is a later interloper – a white marble sarcophagus to Augusta Sophia, daughter of Benjamin Bullock, d. 1798, signed 'Hiscock, Christchurch'. There are also two holes through the wall immediately above the doorway, purpose unknown.

(19) *Restored:*

YES

☐ NO

☒

*Details/Date:* N/A.



◀ Fig. 219: *CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY 1* from an oblique angle from the south-east. Note the side panels on each side of the door, which have two small Tudor roses carved just below their upper edges.

(20) *Number of separate components*: at least 95.

(21) *Lost components*: None known.

(22) *Method of construction*: The chantry is built in a similar fashion to other monuments of this series. The base of the 'seats' on either side of the doorway, are six moulded horizontal blocks, one at the western end now somewhat perished. Above this, there are two cusped and traceried panels on the eastern side, and three on the west, incorporating the bases of the side shafts and the lower sections of the door jambs. The coverstones, which form the seat, number two on the east and three on the west.

The side panels, resembling the fascia of a tomb-chest, are in two portions on the eastern side, with joins in the middle of the shields and on the west are in three sections, with the left-hand, forming the base of a pillar and a portion of the adjoining blank panel. The shield bearing the rebus forms the centre panel and the right-hand portion, like its counterpart on the east, includes the lower jambs to the doorway. This has two vertical middle sections, and the spandrels are two parts, left and right, with a short keystone in the middle.

On both fascias, the moulding to the top are in separate sections, with the bases of the open work screen somehow slotted in. This lower screen is in three sections on both sides, with the cusped and crenellated tops separate components.

The upper traceried screen, east and west, is in two portions. The tall image niches begin with separate carved blocks forming the corbels which include a short section of the side shafts and the recess. The centre sections of their recesses are made up, curiously, of thin vertical blocks, topped by a square section laid horizontally. Above this are the triple canopies, crenellated, just squeezed in beneath the arcading.

The cornice, with its inscription is made up of three sections on each side.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography*: Extant ☐ Erased ☐ Destroyed later ☒

*Medium*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Not known.

(26) *Description*: The image niches have small corbels on which to position images, now lost.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Method*: The corbel for the niche at the eastern end has been smashed with a hammer and there is damage to the left and right of the recess.

(28) *When?* The Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: None.

(31) *Other*: Scroll entwined around a branch or vine stem just below cornice contains invocatory prayers.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Open work screen, panelling, image niches with triple canopies.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 220: *Western image niche with short triple canopy, complex vaulting and crenellation, with right, the start of the inscription beneath the cornice of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I*



▲ Fig. 221: *Smashed corbel on western niche of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I.*



▲ Fig. 222: Spandrels and crocketed image corbel in central niche at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I above the depressed arch of the doorway.



▲ Fig. 223: Western lower fascia of chantry at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, with the rebus for Robert Harys forming the shield in the central cusped diamond panel and the seat, 58 cm. in height above the traceried panels laid horizontally.

#### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) Main inscription: Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐



Position of text:      Foot      ☐ Frieze      ☒ Chamfer      ☐  
 Type:    Capitals      ☐ Blackletter ulc      ☒ Rounded      ☐ Humanist      ☐

Comments: Words are carved on each coil of the scroll wrapped around a horizontal rod. The text is interrupted by the central image niche and continues on the eastern end of the chantry.

Text (“/” denotes end of line)

Line 1 - **Th**e /

Line 2 - **L**ord /

Line 3 - **K**ing /

Line 4 - **o**f /

Line 5 - **bl**is /

Line 6 - **h**aue /

Line 7 - **mer**ci /

Line 8 - **on** h**im** pt / [central image niche]

Line 9 - **let** **ma**ke /

Line 10 - **th**is /

Line 11 - **the** **w**hyt**h** /

Line 12 - **was** /

Line 13 - **m**[a] **d**e /

Line 14 - **for** /

Line 15 - **R**ob[er]t /

Line 16 - **H**arys /

Line 17 - **A**no **d**m /

Line 18 - **m**cccc /

Line 19 - **xx**v /

Errors: None.

Erasures: None.

(34) Prayer Scrolls (left to right): N/A.

Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls: N/A.

### **(E)- Dimensions**

(35) Monument height: 417 cm.

(36) Monument width: 509 cm.

(37) Monument depth: 170 cm.

(38) *Measurement of fascia panels:*

West side, 110 cm. in width; 56 cm. in height:

Left - Height: 47 cm. Width: 27 cm. (half panel).

Centre - Height: 47 cm. Width: 50 cm. (with rebus).

Right - Height: 47 cm. Width: 21 cm. (half panel).

East side, 149 cm. in width; 56 cm. in height:

From left –

Panel 1 - Height: 47 cm. Width: 27 cm. (half panel).

Panel 2 - Height: 47 cm. Width: 47 cm.

Panel 3 - Height: 47 cm. Width: 48 cm.

Panel 4 - Height: 47 cm. Width: 22 cm. (half panel).

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other - Type:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 224: *Eastern section of the fascia of the chantry at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I, with the two cusped diamond panels bearing blank shields and two diminutive Tudor roses carved in the moulding above*



▲ Fig. 225: Section of the inscription on a scroll wrapped around a branch or vine stem, at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I.

#### (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved

☐ Painted ☒

Type: Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: One shield on the western fascia, bearing a rebus of the name of Robert Harys; two blank shields on the eastern fascia. Two small shields with a carved hind in the spandrels of the doorway.

Left - Height: 16.5 cm. Width: 13 cm. (rebus)

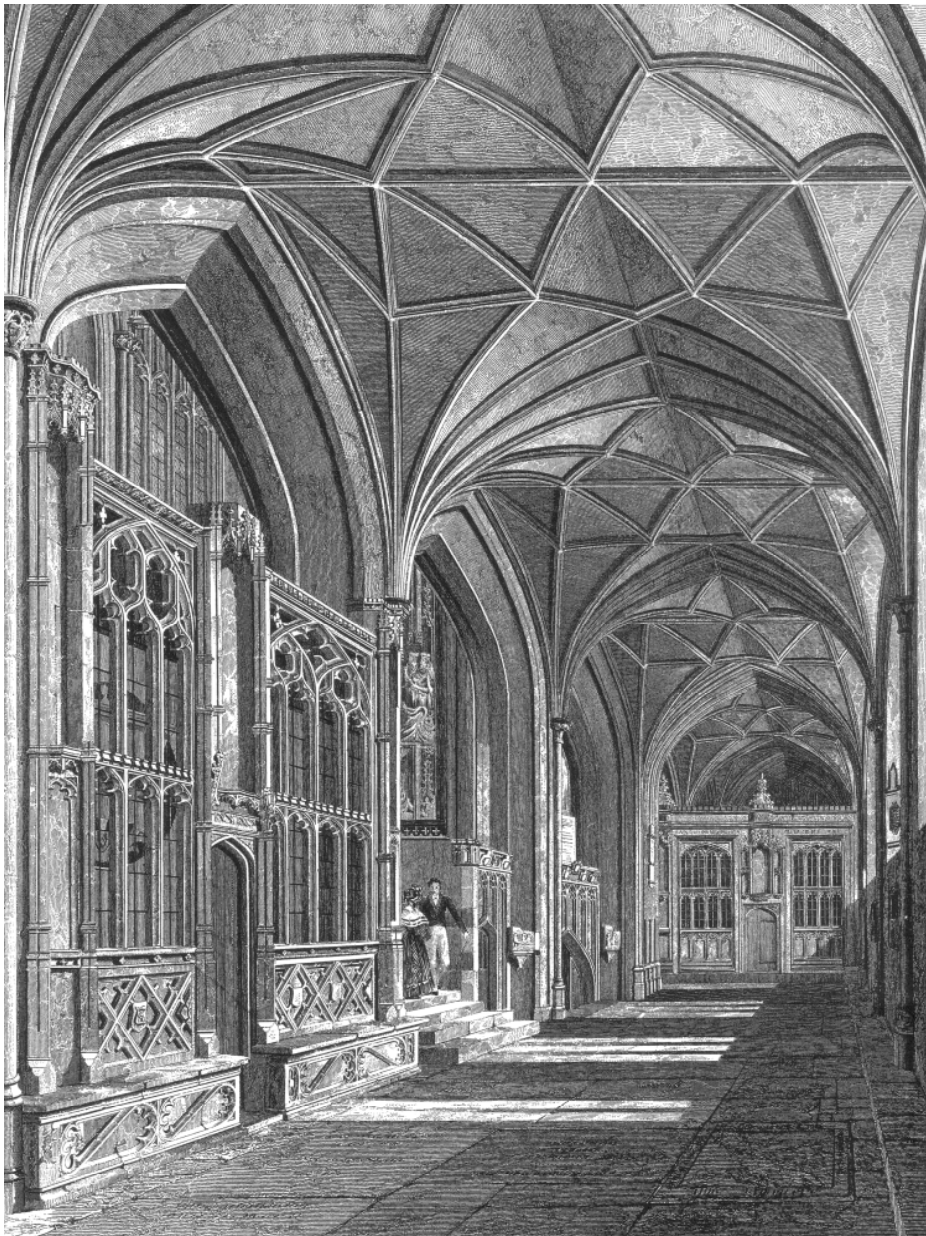


◀ Fig. 226: Rebus of Robert Harys – the letter 'R' and a hare on the shield on the west fascia of CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: The surface of the coverstone or seat on the eastern side of the chantry chapel has five graffiti of hands scratched upon it, and two of shoes. All appear to be right hands and are of varying size, but all approximating to actual size, i.e. they have been traced around living hands (figs. 51-2, volume one, page 114). Alongside one hand are the initials 'I B' in seventeenth century lettering, and probably was scratched after the hand. For further discussion of this graffiti, see chapter six.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing dated 1832 in Ferrey & Brayley, 1834, pl. 16.



◀ Fig. 227:  
CHRISTCHURCH  
PRIORY I shown in  
an engraving of  
1832. (After  
Ferrey & Brayley,  
1834, pl. 16).

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 6 October 2007; 15 September 2008.

(45) *Biographical information:* Harys was the thirteenth vicar of the priory, elected to that office in accordance with the edict of the Council of Arles in 1261 which required religious orders, (in this case the Augustinian) that held parish churches to appoint from their convent, vicars to officiate in services for the laity (Forster, 1985, 52). Harys was also rector of Shroton, now known as Iwerne Courtney, Dorset.

Monument number: 11

## Sompting, c.1525

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 1615 0564/TQ 10 NE 45

(2) *Church dedication*: St. Mary.

(3) *Location*: Church Lane, Sompting, Lancing, West Sussex BN15 0AZ.

(4) *Commemorated*: Richard Burré.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: 1527.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1525. Burré's will, dated 4 August 1527, asks for his burial 'in my Tumbe in the chaunsell of the churche of Sowntyng' (WSRO, STA I/1A/fol. 50) – evidence that it had been already erected.

(9) *Will reference*: WSRO, STA I/1A/fol. 50

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed canopy tomb with Gothic leaf cornice of similar type as other monuments in this series. Single angel motif, now incongruously placed in centre of back wall of recess, has affinity to those at GODSHILL, CARISBROOKE and KINGSTON BUCI.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of chancel, 296 cm. from east wall, immediately below east window.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments*: Although the religious iconography is apparently lost, the position is suggestive.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Grey/light cream Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: Tomb-chest with three quatrefoil cusped panels bearing shields, alternating with four thin cinquefoil niches. Octagonal shafts support a four-centre flattened arch with spandrels with an oak leaf and acorn design. The cornice has large Gothic leaves with a solid background, alternating with small balls.

The inscription was probably painted on the large bevel of the coverstone.

A block with a carved angel bearing a shield has been inserted into the back wall, presumably in place of lost religious imagery. This wall is slightly concave.

(19) *Restored*:

YES

☐

NO

☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.



▲ Fig. 228: Tomb of Richard Burré, c.1527 at SOMPTING, constructed as an Easter Sepulchre. The angel, now inserted in the back wall, may have originally been positioned above the cornice in the centre. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 33.

(21) *Lost components*: ?Religious iconography.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest rests on footings on four flat slabs, 7 cm. thick, placed on undressed blocks. At each corner is a block, 39 cm. in height, forming the moulded base of the octagonal side shafts, and a portion of the moulded base of the tomb-chest on the east and west faces. Three moulded blocks, 31 cm. high, form the base of the tomb-chest which consists of three panels – two niches and a quatrefoil forming one panel on either side of a central portion containing one quatrefoil and shield. There are cinquefoil niches on the east and west faces.

The coverstone, with a broad bevel, is made up of six slabs. The side shafts continued with two sections on each side, 35 cm. and 22 cm. in height respectively, which end just under the spandrels.

These are halve the top of the monument and include the cornice. At each corner, the side shafts terminate in a sharp ‘pencil’ point.

The left hand tomb-chest panel is badly cracked, which looks as if this is the result of the panel being dropped sometime in antiquity. Although there are cracks in spandrels and arch, probably caused by settlement, this damage may have been caused when the monument was being transported or being erected. There are also a number of neat repairs dovetailed into the moulded slabs forming the lower part of the tomb-chest which look like repairs done in the workshop, as the dressing with a claw chisel looks similar to surrounding blocks.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces*? None. The monument has been whitewashed.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type</i> : Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: Angel, standing amid clouds, very similar to KINGSTON BUCI, bearing shield. Face and head have been chiselled off.

(27) *Erasures*? YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method*: Chiselling off of angel’s head. ?Destruction of other religious iconography.

(28) *When*? Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Poor. Badly cracked in places.





▲ Fig. 229: *Head and face of angel bearing shield, neatly chiselled off at SOMPTING. Angel is 39.5 cm. in width.*

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Cornice*: Gothic leaves on solid base, alternating with small balls.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Recessed canopy tomb, tomb-chest, cornice, angel carrying shield.



◀ Fig. 230: *Oak leaf and acorn motif in spandrel and Gothic cornice at SOMPTING.*

*Renaissance elements:* None.

### **(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☐  
*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒  
*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* Probably painted. Now lost.

*Errors:* N/A.

*Erasures:* N/A.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* N/A.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 191 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 205 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 45.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left - Height: 39 cm. Width: 38 cm.

Centre - Height: 39 cm. Width: 37.5 cm.

Right - Height: 38.3 cm. Width: 37.3 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other - Type:* Angel.

Height: 38 cm. Width: 39.5 cm.

### **(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐  
*Type:* Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* Three on front of tomb-chest, plus one carried by angel now mounted on back wall of monument.

Carried by angel: *Azure, three cross keys in saltire or on a chief gules three dolphins argent (SALFISHMONGERS' COMPANY) impaling ... ?two bars... in chief a lion passant, (?)*. This has been assigned to TREGOZ (Lower, 1867, 182).

Left - Height: 18 cm. Width: 18.3 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly of four, 1. and 4... *three stags...* (?); 2. and 3. *?... in chief a leopard* (?).

Centre - Height: 18 cm. Width: 18.3 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly, gules and azure, in the first and fourth, a leopard's head in the second and third, a covered cup and in chief two buckles or, (GOLDSMITH'S COMPANY).

Right - Height: 18 cm. Width: 18.3 cm.

*Blazon:* SALTFISHMONGERS' COMPANY but within the three cross keys.



▲ Fig. 231: Three shields on the front of the tomb-chest at SOMPTING: (*left to right*): two unidentified coats impaling each other; the arms of the GOLDSMITH'S COMPANY and finally those of the SALTFISHMONGERS' COMPANY without the cross keys. Scale: ten cm.

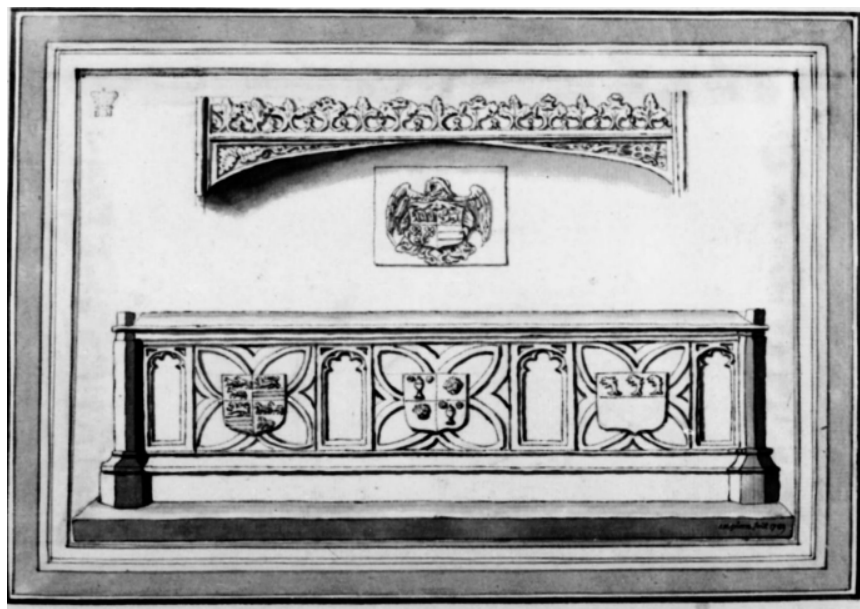


▲ Fig. 232: Angel bearing a shield with SALTFISHMONGERS' COMPANY this time with cross keys impaling ?TREGOZ at SOMPTING.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by S.H. Grimm in 1789. (BL, Add. MS. 5,674, fol. 3, wrongly placed with Clapham.)



▲ Fig. 233: *Drawing of SOMPTING by S.H. Grimm in 1789.* (BL, Add. MS. 5,674, fol. 3. The monument is wrongly listed under Clapham. © British Library Board).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 6 January 2004; 21 May 2009.

(45) *Biographical information*: In his will, (dated 4 August 1527 and proved on 2 October that year), Burré bequeathed his son in law, Richard Holland, his lease of the parsonage of Sompting ‘callyd the Temple that I hold of the Howse of Saynt Jonys [Knights of St John of Jerusalem] ... and also may farme callyd the Esthamme so as he kepe an Obbit for my sowle and my wyvys sowle by the space of xj eyere after my dethe in the church of Sowntyng; the dyrige off that Obbit yerly to begyn the Sondag next after Saynt James Daye and the massis the next morrow foloyng’.

This was to cost 13s 4d. During the same period, 3s 4d a year was to be sent to the Grey Friars and to the Black Friars in Chichester to say similar masses for his soul: ‘And also yerly dewrynge the seid yeris and the seid daye to send to the Fryers of Arundell for lyke cause two shillings and in lyke wise to the Fryers of the Sele [at Lower Beeding] for cawse and lyke yeris and at luke tyme ij shillings). If Holland failed to keep the obits as directed or pay the rent to the Knights of St John, than his bequest of the property called the Temple would be ‘utterly voyd and off none effect’.

No doubt recalling the difficulties of travelling from London to Sompting, Burré left £6 13s 4d for repairs to the 'Cawsey off Reygate' Surrey (WSRO, STA I/1A/fol. 50).

One of the supervisors of the will, named in the document, was Richard Covert (SLAUGHAM).

*Monument number:* 12

## Rustington I, c. 1526

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 0505 0227/TQ 00 SE 30.

(2) *Church dedication:* SS Peter and Paul.

(3) *Location:* The Street, Rustington, West Sussex, BN16 3NR.

(4) *Persons commemorated:* ?Thomas Cooke and wife.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

(7) *Date of death:* c. 1525?

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1526.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB/11/22, fols. 22v-23v: will of Joan Cooke, widow, dated 26 April 1525; proved 12 February 1526.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☐ NO ☒ (Fragment remaining).

*If lost, give source of information:* The will of Joan Cooke, widow and sole executrix of Thomas Cooke whose testament 'which as yet is in grete parte unperformed...My body to be buried in the Chauncell of our Lady w[ith]in the church of Rustington at the south ende of Our Lady Awter...I will that myn executours bestowe xx<sup>li</sup> upon the selying of Our Lady Chauncell in the churche of Rustington and in the making of a Tombe in the said Chauncell in the dore place going up to the R[o]od Lofte in the wall coviryng noo some of the Chauncell wherin I will my husbandes body be putt' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol. 22v).

The remaining fragment once formed the right hand side of the front of a tomb-chest, with one half of a panel, bearing half a shield, and one panel with a complete shield.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 4, on the basis of similar tomb-chest panels in the series although this is the only example of this type. Complex octofoil design of panels suggests pure Gothic influence. As such, an early member of the series – most of the later examples are simpler, with the exception of PETWORTH and RACTON.

12) *Date/nature of destruction:* ?Edwardine Reformation, c.1548-53. Tomb destroyed, with one half of the front panels of the tomb-chest surviving. This was buried face down as paving for the church, like RUSTINGTON II. Dating evidence may be provided by the discovery of a broken *mensa* of

Sussex marble, when the floor of the chapel was taken up in 1993. It was found in the north-east corner of the chapel, 130 mm below the level of eighteenth century floor slabs, (Russell, 1994, 200). With no religious iconography remaining, the motivation was probably not protection, but



▲ Fig. 234: One and a half panels from the front of a tomb-chest, mural on the north wall of the Lady chapel at RUSTINGTON, taken from the south. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

pragmatic re-use of a handy, large slab. However, there is no sign of staining on the surface of the panels from a prolonged contact with the bare earth beneath the structure's floor.

(13) *Position in structure*: Mural, north wall of north transept, or Lady chapel, 204 cm. from east wall immediately above the floor.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre*: YES ☐ NO ☒ NOT KNOWN ☐

*Comments*: The instructions in Joan Cooke's will for the position of the monument argue against its use as an Easter Sepulchre.

(15) *Link with another feature?* Probably associated with the altar fronting the east wall of the Lady chapel. If the monument was erected as directed, it would have been located between this altar and the Rood Loft staircase on the same wall.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☒ NO ☐

See above. Buried faced down in chancel floor (Corfield, 1960, 12) and discovered in 1844. Re-laid in current position after that date. Positioned behind the church organ for many decades.

## **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material:* Creamy Caen stone.

(18) *Description:* One and a half octofoil panels from the right half of the front of a tomb-chest, bearing one shield carved in low relief and half of another – all carved from one slab.

When complete, the monument was probably a tomb-chest, possibly free-standing. If its position followed Joan Cooke's testamentary instructions, there would have been no room for a recessed canopied monument in this part of the Lady chapel, as this would have obscured the secondary celebrant's view of the main altar by means of the squint running through the chancel arch pier.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/date:* N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components:* One remaining – probably the original half of the fascia of the tomb-chest, as delivered to the church.

(21) *Lost components:* Left-hand half of tomb-chest front panels. The base, two short sides and the slab on top of a conjectural altar tomb now lost.

(22) *Method of construction:* One single slab of Caen stone carved in bold relief to form one half of front of tomb-chest.

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography:* No extant evidence for any.

(26) *Description:* N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* N/A.

(28) *When?* The tomb was probably destroyed during the Edwardine Reformation, 1548-53, with the tomb-chest front probably turned over and recycled for paving during or after 1550.

(29) *Overall condition:* Good. Some measure of protection was provided by the panels being hidden behind the church organ until after the 1930s.



**(C) - Motifs/Strapwork**

(30-31) N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: The design of the octofoils is style found on monuments from the fifteenth century and is more elaborate than similar panels at CHURCH NORTON, c.1537.

*Renaissance elements*: None.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: N/A.

(34) *Prayer scrolls*: N/A.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 54.5 cm. (Remaining fragment of tomb-chest).

(36) *Monument width*: 74.2 cm. (Remaining fragment of tomb-chest).

(37) *Monument depth*: 4.2 cm. On basis of the surviving fragment, the original tomb-chest must have measured 148.4 cm. in width.

(38) *Measurements of tomb-chest panels*:

*Left* - Height: 50 cm. Width: 25 cm. (Half panel at left).

*Centre* - Height: 50 cm. Width: 50 cm. (Full panel at right).

*Right* – Lost.

(39-40) N/A.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐

*Number and position*: One and a half shields on one half of tomb-chest.

Original centre shield, a cross. Height: 15 cm. Width: 6.5 cm.

*Blazon*: Probably *Or, a cross azure* (BOHUN of Midhurst).

Right-shield shield, *three talbots' heads*... (?HOWLYS). Height: 17 cm. Width: 13 cm.

*Blazon*: Probably, *Sable, three talbots' heads argent* (HALL or HOWLYS).

The missing left-hand shield was probably *Gules, three crescents argent, a canton ermine* (COOKE) (Lambarde, 1932, 105). These are virtually the same arms as those shown impaled on the tomb of John Gounter, (d. 1557) at RACTON with the three coats there tricked as quarterly of six.

The Rustington shields were almost certainly painted to display their heraldic tinctures. There are no traces of paint remaining.



▲ Fig. 235: *Left*, Close-up of original right-hand shield bearing the three talbots' heads of HALL or HOWLES and *right*, the remaining half shield, originally centre, bearing the arms of BOHUN, with damage to the lower portion.

### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 25 August 2006.

(45) *Biographical information*: The Cookes of Goring and West Burton in West Sussex trace their ancestry from one of the great-great-granddaughters of Franco de Bohun, Lord of Midhurst, Ford, Clymping and Rustington, *temp.* Richard I (Huxford, 1982, 73.) John Cooke, sheriff of Sussex in 1494, was descended from Eva, one of the daughters of Sir John Lesley, who had married Elizabeth Bohun. Cooke's daughter Elizabeth, was the first wife of John Covert of Sullington (Dallaway, 1833, vol. 2, 22; Berry, 1830, 105). One of his sons was Thomas, of Heene in West Tarring, who was presumably buried in the monument here discussed. Indeed, his wife's will (TNA, PROB/11/22, fol. 22v) asks 'that all suche thinges as is comprised in the will of John Cooke, nowe dede, father to the said Thomas, late my husbonde, to whom the said Thomas was executor unto

that myne executours doo fulfill and perfourme the will of the said John asmoche as is unperfourmed and undoon thereof.'

The Cookes were pious. Joan's will also includes a bequest for 'oon sowe so as to fulfil and make the number of vij keyn [kine, or pigs] the which I have in my keeping for the maytenunce of ... [Our Lady's] Light. I will that my executours make deliveraunce of them to Mary my daughter and she to maynteyn the said Light and to answeere the stock again as I have doon in my tyme.' She also left ten shillings for repairs to the Rood loft of Rustington church.

As for her burial, Joan asked to be buried 'honestly...and that there be as many prestes at my said burying as [her executors] thinke conveniently so at the lest a trentall may be there songe and v masses of the v woundes that day or as shortly as can be for my soule w[i]th other dedes of charitie and almes to the value of v marces to be gevyn in almes to pour people.'" Further masses were to be said every day after her burial until her 'month's mind'.

Then, there was to be a further trental of masses and 'five masses of the five woundes that day w[i]th dirige comendacion and psalms of the passion the nyght before to every prest synging masse by note xi<sup>d</sup> and to other prestes that comyth to dirige and masse on the morowe x<sup>d</sup> and to other prests viij<sup>d</sup> w[i]thout dyner'. She instructed that an 'honest prest of good name and good fame' be hired immediately after her death to pray for her soul and that of her husband for five years, at an annual stipend of five marks.

Joan also requested an 'obit' mass to be said on the Wednesday of Passion Week ten years after her death 'for the soules of Thomas Cook my husband and the soule of me the said Joane and all our frendes soules as I was wonte to doo in my lyfe tyme'. After ten years, a further obit was to be said annually on the 'Wensday after Mighelmasse Day' for the souls of her father-in-law John Cook and his three wives, and 'William Howles and Joane his wife w[i]t[h] their frendes soules as it is rehersed in the bederoll' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fols. 22v-23v).

In 1514, Joan Cooke leased the manors of West Milton and East Standon in BRADING, Isle of Wight to her probable father William Howles, who has a monument of this series in that church. This, however, records Howles' wife's name as Elizabeth, but she may be a second wife (Page, 1912, vol.5, 162).

Monument number: 13

## Godshill, IoW, c.1529

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SZ 5272 8182/SZ 58 SW 8.

(2) *Church dedication:* All Saints.

(3) *Location:* Church Hill, Godshill, Ventnor, IoW, PO 38 3HY.

(4) *Commemorated:* Sir John Leigh and wife Agnes *née* Haket.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* 1529.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1529.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 4. The design of the cusping and panels closely resemble that at CARISBROOKE. The use of angels bearing shields has an affinity with CARISBROOKE, KINGSTON BUCI and SOMPTING. The grapevine frieze is very similar to those found at CARISBROOKE, MICKLEHAM and PETWORTH.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* Undamaged.

(13) *Position in structure:* Hard up against east wall of chancel and separating the chancel from the north chapel with the east respond of the arcade butting onto it.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------

*Comments:* N/A.

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Linked with the nearby high altar in the chancel. Leigh, in his will, asked for his body to be 'buried afore the high awter w<sup>h</sup>in the Parishe Churche of Godyshill where the prest begynnyth his Confiteor' - the general confession said during the Mass (Hewitt, 1993, 11-12).

(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------



▲ Fig. 236: South side of the hybrid monument of Sir John Leigh and wife, d. 1529, at GODSHILL with three angels bearing shields over the cornice, and showing the male Burton alabaster effigy atop the Caen stone tomb-chest. Beyond is the tomb of their son-in-law, Sir James Worsley, d. 1536, with Renaissance features. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.



▲ Fig. 237: North side of the Leigh monument at GODSHILL which has only one angel with a shield above the cornice, inscribed: 'Michael / archangel'. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Light cream Caen stone with the main figures in light brown Burton alabaster.

(18) *Description*: The two alabaster effigies lie beneath a moulded four-centred arch with elaborate cusped and sub-cusped tracery and traceried circles and daggers in the spandrels. There are traceried panels within the soffit containing Tudor rose devices, alternating with a floriated cross pattern and one roundel inscribed with the sacred monogram 'IHS' positioned diagonally above and in view of the effigies' faces.

A grapevine architrave with fruit and leaves in low relief is immediately over the arch on the south side and above that is another with traceried Tudor roses and blank shields. On the north side, the grapevine is replaced by a series of shallowly-carved thin horizontal ovals. The crenellated cornice has three busts of angels bearing shields on the south side, inscribed 'IHS', 'mercy' and 'amen' and another in the centre on the north side with a shield, upon which is written 'Michael / archangel'.

The effigies rest upon a tomb-chest with four diamond cusped panels on the north side, together with two trefoil niches side by side at the extreme niche. Two bear shields and the others have the Tudor rose and floriated cross motifs repeated from the soffit. On the south side, are three quatrefoil panels, separated by thin trefoil niches, bearing two shields, separated by a Tudor rose. Above the monument, on the south side, is hung a composite funerary helmet with a crest of a hind's head.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date*: Repainted in the recent past.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 40, plus the two alabaster effigies carved on separate slabs.

(21) *Lost components*: None.

(22) *Method of construction*: The monument was inserted into the north wall of the chancel, as indicated by the remains of this wall immediately below the tomb-chest on the north side of the tomb. On the opposite side, there are four moulded blocks making up the footing, with the base of the columns, right and left.

On the south, the tomb-chest is in two portions, with the right hand section forming two panels and two niches. On the north, it has one block with a double trefoil niche and two panels, and another with one panel and a niche. Above these is a moulded Caen stone base on which the two slabs forming the effigies are laid. Alongside are modules forming the sides of the columns and half the interior niches and the east and west ends. Two massive blocks containing the spandrels, soffit and the cusped arch are joined at the centre and run the entire depth of the monument.

Two blocks form the grapevine architrave, again joined at the centre, and a further two contain the band of horizontal thin ovals on the north. Three modules make up the frieze of quatrefoil roundels. On the south side, the crenellated cornice with angels consists of six blocks but on the north, with just one angel at the centre, there are only five. A marking out line survives on the 13 cm. wide step below the eastern interior vertical niche, 2.5 cm. in from the outer edge. Did this step contain permanent or temporary religious iconography?

(23) *Description of figures*: The alabaster effigy of Leigh shows him clean-shaven, his head resting upon his helmet and in armour, wearing a SS collar. His feet rest upon a boar, traditionally said to have been the cause of his accidental death although this seems more like folklore than historical fact. There are also two small figures of hooded bedesmen squatting on top of the boar (fig. 239, page 372). The wife wears a heraldic mantle with the Haket device emblazoned upon it. She has a pedimental head-dress with long lappets hanging down over her shoulders and her head rests upon a cushion, supported, in the medieval high-status tradition, by two tiny figures.

Both effigies have 'long' faces, distinctive of Burton-on-Trent work of this period.

(24) *Paint traces?* No old paint survives. The angels, shields and motifs have been repainted.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type</i> : Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: Sacred monogram 'ihs' painted within a roundel on the soffit of the arch.



◀ Fig. 238: Head of Sir John Leigh resting upon his helmet. Scale: 30 cm.





► Fig. 239: *Two cowled bedesmen perched upon the boar at the feet of Sir John Leigh at GODSHILL, telling their rosary beads in prayer for his soul. Scale: 30 cm.*



◀ Fig. 240: *The sacred monogram 'IHS' and one of the Tudor roses carved on the soffit at GODSHILL.*

(27) Erasures? YES ☐ NO ☒

Method: N/A.

(28) When? N/A.

(29) Overall damage/condition: Good. The male effigy's sword blade is broken off below the hilt.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Architrave*: Grapevine with fruit and leaves on south side. This is replaced by a shallowly-carved architrave of thin horizontal ovals on the north side of the tomb.

*Frieze*: Quatrefoil roundels with four Tudor roses and blank shields on south; quatrefoil roundels with four Tudor roses but no shields on north side.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cusped panels, cusped and sub-cusped arch, crenellated cornice.

*Renaissance elements*: None.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ ?☒ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐ ?☒

*Type*: N/A.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 383.2 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 299 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 127 cm.



▲ Fig. 241: Tomb-chest on south side, showing moulded footings and quatrefoil panels. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

South side:

Left - Height: 52 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Centre - Height: 52 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Right - Height: 52 cm. Width: 46 cm.

The single trefoil niches are 42 cm. in height and 10.5 cm. in width.

North side:

Double trefoil niche – Height: 44 cm. Width: 14 cm.

Left – Height: 46 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Centre – Height: 46 cm. Width: 46 cm.

Right – Height: 46 cm. Width 46 cm.

Niche at right – Height: 44 cm. Width: 24 cm.

(39) *Measurement of (alabaster) figures:*

Male - Length: 170 cm. Width: 47.5 cm.

Wife - Length: 173 cm. Width: 42 cm.

(40) *Other - Type:* N/A.

### **(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type:* Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* Eight.

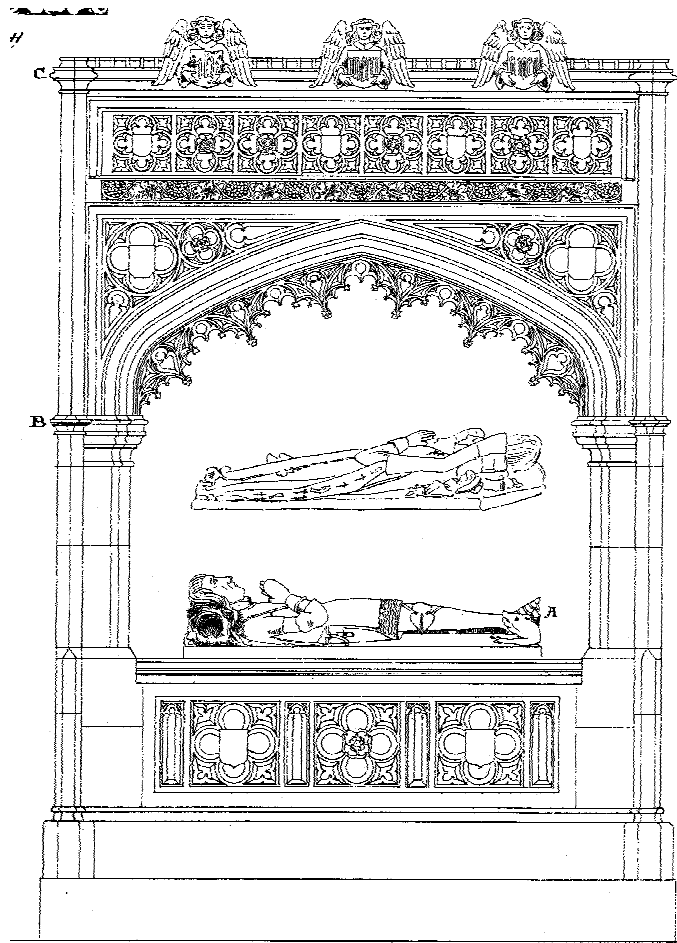
Left hand spandrel, north and south sides and on tomb-chest: *Argent, on a chief embattled sable, three plates* (LEIGH).

Right hand spandrel, north and south sides and on tomb-chest, *Azure, three hake fishes hauriant, argent, between eight crosses azure* (HAKET).

### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti:* None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings:* Stone, 1891, vol. 1, pl. 16.



▲ Fig. 242: *Measured drawing of the Leigh monument at GODSHILL* (after Stone, 1891, vol. 1, pl. 16).

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 23 April 2008.

(45) *Biographical information:* In 1505 Sir John Leigh and his wife held the manor of Appledurcombe in the parish, under a lease from the nuns minoresses without Aldgate in London, dated Michaelmas 1498. Their holding was confirmed by a royal grant on 3 November that year. (Dispensation in Worsley, 1781, appendix 34). Their only child, Anne, married Sir James Worsley to whom, in 1527, the abbess leased the manor (Page, 1912, vol. 5, 171). Sir John founded a chantry in the south transept of Godshill church with an altar to St Stephen (LP, vol. 3, no. 967). The incumbent received a life pension of £6 paid by the Cistercian monastery of Hailes, near Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. At the time of the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, he was said to ‘teachit the there gramer to many yong children’ (Page, 1912, vol. 5, 177).

Monument number: 14

## Christchurch Priory II, Hants., c.1530

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SZ 1600 9245/ SZ 19 SE 14.

(2) *Church dedication*: Holy Trinity.

(3) *Location*: Quay Road, Christchurch, Dorset, BH23 1BU.

(4) *Commemorated*: Unknown – possibly for a sub-prior of c.1530. Appropriated for Robert White who died on 28 March 1619. He was not buried here but in Hadlow church, Kent, where there is a wall memorial to him.

(5) *Purpose*: Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☒  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☒  
 (6) *Type*: Military & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Civilian & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Lady ☐  
 Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐  
 Other ☐ Not known ☐

(7) *Date of death*: Not known.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1530.

(9) *Will reference*: N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 4. Elements of this monument - the diamond or pattern work design on the back wall and the roundels on the frieze are similar to SLAUGHAM and ostensibly the use of a Purbeck marble coverstone has affinities with BRADING I, II and III, PRESTON, CARISBROOKE and at MICKLEHAM. The use of Tudor roses in the vaulting resembles KINGSTON BUCI. However, this is not a hybrid monument but probably an amalgam of components from several tombs, perhaps constructed after 1553 during the short reign of Mary I as the restoration of a monument destroyed in the Edwardine Reformation, but appropriated in 1619.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: ?Edwardine Reformation, 1548-53.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of north quire aisle, opposite the choir steps into Great Quire.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ? ☒ NO ☐

*Comments*: The back panel clearly had a space for religious iconography, now filled by the arms of Robert White, 1619.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ? ☒ NO ☐



▲ Fig. 243: Tomb made up of an amalgam of various monuments, one at least carved by these masons of c.1530, appropriated by the insertion of a crest and shield for Robert White, 1619. North quire aisle, CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II. Scales: two metres.

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Grey Caen stone with an insertion in the cornice of stone of a lighter colour. A contemporary repair? Blue-grey Purbeck marble coverstone.

(18) *Description*: This monument appears to be a composite structure, made up from components from several different tombs. Physical evidence enables some progress to be made in unravelling its complex chronology.

The tomb-chest has three quatrefoil panels with roses at the centre of those on the left and right and a blank shield in the middle panel. They alternate with tall trefoil niches, which are repeated on the corners of the east and west side panels.

The coverstone is a bevelled block of Purbeck marble, 188 cm. in length and 59 cm. in depth and with a thickness of 13.2 cm. Cut into this slab, 53.3 cm. from its eastern edge and 13.8 cm from the front, is the indent of a two-line brass inscription 35.6 cm. in length, 4.4 cm. in height and with a depth of 3.9 cm. Two lead plugs remain in the indent. The Purbeck slab is chamfered on three sides but there are no lead plugs or rivets to indicate that it ever held a brass fillet inscription.



▲ Fig. 244: *The cornice at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II showing repairs, contemporary with the original carving, to the cornice of blind trefoil niches. Width of canopy and shafts: 170.4 cm.*



▲ Fig. 245: *Insertion of two tiny quatrefoils to fill space at the right-hand edge on the plinth on the back wall of the recess at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II. Scale: 20 cm.*

On each side there are moulded columns supporting a flattened arch with egg and dart decoration along its bottom edge. Above is a frieze of quatrefoils and the cornice is a row of narrow

trefoil niches which are level with the flat finials of the side shafts. Within the recess, there is a traceried vaulted soffit decorated with roses.

On the back wall are two panels carved with a diamond pattern, 55 cm. wide, above a plinth of quatrefoils 190 cm. in width. On the right, the masons clearly ran out of space and were forced to carve two small quatrefoils, one on top of the other, to complete the design (fig. 245, page 378). In the middle, where there was probably some religious iconography, a Caen stone panel, 45·7 cm. in width and 67·8 cm. in height, has been inserted bearing the arms and crest of Robert White, 1619, with the motto in Roman capitals: 'SVFFER ꝛ IN ꝛ TYM'.



▲ Fig. 246: Crude egg and dart decoration to the arch and traceried vaulting with roses forming the soffit at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II.

(19) Restored:

YES

☐ NO

☒

Details/Date: See below, (22).

(20) Number of separate components: 21.

(21) Lost components: Unknown.

(22) Method of construction: The tomb-chest is in two pieces, with the join through the centre shield. Its lower moulded edges are carved in three blocks forming the footings. On the east and west sides of the tomb-chest are separate slabs with one niche carved at the southern end. This part of the monument was not made to fit the space it occupies now, as the narrow stone seating in the



fifteenth century north quire wall has been cut to accommodate the tomb-chest. There is more dating evidence available on this part of this composite monument.



▲ Fig. 247: **Left**, west end of *CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II* showing insertion of a replacement slab with new niche which ends with the fifteenth century wall seat. Note the consecration cross (arrowed) which shows this is a re-used mensa. **Right**, east end of tomb-chest, showing niche extending below wall seat and the corner apparently chiselled away. Scales: 50 cm. and ten cm.

On the east side of the tomb-chest, the niche on the corner extends below the fifteenth century wall seat and the corner seems to have been chiselled off, perhaps indicating previous use elsewhere (fig. 248, page 381). However, on the west end, there is a replacement slab with a niche that finishes flush with the surface of the seat. Moreover, this slab has a cross incised upon it, indicating that it is almost certainly a re-used *mensa*, cut down and utilised to make a new west end to the monument as a repair or reconstruction (fig. 247, above).

The two moulded side columns are in two sections extending from the coverstone to the collar below the spandrels. These form two more sections and take in the egg and dart edging and the soffit. Above, a section of the shafts take in two collars and a short section of the quatrefoil frieze on either side, with a long section in the centre.

At the top, the flat finials of the columns include short sections of the trefoil niche cornice, with another section (in a different colour Caen stone) measuring 94 cm. in length in the centre.

Within the recess, the two diamond panels and the central heraldic panel form three components and the plinth at the base is in three sections.



▲ Fig. 248: *Right-hand section of the tomb-chest at CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY 1 showing the south-east corner of the niche chiselled away to fit it into the space between the fifteenth century wall seats in the North Quire aisle. Scale: ten cm.*

The two centre niches on the front of the tomb-chest have a series of four shallow holes, varying between 0.6 and 0.9 cm. in diameter, arranged vertically. It seems unlikely that these held brass strips and their purpose, other than perhaps decoration, is unclear. The shield in the centre panel is blank and must have been painted as there are no signs of rivets or plugs to secure a brass shield.

Based on my investigation of this intriguing monument, the following conjecture is offered:-

The tomb-chest of c.1530 belonged to the first monument, which may be attributed to the Chichester masons. (The design is reminiscent of the part-fascia of a tomb-chest from Christchurch Priory described in volume one and illustrated as fig. 2, page 46. Initially, I believed this could be the other side of this monument, if a free-standing tomb-chest. However, the fragment is smaller than CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY II). This first tomb was damaged or destroyed during early part of the reign of Edward VI and its remnants subsequently moved to its present position after 1553, when it was rebuilt with a new east panel, cut to fit the wall-seat - a rare example, perhaps, of the restoration of a destroyed monument during the Counter-Reformation of Mary I. The dating evidence for this conjecture is provided by the presence of the consecration cross, indicating the re-use of a *mensa*. Although this re-cycling could date from the reign of Elizabeth, the carving of the niche looks slightly earlier and does not match those on the front of the tomb-chest.

The Purbeck coverstone with its brass inscription may or may not have belonged to this monument, which could have been a free-standing tomb-chest, perhaps commemorating a sub-prior. The 3.9 mm depth of the indent suggests that it held a brass plate dating from before c.1550 (when supplies of despoiled brass were probably melted down into sheets of metal, 2 to 3 mm. thick for re-engraving new memorials) or before 1565 when domestic production of brass began in England, again turning out sheets of similar thickness from the Isleworth mill. At the same time, the recessed canopy from another tomb, perhaps slightly later but all of one piece, was married up with the tomb-chest. The panels on the back wall and the plinth beneath look very much as if they belong to this second monument, which may have done duty as an Easter Sepulchre. This may also have been carved in Chichester, although the attribution is less secure than that of the tomb-chest. Any surviving or restored religious iconography forming the centre panel was probably destroyed during the reign of Elizabeth. Finally in, or after, 1619, this composite monument was appropriated again by or for Robert White, by the simple expedient of inserting his arms and crest into the centre panel in place of the putative religious iconography.

Appropriations of tombs were not unknown during the Reformation, but this is a late example. A similar case is at Chislehurst, Kent, where a fifteenth century tomb-chest with complex tracery on its panels was appropriated in 1581 by the addition of Corinthian columns with embryonic strapwork and a new back wall containing an inscription to Sir Edmond Walsingham, d. 1549. Another inscription was added in 1630. A further example is probably at South Warnborough, Hampshire (figs. 157-8, volume 1, pages 245-6) where an Easter Sepulchre of c.1535 was appropriated in c.1570 for the monument to Sir Thomas White and wife.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces*? None. The monument has been whitewashed.

(25) *Religious iconography*: Extant ☐ Erased ☐ Destroyed later ? ☒

*Medium*: Not known.

(26) *Description*: N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* N/A.

(28) *When?* c.1550.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good - apart from diagonal crack across centre of canopy and lower frieze and some damage to the tomb-chest.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: Gothic blind trefoil niches.

(31) *Other*: Quatrefoil friezes.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Tomb-chest. Traceried soffit, quatrefoil and trefoil niche friezes

*Renaissance elements*: Crude egg and dart decoration to canopy.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: N/A.

### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height*: 235 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 190 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 59.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 51.5 cm. Width: 43.4 cm.

Centre - Height: 51.5 cm. Width: 43.4 cm.

Right - Height: 51.5 cm. Width: 43.4 cm.

These measurements fit within the sub-group of these monuments with similar panel dimensions at GODSHILL, PETWORTH and perhaps MICKLEHAM (*see TABLE 10*, volume one, page 99) which seem to have been constructed from fixed sets of measurements.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

(40) *Other - Type*: N/A.

### (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☒

*Number and position:* Central crest and shield on back wall of recessed canopy tomb.

Height: 45.7 cm. Width: 67.8 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly, 1. and 4. *Argent, a chevron, gules between three popinjays vert* (WHITE) 2. and 3. *On a chevron, three ... in chief ...* (unidentified coat). Ferrey & Brayley (1834, 64) wrongly blazons the popinjays as martlets.

### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti:* The initials 'W E' in sixteenth century lettering is on the front of the tomb-chest.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings:* Ferrey & Brayley, 1834, pl. 18, fig 3.

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 6 October 2007; 15 September 2008.

(45) *Biographical information:* I have been unable to trace the name of a sub-prior at Christchurch who died c.1530.

Robert White in his will dated 19 March 1619, bequeathed £100 for the purchase of lands at nearby Hinton Admiral, the rents for which should be used for the benefit of the poor at Christchurch (Page, 1912, vol. 5, 109).

*Monument number:* 15

## Kingston Buci, c.1530

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 2357 0521/TQ 20 NW 26.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Julian.

(3) *Location:* St Julian's Lane, Kingston Buci, East Sussex BN43 6EB.

(4) *Commemorated:* ?Edward Lewkenor III esquire. The Lewkenors were lords of the manor of Kingston Buci during the early sixteenth century and have long been associated with this tomb, (Nibbs, 1851, no 8, Lower, 1870, vol. 2, 6; Grayling, 1920, 56-7; Steer, 1965, 7). Edward Lewkenor II, d. December 1522 (Comber, 1933, 159) but the design and style of this monument fits the date of death for the son, rather than the father.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death:* 7 July 1528 (TNA, C 142/47/41).

(8) *Date of construction:* c. 1530.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/22, fols. 309v-310v, dated 1 October 1527; proved 7 November 1528.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	--	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed canopy tomb, unusually with Gothic crocketed ogee arch (which resembles the triple arch at BROADWATER I). The design has affinity with other tombs of this group at HAMSEY, SLAUGHAM, SOMPTING AND SELMESTON. Its motif of an angel bearing a shield mirrors similar usage at CARISBROOKE, GODSHILL and SOMPTING. The corbels bearing the religious imagery on the side panels of the recessed tomb resemble those at CHICHESTER II.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of chancel.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	--	--------------------------

*Comments:* Battered Resurrection imagery in centre of back wall of recess.

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--	--------------------------

Lewkenor, in his will, asked to be buried 'in the church where my wife deemeth most nessary before the Image of Saint Mighell if any shall happen to be in the same church' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol.309v).

(16) *Moved?*

YES

☐

NO

☒


▲ Fig. 249: Monument at KINGSTON BUCI, probably commemorating Edward Lewkenor esquire, d. 1528. Scales: two metres.

**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: Recessed canopy tomb with a Gothic ogee arch, crocketed above and cusped below with two finials of the side shafts rising left and right, which are capped by miniature crowns. In the centre of the arch, a winged angel holds a shield. Above is a frieze of 14 trefoil niches, below a cornice of Gothic leaves carved in low relief.

Two round pillars with much worn floriated capitals flank the recess which has a vaulted soffit with lion's masks and Tudor roses alternating as small bosses in the centre. In the centre of the back wall is a battered representation of the Resurrection. On the left hand side panel, on a corbel is a finely carved Pietà and on the right, an unusual image of the Holy Trinity.

The tomb-chest is made up of three quatrefoil and cusped panels with painted shields at their centre, alternating with four narrow trefoil niches.



▲ Fig. 250: The entablature at KINGSTON BUCI showing the very Gothic features of the pinnacles of the side shafts; the flat ogee arch, crocketed above, cusped below; the frieze of trefoil niches and the cornice of leaves carved in low relief. Width of entablature: 175 cm.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: Some recent repainting to the masks within the vaulting of the soffit.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 39

(21) *Lost components*: Not known, but see under 'Method of Construction'.

22) *Method of construction*: The cornice and the horizontal moulding below are formed of three pieces. The ogee arch, with its pinnacles and the niches above, are in two sections, with the angel and shield forming a keystone, which is now slipping.



The vaulting of the soffit is in three sections and the circular side columns flanking the recess and the side panels are formed of two pieces, one on top of the other. The bevelled coverstone is in two halves and the tomb-chest is also joined at the centre, through the middle shield.

The bottom moulding of the tomb-chest and the footings comprise three sections, which rest on five undressed blocks as a foundation.

Within the recess, the central religious image is carved out of one block and it is surrounded by 11 blocks of plain Caen stone to form the back wall.

There are two small holes on the side panels of the recess immediately above the carved religious iconography on each side – were they used for some temporary feature during the Easter rites? The same may apply to two slots, left and right of the Resurrection.

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* Some original paint remains on left hand shield. Masks on soffit repainted. One of the lion's masks has had its tongue repainted with red and is known locally as the 'Kingston Devil' in the mistaken belief that it is a portrayal of Satan.



▲ Fig. 251: Two views of the much-battered Resurrection at KINGSTON BUCI, showing two sleeping soldiers in front of the tomb, in which Christ is standing. On His left, is another soldier, wearing a broad-brimmed war hat. Scales: 50 cm. and 20 cm.

(25) Religious iconography: Extant		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Damaged later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Medium:	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Type:	Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pietà	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



▲ Fig. 252: A moving depiction of the Pietà on a corbel on the left hand side panel at KINGSTON BUCI, carved with more skill than usually found on these monuments. Scale: 20 cm.

(26) Description: At centre, a Resurrection, with the figure of Christ standing upright in the tomb, with two soldiers wearing wide-brimmed war hats to His left and right. In front are two more sleeping soldiers. The head and hands of Christ have been hammered off, and the pole arms of the soldiers lost.

On the left side panel is a moving depiction of a seated BVM holding the crucified Christ in her arms who is naked apart from a loin cloth. Her head has been damaged, but no attempt has been made to damage the reclining figure of Christ, even though the legs are vulnerable. On the right panel is an unusual representation of the Trinity which seems to include standing figures.



▲ Fig. 253: *The Holy Trinity on a side panel at the east end of KINGSTON BUCI. Scale: 20 cm.*

(27) *Erasures?*

YES

☐

NO

☒

*Method:* Heads broken off.

(28) *When?* Probably the Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Poor. The monument is suffering from damp and settlement is causing cracks in places, notably the keystone of the ogee arch.

### **(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze:* Trefoil niches.

(31) *Other:* N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Ogee arch, winged angel and pinnacles; cornice, frieze of trefoil niches, tomb-chest.

*Renaissance elements*: Circular columns, 91 cm. in height, with floriated capitals flank the recess.



▲ Fig. 254: *Remains of angel carrying a shield in the centre of the ogee arch at KINGSTON BUCI. Width: 18 cm.*

#### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type*: Not known.

*Comments*: Probably painted on the chamfer of the tomb-chest.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures*: N/A.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: N/A.

#### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height*: 289 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 217 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 50.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 41.6 cm. Width: 39.9 cm.

Centre - Height: 41.6 cm. Width: 39.5 cm.

Right - Height: 41.9 cm. Width: 39 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

(40) *Other - Type*:

Resurrection – Height: 60 cm. Width: 41 cm. (damaged state),

Trinity – Height: 42.5 cm. Width: 25 cm. (damaged state, to base of corbel).

Pietà – Height: 49.2 cm. Width: 22 cm. (to base of corbel).

## (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved

☐ Painted ☒

Type:

Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three shields on quatrefoil panels on tomb-chest.

Left - Height: 15.5 cm. Width: 14.2 cm.

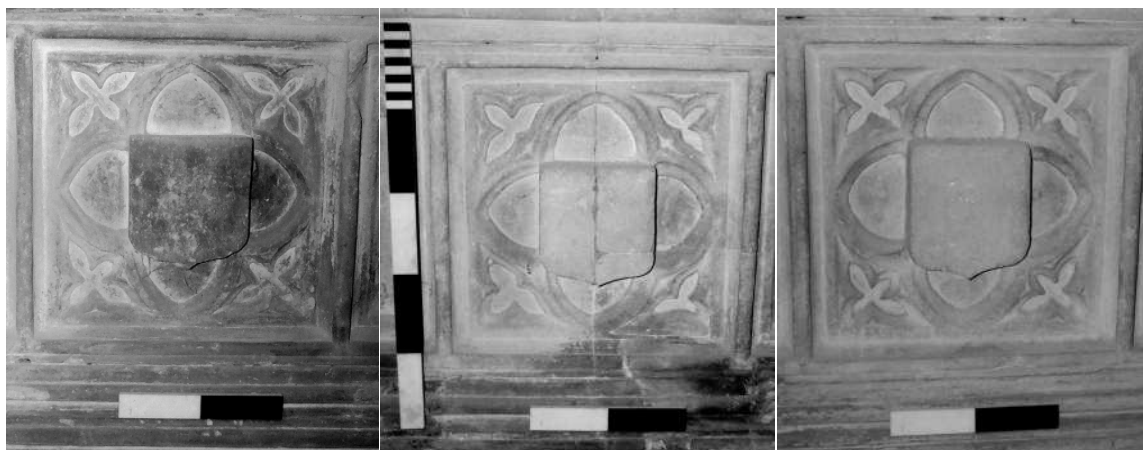
*Blazon*: Not known but probably *Argent, three chevrons azure* (LEWKENOR)

Centre - Height: 15 cm. (lower point damaged) Width: 14.4 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known. Probably LEWKENOR impaling COPLEY of Roffey (coat unknown).

Right - Height: 15.7 cm. Width: 13.9 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known. Probably COPLEY of Roffey (coat unknown).



▲ Fig. 255: *Shields at KINGSTON BUCI, left to right, in the order they appear on the tomb-chest. Note the join in the middle of the centre shield and the traces of brown paint on the left hand shield, probably the remains of the base pigmentation on which the shield was blazoned. Scales: 50 and 20 cm.*

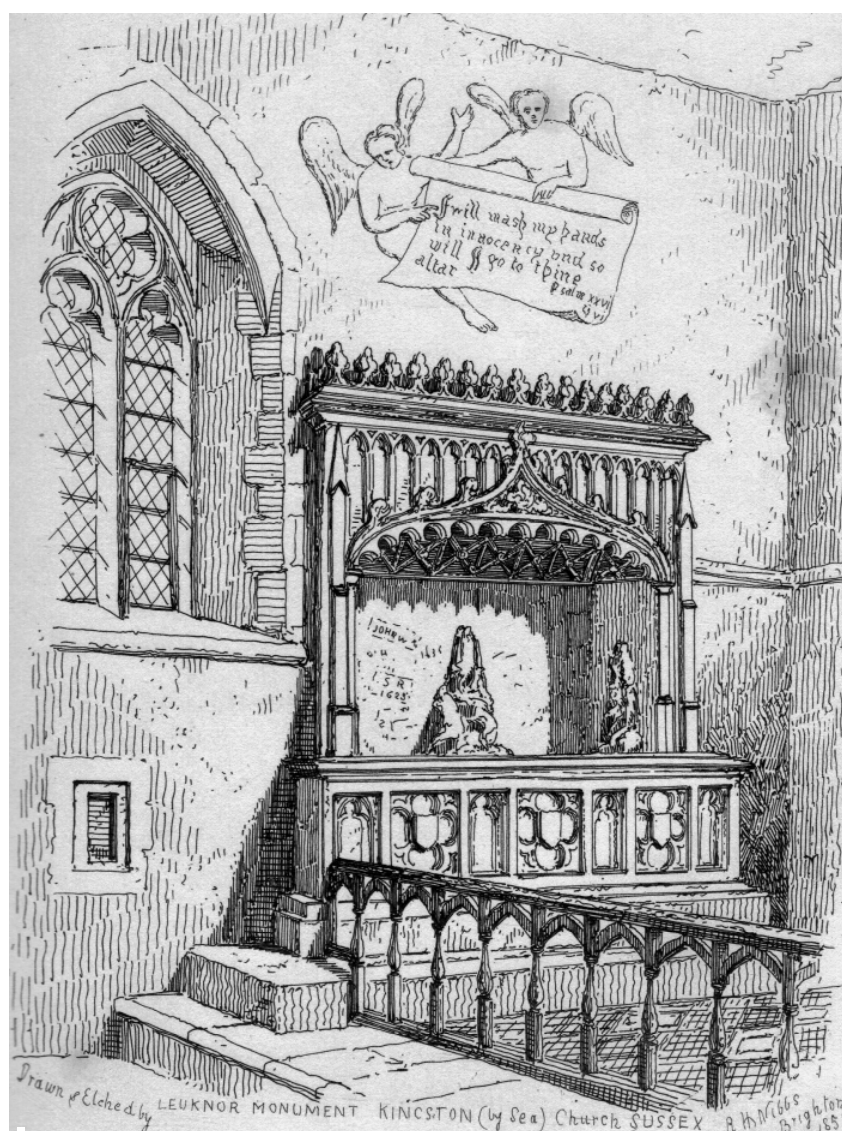
### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: A range of seventeenth century graffiti on the back wall of the recess:-

- Left of Resurrection, top to bottom: 'H O 1629'; 'I P 1621'; within a rectangular box, 'IHON: PALMER 1627' and within a smaller rectangle, the date in a separate compartment above: '1628 / SR'. Near the coverstone: 'A I A 1629'.

- Right of Resurrection: within a double banded border to a rectangle – 'T S 62'; 'A I 1627'; within a rectangle, 'E I' and next to it '1629'; 'M H'. The last, within a rectangle with small circles at the corners may date from the late sixteenth century, judging from the letters: 'W O'.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Nibbs, 1851, no. 8.



▲ Fig. 256: *Drawing of the KINGSTON BUCI monument in 1851. (After Nibbs, 1851, no 8.).*

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 6 May 2006.

(45) *Biographical information*: Edward Lewkenor III was the son of Edward Lewkenor II and his first wife Margaret (Cooper, 1850, 101); who was sheriff of Sussex in 1509 and the following year was listed as one of the debtors of Edward Dudley of Poynings, attainted of high treason (LP, vol. 1, 93, 179).

In 1524, Lewkenor III was assessed for tax with his nine servants at half the total for Kingston and nearby Southwick added together (Cornwall, 1956, 74). He held the manors of Ham, Parham and Hamsey and married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Roffey, Sussex, (Comber, 1933, 159). In November 1524, his name, and that of his father in law, Roger Copley, appears on a quitclaim concerning the manors of 'Uphaye, Sydbery, Challingere and all lands in East Manbery' Devon, and the manor of Wile, Dorset, given them and others by Sir Thomas West I, eighth baron de la Warr, in October 1521 (Devon Record Office 123M/TB508). On 7 February 1526, he sold the manor of East Preston with four messuages, 200 acres of land, including 20 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture and ten acres of woodland, to Robert Palmer, gentleman of Parham, Sussex (WSRO, Add. MS. 31,337).

His *inquisition post mortem* was held on 10 April 1529 and recorded his death as occurring on 7 July 1528 (TNA, C 142/47/41). His children were recorded as Edward, who was aged 11 at the time of his father's death; Anthony, Eleanor, Mary and Barbara. His wife was the executrix of his will, dated 1 October 1527 and proved 7 November 1525. In this document he refers to certain moneys which 'immediately after the death of my said wyfe, to be putt in saufe keeping under diverse locks and sondy keyes either in the Cathedrale church of Chichestre or elles in the monastery of Lewes or elles in some likely place' (TNA, PROB 11/22, fol. 310v).

His eldest son Edward Lewkenor IV was a groom porter to Edward VI and died in the Tower of London in 1556 after the accession of Mary I (Comber, 1933, 160).

Monument number: 16

## Boxgrove I, 1532

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SU 9086 0758/SU 90 NW 13.

(2) *Church dedication*: SS Mary and Blaise.

(3) *Location*: Church Lane, Boxgrove, Chichester, West Sussex PO18 0ED.

(4) *Commemorated*: Chantry chapel to Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr and his wife Elizabeth *née* Bonville who both were buried at BROADWATER II. In later years, the chapel was used as the family pew of the Dukes of Richmond from Goodwood House (Lower, 1870, vol. 1, 71).

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Chantry	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [1] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: 25 September 1554 at Offington, near Worthing, Sussex.

(8) *Date of construction*: 1532.

(9) *Will reference*: TNA, PROB 11/40, fols. 97v-100v, dated 5 September 1554: proved 12 November 1554.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Some panels with cherubs and pelicans resemble friezes at PETWORTH and RACTON. Renaissance strapwork flanking the interior altar reredos similar to that found at CHICHESTER III and CLAPHAM and WEST WITTERING II. (Some of the motifs share the same origins in *Books of Hours* published in Paris between 1496 and 1515 (*TABLE 17*, volume one, page 191). Decorative flower trails on this monument are also found on BROADWATER I and II.

The design of the side-panels, the execution of the spandrels and the finials of the small canopies resemble those carved on CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY I and BROADWATER I.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: Second bay of the south arcade of quire, 7.62 metres from east wall and 2.36 metres from south aisle wall.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------



Comments: N/A.

(15) *Linked with another feature?*

YES

☐

NO

☒

(16) *Moved?*

YES

☐

NO

☒


▲ Fig. 257: *de la Warr chantry chapel of 1532, BOXGROVE I, from the north. Scale: two metres.*



◀ Fig. 258: *de la Warr chantry chapel from the west at BOXGROVE I. Scale: two metres.*



▲ Fig. 259: *de la Warr chantry chapel at BOXGROVE I, from the south-east.*

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Light grey Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: This is the only complete chantry chapel in Sussex (Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, 117). In plan, it is rectangular divided into two bays, each sub-divided both in length and breadth into two with seven piers. At each corner and halfway along is a pier to which is attached an external shaft covered with carving in the round of Renaissance motifs. Up to the sill of the sides, the walls are covered with rectilinear panelling charged with heraldic badges associated with the de la Warr family, the crampet, (based on the chape of a sword scabbard) leopard's face jessant-de-lis, a star, a mallet and others (Lower 1851, 231).

The entrance, on the north-west corner of the chantry, is closed by a two-leaf gate of contemporary wrought iron with fleur-de-lis and crampet decoration, complete with lock (fig.260, page 398).



▲ Fig. 260: *Contemporary wrought ironwork gates at the entrance to BOXGROVE I. Scale: 50 cm.*

Inside the chapel, the east wall has a three-bay reredos divided by narrow vertical strips of Renaissance strapwork with the side bays containing canopied niches for statues, now empty. On each side are two coats of arms, one Gartered.

Each of the north and south sides of the chantry have four openings under multi-foil four-centred arches, each pair of which rests on the piers and meets in an ornamental pendant. Inside the ceiling is vaulted with fan-tracery in four bays and two alleys. There is a heavy central pendant with inverted carved figures of angels and the arms of LA WARR and on the other pendants, volutes of Renaissance design, as found on BROADWATER I with Tudor roses as bases, more angels and a depiction of the Holy Ghost.

Outside, the entablature has two friezes. In the lower range, the piers and pendants are surmounted by double canopied niches for images and between each of these are shields of arms supported alternatively by proud and rather stately angels, vested in the ecclesiastical vestments of almice and alb, and by naked winged cherubs or *putti* (Salzman, 1953, 146-7).

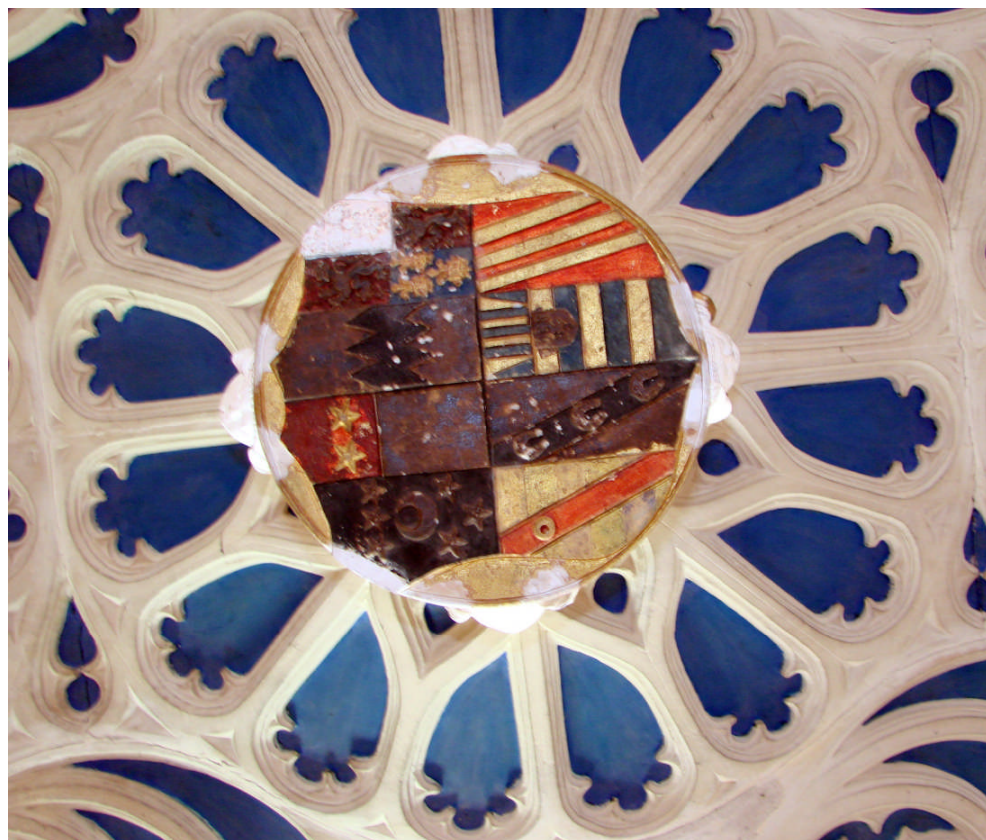


▲ Fig. 261: *Interior fan vaulting at BOXGROVE I, showing the central pendant, carved with inverted angels.*



▲ Fig. 262: *Angel carved beneath pendant on south side of de la Warr chantry, BOXGROVE I.*





▲ Fig. 263: *Bottom of central pendant within the chapel at BOXGROVE I, 40 cms. in diameter.*



▲ Fig. 264: *Depiction of the Holy Ghost beneath one pendant at BOXGROVE I.*

The cornice is crenellated and also has a Gothic anthemion. The exterior is covered with Renaissance ornamentation, much of which consists of mythical flowers. These motifs are discussed in volume 1, 167-79.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date:* The chapel was repainted in part in the late seventeenth- or early eighteenth century and the interior of the niches were painted in the late twentieth century.

(20) *Number of separate components:* c.155 (estimated).

(21) *Lost components:* None, apart from religious iconography removed from reredos – by the space left, probably a Holy Trinity. There may also have been images in the double rows of canopied niches, although this seems doubtful.

(22) *Method of construction:* A central pier of Caen stone and Purbeck marble had to be removed from the south arcading and the bay rebuilt to accommodate the chantry chapel. Even so, it is a tight fit and the top only just squeezes in beneath the arcading (figs. 38-9, volume one, page 102). Presumably at the same time, a vault was built beneath, as de la Warr clearly planned the chapel as a mausoleum for the family of his wife and himself.

At the base, each of the piers includes sections of the walling to each side with three more sections of carved shafting per pier probably held by wrought iron dowels. The canopied double niches are carved all in one piece. Each of the lower panels is in three sections, with joins in the middle of the centre panel. Each arch has a joint in the middle. The cornice is made up of separate thin strips, some of which are now loose.

The roof of the chapel is stressed by thin wrought iron bars criss-crossed from corner to corner.

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* See volume one, figs. 46-7, page 108.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i>	Extant	<input type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i>	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type:</i>	Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pietà	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Holy Ghost	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Trinity ?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* N/A.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Religious iconography removed from centre of reredos. By its shape, probably a Holy Trinity, which occupied a similar central position at BROADWATER II.

(28) *When?* Edwardine Reformation, 1548-53.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Described and illustrated, volume one, pages 187-8.

(31) *Other:* Carvings on piers described and illustrated, volume one, pages 193-201.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Structure of chapel; panels on side walls, cornice.

*Renaissance elements:* Decoration on most of the piers and entablature.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text:* Below central portion of reredos and on interior pendants on east and north sides.

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:*

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line)

Base of reredos:

*Line 1* Of y<sup>re</sup> charite pray for y<sup>e</sup> soul<sup>s</sup> of Thomas LaWare and Elizabeth h<sup>is</sup> wyfe

Pendant, at east of north side:

*Line 1* Thomas [device ?a thistle head] LaWar

*Line 2* Thhosd o’ m<sup>lro</sup> y<sup>e</sup>

*Line 3* xxx ii<sup>o</sup>

Pendant, at east of south side:

*Line 1:* Ely[z]beth LaWar

*Errors:* The ‘z’ in ‘Elyzabeth’ has not been carved.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* N/A.

### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height:* 366 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 4.15 metres.

(37) *Monument depth:* 2.92 metres.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

North side

Left - Height: 55.5 cm. Width: 174 cm. (Diamond panel with shields)

Right - Height: 55.5 cm. Width: 32.5 cm. (By door, with more truncated diamond pattern).



▲ Fig. 265: Error in carving the name 'Elyzabeth' on a pendant at BOXGROVE I. The 'z' in the name has not been carved in raised-lettering.

East side

Left - Height: 113.5 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

Right - Height: 111 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

South side

Left - Height: 171.5 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

Right - Height: 172 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

West side

Left - Height: 113 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

Right - Height: 113 cm. Width: 55.5 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

(40) *Other - Type*: N/A.

## (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved

☒ Painted ☐

Type: Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☒

*Number and position*: Crest on west side. Shields on entablature panels on all sides. Two shields on interior east wall, one Gartered. One shield on central boss of interior vaulting. The complex



heraldry carved on the tomb is replicated in the painted vaulting of the quire above, painted by Bishop Sherborn's painter Lambert Bernard concurrently with the erection of the monument.

Interior, east end.

Left (Gartered) - Height: 52.2 cm. Width: 38.6 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly of four; 1. and 4. *Gules crusily fitchy a lion rampant argent* (LA WARR), 2. and 3. *Azure three leopards' heads inverted jessant-de-lis or* (CANTELUPE).

Right - Height: 41 cm. Width: 42.2 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly or four, 1. *Sable six rowels or a crescent for difference* (BONVILLE), 2. *Argent on a chief gules two rowels or* (ST JOHN), 3. *Barry or and vert on a bend gules an annulet for difference* (POYNINGS), 4. *Or on a bend sable three horse shoes or* (FERRERS).

On the central boss of vaulting (40 cm. diameter).

*Blazon:* 1. BONVILLE, 2. ST JOHN, 3. POYNINGS, 4. FERRERS impaling 1. *Argent, a fess dancettée sable* (WEST), 2, quarterly i and iv, LA WARR, ii and iii, CANTELUPE, 3. *Barry or and azure an escutcheon ermine on a chief or three pales between two base esquires azure* (MORTIMER), 4. *Gules three bends above a bend or* (GRESLEY). Shown incorrectly - it should be 'two bends' (Lambarde, 1933, 197).

Upper frieze, north side. Four coats -

(1) Quarterly of four. 1. and 4. LA WARR. 2. and 3. CANTELUPE.

(2) MORTIMER.

(3) Quarterly of four. 1. WEST, 2. LA WARR and CANTELUPE quarterly, 3. MORTIMER, 4. GRESLEY.

(4) Quarterly of four. 1. BONVILLE, 2. ST JOHN, 3. POYNINGS, 4. FERRERS.

West end. Two coats -

(1) Quarterly of six. 1. WEST, 2. CANTELUPE, 3. *Gyronny of twelve argent and gules a border sable bezanty* (PEVERELL), 4. *Argent, three mallets gules* (FORTE *alias* MARTEL), 5. *Gules three lions rampant or a border engrailed argent* (PEVERELL), 6. *Argent on a bend cotised gules three rowels or* (HACKLUYT) impaling Quarterly of four, 1. LA WARR, 2. *Lozengy gules and vair* (BURGH), 3. GRESLEY, 4. *Vert, ten escallops argent* (THORNLEY).

(2) Four impaled coats quarterly, 1. and 4. ST JOHN impaling POYNINGS, 2. and 3. BONVILLE impaling FERRERS.

South side - four coats.

(1) ST JOHN.

(2) LA WARR and CANTELUPE quarterly over GRESLEY, impaling quarterly of four, 1. BONVILLE, 2. ST JOHN, 3. POYNINGS, 4. FERRERS.

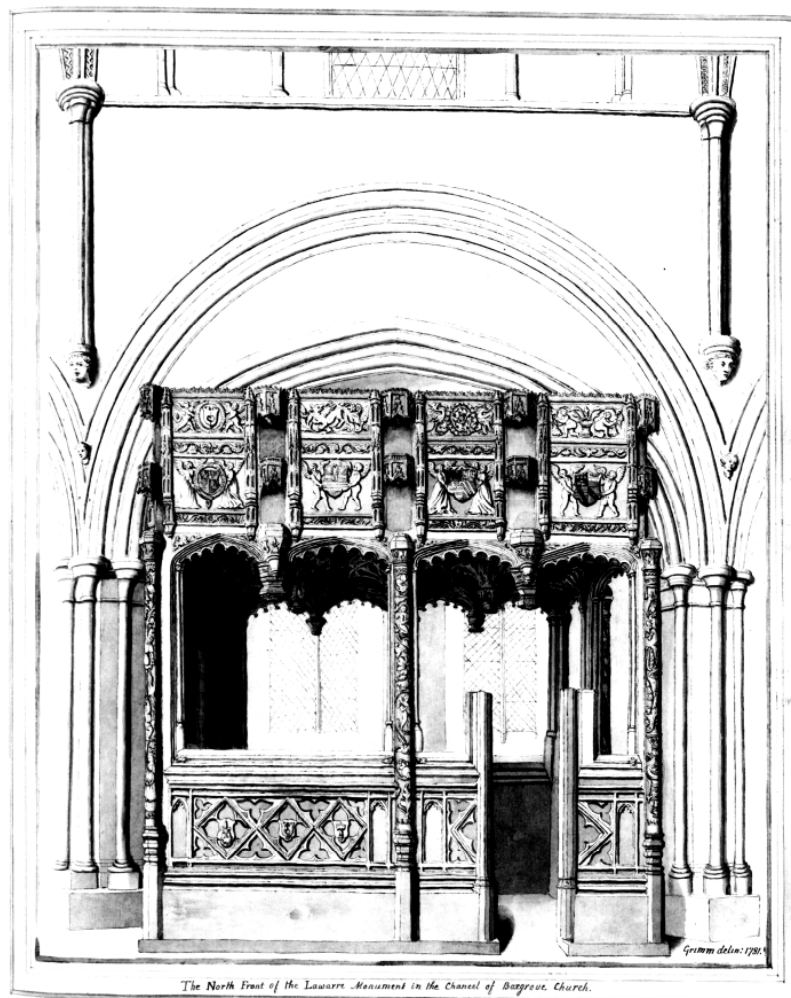
(3) Quarterly of four, 1. BONVILLE, 2. ST JOHN, 3. POYNINGS, 4. FERRERS impaling, quarterly of four, 1. and 4. *Argent on a bend gules three pairs of wings, argent* (WINGFIELD), 2. and 3. *Barry or and azure a canton ermine* (GOUSHILL).

(4) Quarterly of four, 1. WEST, 2. LA WARR, 3. LA WARR, 4. CANTELUPE impaling MORTIMER (Lambarde, 1933, 196-8).

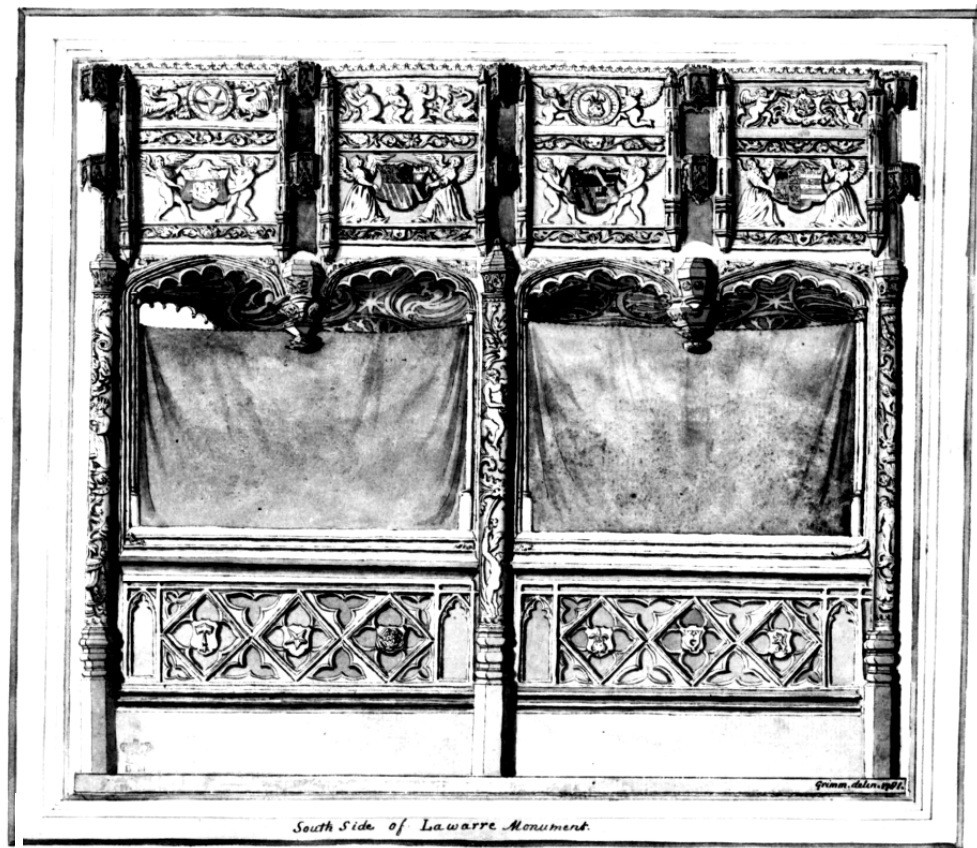
### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: Assemblage of seventeenth century graffiti on the inside of the lower walls on the north and south sides (fig. 48, volume one, page 111).

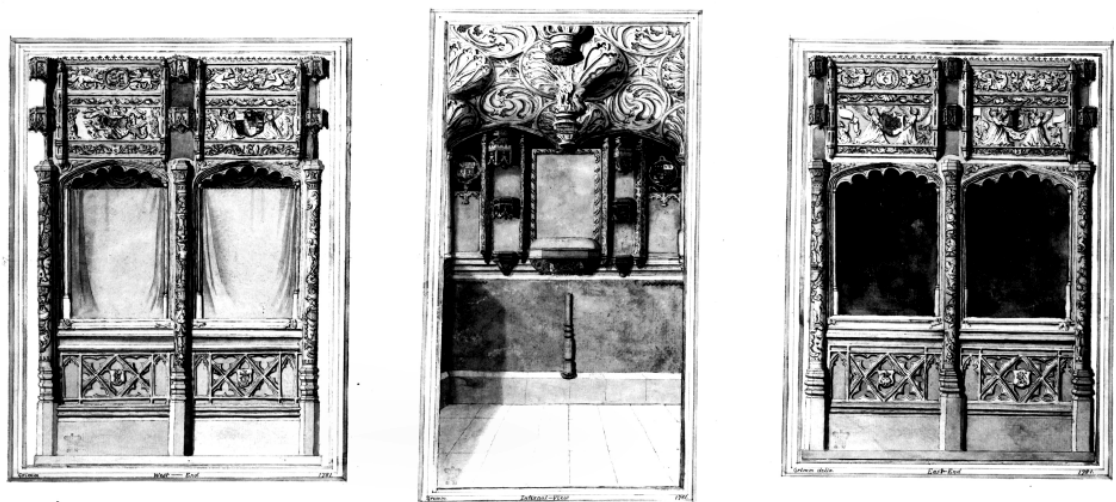
(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: S.H. Grimm drew the chantry chapel in 1781 and his sketches are to be found in BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fols. 78-80. A drawing of the chapel was also published in Dallaway and Cartwright (1833, vol. 1, facing 129). I have in my possession an anonymous chromolithograph of the monument dated 1840 and showing the pulpit of the church immediately to its north.



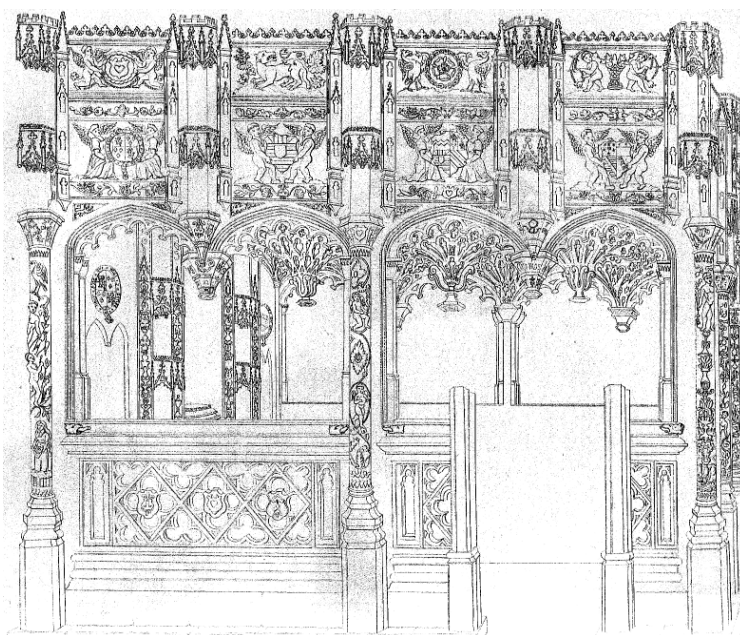
◀ Fig. 266: Grimm's drawing of the north elevation of BOXGROVE I (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 78. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 267: Grimm's drawing of the south elevation of BOXGROVE 1 in 1781, showing, curiously, what seems to be curtains or screens within. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 79. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 268: Grimm's drawings of the west elevation, the reredos and the east elevation of BOXGROVE 1 in 1781 (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 80. © British Library Board).



► Fig. 269: *Early nineteenth century engraving of the south elevation of BOXGROVE I (after Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol. 1, facing 129).*



◄ Fig. 270: *Anonymous print, dated 1840, of BOXGROVE I, showing the pulpit immediately to the north of the chapel.*

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 2 June 2006; 4 September 2007; 15 December 2007.

(45) *Biographical information*: For de la Warr's vicissitudes over his recently completed chantry chapel, see chapter one.

He was born in 1472, the eldest son of Sir Thomas West I, eight baron de la Warr, and his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Mortimer of Mortimer Hall, Hampshire (BROADWATER I). He was created a Knight of the Bath on 29 November 1489 as part of the celebrations to mark Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII, becoming Prince of Wales. Five years later he married the 20-year-old Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Bonville, who brought Halnaker House with the marriage. There was no living issue.

De la Warr fought in the French wars of 1513-4 and again in the conflict of eight years later. He was appointed carver in Henry VIII's household in 1521. At the age of 40, he inherited the estates and title from his father.

He endured several spells in the Tower over allegations of his loyalty and had to part with Halnaker after suggestions that he planned to reintroduce the dispossessed religious into Boxgrove Priory. He retired to his seat at Offington Hall and died there in September 1554, having constructed a new vault at the east end of Broadwater church near his new monument, BROADWATER II, which was probably erected c.1545 (Riordan, 2004, 243-44).

His second wife Elizabeth died after 1539 and was re-buried in the new vault. His will (TNA PROB 11/37, fols. 97v-100v) expresses his desire 'and my very mynde ys that my bodye shalbe buried by the sufferance of god with in the parishe church of Brodewater in a poor Remembraunce that I have made there in the south side of the saide Church with suche funerall charges bothe at my buryeing, at my monethes mynde and yeres mynd as by the discretion of my Executours and Overseers shalbe thought mete and convenient'.

Monument number: 17

## Selmeston, c.1533

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 5098 0696/ N/A.

(2) *Church dedication*: Unknown.

(3) *Location*: The Street, (off A.27) Selmeston, East Sussex.

(4) *Commemorated*: Dame Beatrix Bray, wife of Sir Edward Bray.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: 1532.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1533.

(9) *Will reference*: N/A.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. This recessed canopy tomb is very similar to others in this series, such as KINGSTON BUCI, HAMSEY, SLAUGHAM and SOMPTING. Grapevine and flower motifs are in the spandrels of the flattened arch. The solid cornice of Gothic leaves has an affinity with PETWORTH.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North-east corner of chancel, hard up against the east wall.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*Comments*: No religious iconography present. Was the inscription inserted later to replace images?

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------

(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen stone.

(18) *Description* Recessed canopied tomb with flattened arch above a tomb-chest with four quatrefoil panels, containing a number of stylised Gothic flower designs, including a Tudor rose. Above this is a bevelled coverstone, with an inscription cut into the top chamfer. Cut into each side

of this slab are the fluted side columns which rise to spandrels containing crudely carved grapes and flowers. Inside the recess are double trefoil niches, cut off half way down on each side and a series of double cusped niches forms the soffit.

A second inscription runs across the monument as an architrave, below a cornice of Gothic leaves, alternating with smaller ?clover leaves, carved as a solid block with a central pediment. A third inscription and date, carved in seven lines of Humanist capital letters, is on the back wall.

(19) *Restored:*

YES

?☒

NO

☐

*Details/Date:* An old watercolour of the interior, preserved in the church, shows the monument immediately beneath a now missing high window in the east wall, before the drastic restoration undertaken by the then vicar, W.D. Parish, in 1867. Has it been rebuilt, in part or totally?



▲ Fig. 271: *Monument of Dame Beatrix Bray, d. 1532, at SELMESTON. Scale: two metres.*

(20) *Number of separate components*: 14.

(21) *Lost components*: None.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest is in two halves, with the join immediately above that of the two blocks forming the moulded footing. The coverstone is also in two halves, with a contiguous join, and the bases of the two fluted side columns are cut into the top of this. Blocks incorporating the niched side panels continue up to just below the spandrels. These and the arch and the cusped panelled soffit are two very large modules.

The entablature, including the cornice and the central pediment, 59 cm. deep, is all in one piece. Within the recess, the third inscription is in two blocks, with two pieces of Caen stone cut to fit into the remaining flattened arch space in the back wall below the soffit.



▲ Fig. 272: Flattened arch with inscription above, and a third inscription on the back wall of the recess at SELMESTON. Scale: two metres.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography*: Extant ☐ Erased ☐ ?☒ Destroyed later ☐  
*Medium*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐



Type: Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: N/A.

(27) *Erasures*? YES ?☒ NO ☐

*Method*: ?Removal and replacement with inscription.

(28) *When*? If this occurred, presumably during the reign of Edward VI.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good



▲ Fig. 273: Crudely carved grapevine and flower motif on the spandrel at SELMESTON with an inscription in Humanist script above.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: Inscription.

(31) *Other*: Cornice of Gothic leaves, alternating with small ?clover.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cornice, quatrefoil panels on tomb-chest.

*Renaissance elements*: Humanist script on inscriptions.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☒ Chamfer ☒

Also on the back wall.

*Type:* Capitals ☒ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☒



▲ Fig. 274: A portion of the chamfer inscription and the inscription on the back wall of the recess at SELMESTON.

*Comments:* The Latin text reads on from the text at the end of the inscription on the back wall of the recess, to the inscription on the frieze and finally, the text on the chamfer of the tomb-chest.

*Text* ("/" denotes end of line)

1 – On back wall of recess:

Line 1 - 1532 /

Line 2 – HERE LYETH DAM BETRIS BRAY /

Line 3 – SVMTVME THE WVFFE OF SVR /

Line 4 - EDWARD BRAY 7 DTWGTER OF /

Line 5 - RAFFE SHERLEY OF WISTON /

Line 6 - 7 WYFE OF EDWARD ELDERTON /

Line 7 - VERMIBU' ESCA JACES SAXO HOC SIGNADA BEATRIX

2- On frieze:

Line 8 - : QVIDOVID : AGAS : OMNIA : IN GLORIAM : DEI : FACITO /

3 - On chamfer, tomb-chest coverstone:

Line 9 - VOS MIHI DEFVNCTAE VNI IMPLORATE SALVTEM FECTI  
NAMQVE PIA NVMMVMIA MENTE VOLVNT

Reading the Latin text in sequence, it can be translated as: 'Beatrix! You lie here for the worms depicted on this stone. Whatesoever you do, do it all for the glory of God.'

On the chamfer: 'You living ones, beg for me, who am dead, salvation, for God desires to be influenced by a pious mind'.

*Errors:* The reference to worms in the inscription on the frieze suggests that the monument was intended to incorporate (or had) *memento mori* imagery. The conclusion of Line 4 on the back wall is unfinished: the letters are barely scratched on the Caen stone. In line 6, the name of the first husband should read: 'Elrington' – clearly misreading of supplied text.

*Erasures:* None.

(34) *Prayer Scroll:* None.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 198 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 178 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 67 cm.

(38) *Measurement of (four) tomb-chest panels:*

1 (from left) - Height: 44 cm. Width: 45 cm.

2 - Height: 44 cm. Width: 45 cm.

3 - Height: 44 cm. Width: 45 cm.

4 - Height: 44 cm. Width: 45 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other - Type:* N/A.

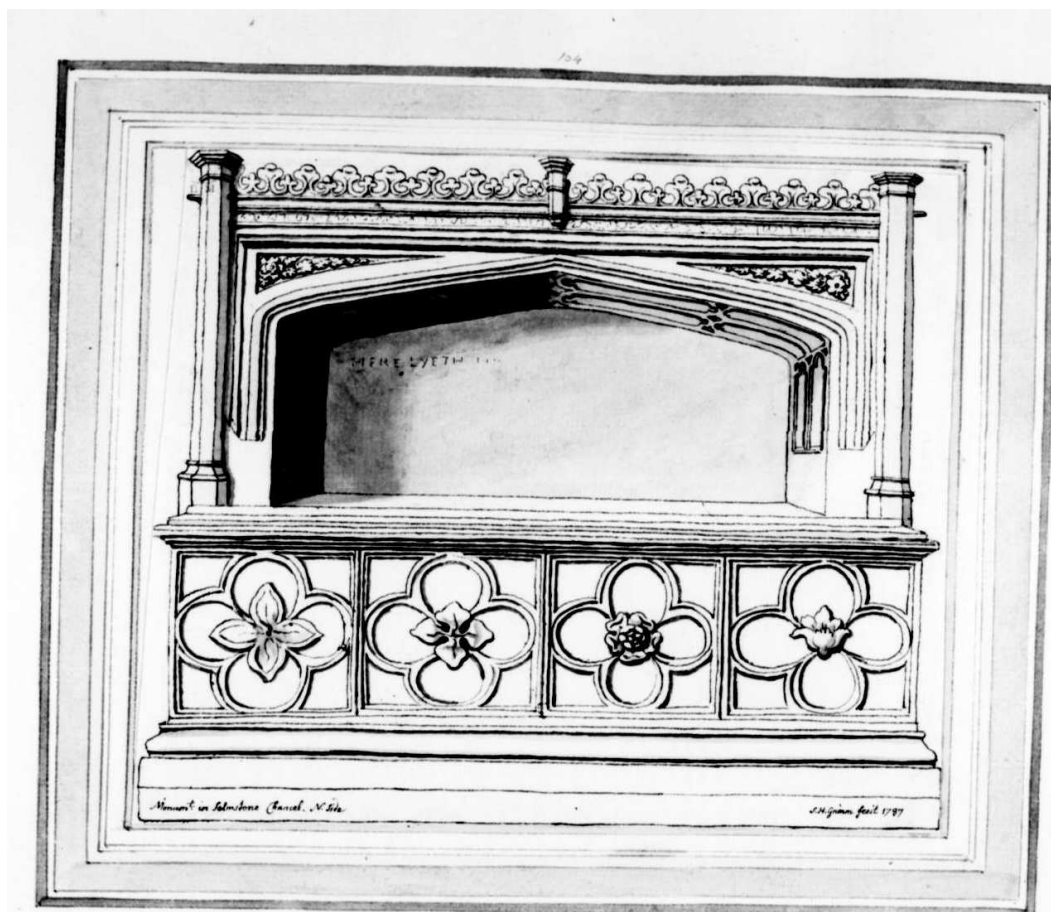
**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: None.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: 'M.E' carved in seventeenth century letters on the base of the left-hand spandrel.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Grimm sketched the monument in 1787 (BL, Add. MS., 5,671, fol.59).



▲ Fig. 275: Grimm's drawing of SELMESTON, dated 1787. (BL, Add. MS, 5,671, fol. 59. © British Library Board).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 28 March 2007.

(45) *Biographical information*: Beatrix was the third daughter of Ralph Shirley and sister to Sir Richard Shirley at WISTON. She married, before 1503, Edward Elrington (PRESTON EPISCOPI) and after his death in 1515, the following year married Sir Edward Bray, a Surrey magnate. She died in 1532.

Monument number: 18

## Petworth, c.1535

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SU 9767 2187/ SU 92 SE 3.

(2) *Church dedication:* St. Mary.

(3) *Location:* Church Street, Petworth, West Sussex GU28 0AE.

(4) *Commemorated:* Sir John Dawtrey I and wife Jane *née* Shirley.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* 1527

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1535, based on the affinity of its motifs with BOXGROVE I.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/29, fols.118-118v.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. The cherubs, or *putti*, and flowers on the frieze are similar to those on BOXGROVE I. The grapevine architrave has an affinity with GODSHILL, BRADING III, MICKLEHAM and CARISBROOKE. The spotted 'stab marks' on the mounds on which the figures kneel, are found at RACTON, CHURCH NORTON and CLAPHAM. The decoration on the head-dress of Jane Dawtrey resembles that of Margaret Wadham at CARISBROOKE.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of north (or St Thomas') chapel, 322.2 cm. from east wall.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments:* The effaced religious iconography was a Holy Trinity, based on the vertical pilasters on either side, which indicate the chair on which God the Father sits in the conventional representation of the period and the protruding section on the left - the hand raised in blessing (fig. 281, page 421).

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* White Caen stone.

(18) *Description:* Large recessed canopy tomb with large figures, kneeling at prayer desks with an effaced Holy Trinity between them and two heraldic roundels on the back wall. The tomb has side columns and a central pendant, and an architrave of a boldly carved grapevine. The frieze above has two panels, with fat, rather self-satisfied cherubs supporting shields. The Gothic cornice is delicately carved leaves, alternating with smaller versions. The tomb-chest has three cusped panels and four trefoil niches.

(19) *Restored:*

YES



NO



▲ Fig. 276: *Monument to Sir John Dawtrey I, d. 1527, and his wife in St Thomas' chapel, PETWORTH. Scales: two metres.*

*Details/Date:* Repainted. Some of the heraldic colours are incorrect.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 34, plus lost components and funerary armour.

(21) *Lost components*: There were two (possibly three) carved figures of crouching or kneeling bears on top of the pinnacles of the side columns and central pendant, as shown in a drawing of the tomb by Grimm in 1780 (fig. 284, page 426). These were probably fixed on wrought iron spikes in the column shafts. There were also two iron brackets above the monument which probably carried a gauntlet each as part of the funerary armour furniture. These are also now lost.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest is carved all in one piece and rests on five moulded blocks as footings, the left and right carved as the base of the columns. There is a very short section of side shaft incorporated in the coverstone on the chest. This is in three pieces, including one which seems to have been an unplanned 'plug' in the centre. The side shafts continue in two



▲ Fig. 277: A possible 'plug' in the centre of the coverstone at PETWORTH, moulded to match the slabs on either side. Scale: 30 cm.

blocks, left and right, incorporating two-thirds of the side panel trefoil niches. Two small sections complete the shaft and side panels before the two massive blocks forming the spandrels, the flat arch and the niched soffit. The left-hand portion extends over half way across the arch and incorporates the base of the pendant. The columns are completed by two blocks left and right including the curious leaved baluster. The central column is also a tall thin module. The grapevine architraves are separate panels, as are the two portions of the frieze and two sections of Gothic leaf cornice. Within the recess, the figures are carved from blocks that include sections of the back wall,

as are the two heraldic roundels and the panel once containing the Holy Trinity. Three blank blocks of Caen stone complete the back wall.

(23) *Description of figures:* The figure of Sir John Dawtrey, left, has bobbed hair, and is dressed in flamboyant full armour with spurs. He kneels on a cushion above a grass mound, before the familiar Gothic prayer desk found on other tombs of this series, such as RACTON, CHURCH NORTON and WESTHAMNETT. His head is turned to look out from the monument. Both hands have been knocked off. On top of the desk lies his gauntlets – reminiscent of cricket gloves - and his helm, a passable copy of the funerary helmet dated c.1520, hanging above the monument (fig. 73, volume one, page 152). His missal, or Book of Hours, lies open on the desk, squeezed between the gauntlets and the helm. This is an unusual arrangement.

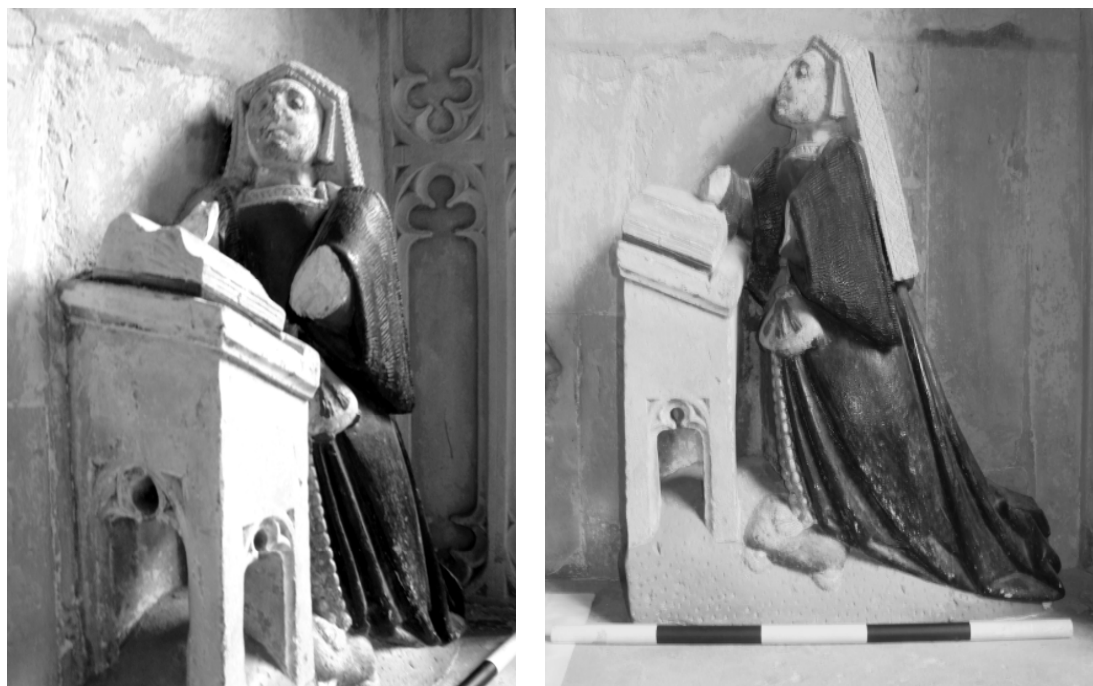
His wife, facing him, also kneels on a cushion before a prayer desk with an open Book of Hours on top and also looks out from the monument. She wears a black gown over a red dress, with an elaborate purse and long rosary hanging from her waist. On her head is a beaded pedimental head-dress, the long lappets delicately carved with a complex diamond pattern that may have taken colour originally. Her hands have also been smashed. Above both lies their heraldry, displayed in ornamental roundels.

(24) *Paint traces?* None although traces remained in 1864 (Arnold. 1864, fn. 61). Now repainted.



▲ Fig. 278: Kneeling figure of Sir John Dawtrey I at PETWORTH, with, unusually, his helmet and gauntlets on top of his prayer-desk, his Book of Hours perched rather precariously between. Note the stab-marks on the mound upon which he kneels. Scales: 50 and 30 cm.





▲ Fig. 279: *The figure of Jane, née Shirley, on the PETWORTH monument. Scale: 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 280: *Tudor rose decoration on the base of the central pediment at PETWORTH: was the damage wilful or accidental?*

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type</i> : Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



▲ Fig. 281: *Outline of Holy Trinity between the two kneeling figures at PETWORTH. The humanist script below reads: 'S I D' presumably for Sir John Dawtrey. Scale: 50 cm.*

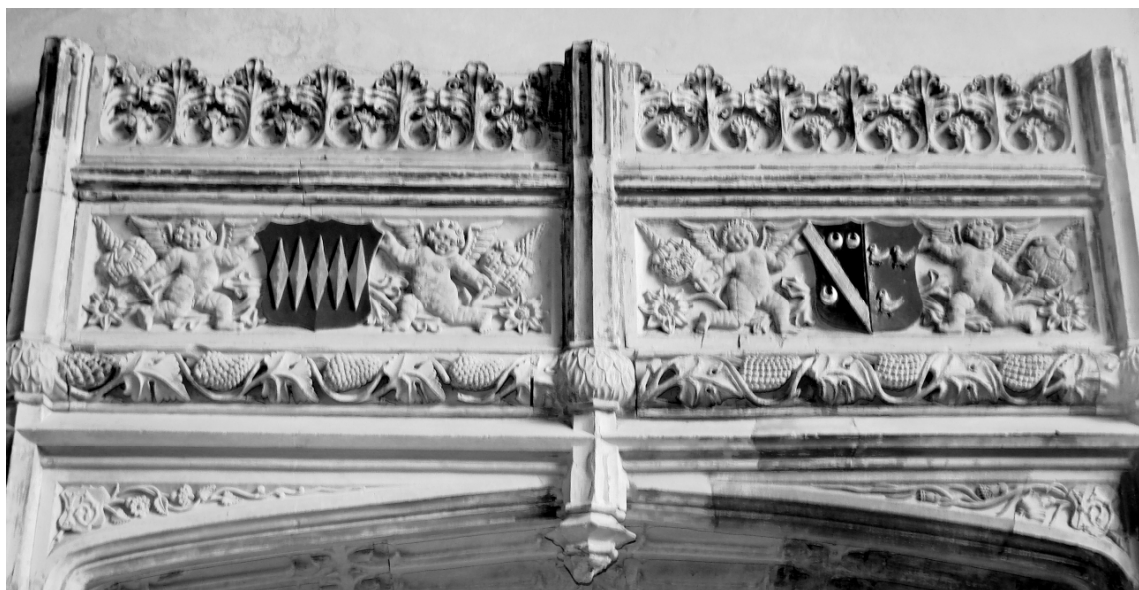
(26) *Description*: Holy Trinity, identified by the pilasters of the chair, in conventional representations. God the Father would have been portrayed as sitting on a throne, supporting the arms of the cross, on which would be hanging the crucified Christ. The Holy Spirit, as a Dove, would be hovering above the head of God the Father, whose right hand would have been raised in blessing. For a similar portrayal, but extant in brass, see fig. 139, volume one, page 226.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Figures of the Holy Trinity have been scraped away, leaving the vertical supports of the chair on which God the Father sits. In the recent past, the sacred monogram 'ihs' has been inscribed in the centre of the panel.

(28) *When?* Probably 1550-53.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good. The hands of the two effigies have been smashed, probably during the reign of Edward VI. The rose at the base of the central pediment has also been damaged.



▲ Fig. 282: Grapevine architrave, frieze with putti supporting shields amid stylised flowers and a very Gothic leaved cornice on the monument at PETWORTH. Width of monument: 229.8 cm.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Two panels each showing two cherubs supporting shields amid stylised flowers similar to those on panels at BOXGROVE I.

(31) *Other:* Architrave of grapevine, leaves and fruit.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Solid Gothic leaf cornice; tomb-chest and trefoil niches in side panels and soffit. Grapevine architrave.

*Renaissance elements:* Cherubs supporting shields and stylised flowers; flower decoration to spandrels.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

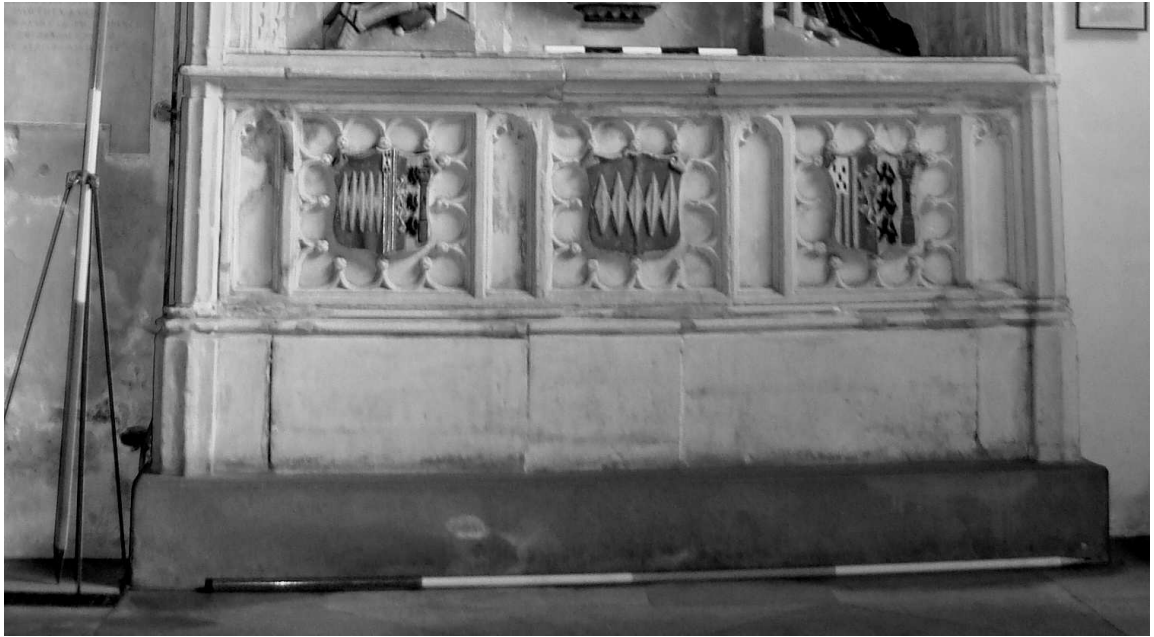
*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type:* Not known.

*Comments:* A one-line inscription may have been painted on the chamfer on the front of the tomb-chest.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* None.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 283: *Tomb-chest at PETWORTH showing the moulded base of the columns and the complex heraldry on the left and right shields within the cusped panels. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 334.2 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 229.8 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 43.6 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

Centre - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

Right - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 62.8 cm. Width: 38.5 cm.

Wife - Height: 62.3 cm. Width: 43.8 cm.

(40) *Other - Type:* Trinity

Height: 27.2 cm. Width: 54 cm.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☒  
*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Two on the frieze, supported by cherubs; two within roundels on the back wall of the recess; three on the fascia of the tomb-chest within cusped panels.

Tomb-chest:

Left - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

*Blazon*: Azure, five fusils in fess argent, (DAWTREY) impaling 1. *Paly, or and azure a canton ermine* (SHIRLEY); 2. *Azure (crusily), a lion rampant crowned or* (BROASE), 3. *Argent, three wolves in pale, sable* (AYALA), 4. *Or, a tower, triple towered azure* (SANCHEZ), (Lambarde, 1932, 132).

Centre - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

*Blazon*: DAWTREY

Right - Height: 74 cm. Width: 55 cm.

*Blazon*: Four coats impaled: 1. SHIRLEY, 2. BROASE, 3. AYALA, 4. SANCHEZ.

Jane Shirley, daughter of Ralph Shirley of WISTON, was the grand-daughter of Ralph Shirley of Ettington, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and sister of Walter, Lord Mountjoy.

Her sister Beatrix married as her first husband Edward Elrington (PRESTON EPISCOPI) and as her second, Sir Edward Bray and is buried at SELMESTON.

The Shirleys' connection, through the Blounts, with the Spanish family of Ayala was clearly a valued one, as the Spanish arms appear on this monument and at PRESTON (Lambarde, 1932, 131).

Other (1) – Roundel, left back wall: 38 cm. diameter.

*Blazon*: DAWTREY.

Other (2) – Roundel, right back wall: 36.8 cm. diameter.

*Blazon*: Four coats impaled: 1. SHIRLEY, 2. BROASE, 3. AYALA, 4. SANCHEZ.

Other (3) – Shield on left frieze panel.

*Blazon*: DAWTREY.

Other (4) – Shield on right frieze panel/

*Blazon*: Gules a bend between three crescents or (RIVERS) impaling, Azure, three doves argent beaks and legs gules (WOOD).

Sir John Dawtrey's mother was Isabel Wood, daughter of Sir John Wood. Only three crescents are shown in the RIVERS coat, possibly because of lack of space.

**(G) - Other information**

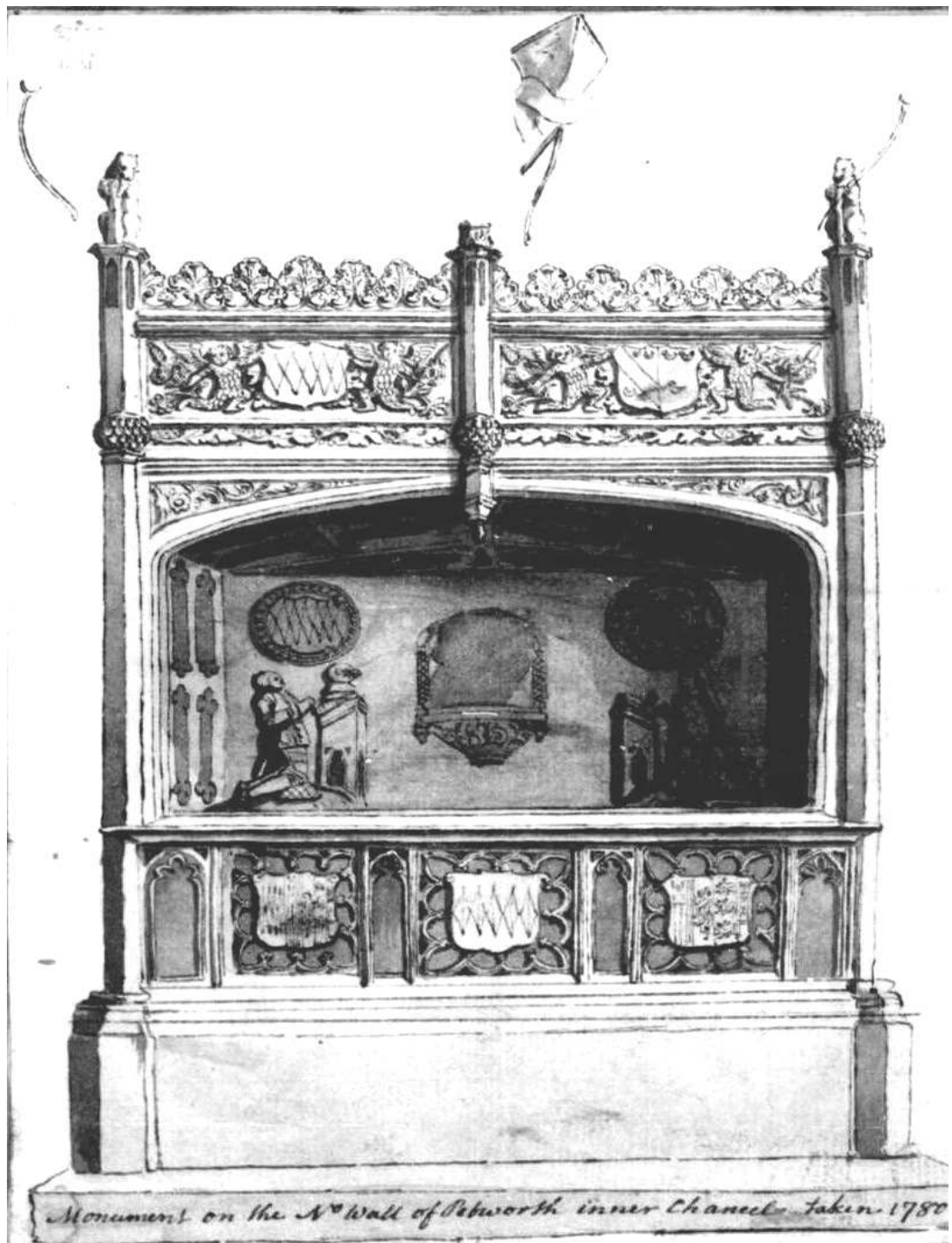
(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: A drawing by Grimm of the monument in 1780 is extant (BL, Add. MS., 5,674, fol. 52).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 14 March 2009.

(45) *Biographical information*: Sir John was the son of Edmund Dawtrey of Petworth, sheriff of Sussex in 1492, and his wife, Isabel Wood, heir to her uncle, Sir John Wood, Treasurer of England *temp.* Richard III (Dallaway and Cartwright 1833, vol. 2, 332; Berry, 1830, 45). He lived at Moore, a house built around a court with an arched gateway in the centre, north-west of Petworth, brought to him by his marriage. It was mostly demolished in 1763.

He was sheriff of Sussex in 1526. The couple had two sons and two daughters. In his will (TNA, PROB 11/29, fol.118-118v) he asked to be buried 'in the churche of Petworthe nere where my wife lyeth'.



▲ Fig. 284: The tomb of Sir John Dawtrey I at PETWORTH, from a drawing by Grimm in 1780 The two bears on the pinnacles of the side columns are now lost. The brackets suggest that a pair of gauntlets were part of the funerary armour furniture. The sacred monogram 'IHS' is missing from the central panel. (BL, Add. MS., 5,674, fol. 52. © British Library Board).

Monument number: 19

## Brading III, IoW, 1536

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SZ 6066 8731/SZ 68 NW 30.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Mary the Virgin.

(3) *Location*: High Street, Brading, IoW, PO36 06D.

(4) *Commemorated*: Oliver Oglander and unidentified wife ?Anna Bullock.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [1] wife(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: 1536.

(8) *Date of construction*: 1536.

(9) *Will reference*: Not known.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 4. Greenish Purbeck marble coverstone, as with BRADING I and II, PRESTON EPISCOPI and MICKLEHAM. The figures of sick and lame have an affinity with GODSHILL. The grapevine frieze is similar to GODSHILL, CARISBROOKE, MICKLEHAM and PETWORTH. The figures, however, are unusually lively for this series of monuments.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: Between south (Oglander) chapel and chancel, beneath arcade, 325 cm. from east wall of chancel.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------

*Comments*: N/A.

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Probably linked with the monument to his father, John Oglander, d. 1483 – an altar tomb with traceried panels, hard up against the south wall of the family chapel in its south-west corner.

(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen stone.





▲ Fig. 285: *The north or 'public' side of the monument to Oliver Oglander, 1536, BRADING III, showing the figures of the sick and lame and at centre, a shrouded corpse laid horizontally on a short corbel. Scales: one and two metres*



▲ Fig. 286: *The south side of the Oglander tomb, facing into the private chapel, with the figures of the deceased and his family turned towards its altar. The painted inscription is on the west face of the tomb-chest. Scales: one and two metres.*

(18) *Description*: Tomb-chest with bevelled greenish Purbeck marble slab on top, measuring 172 cm. in length, 84 cm. in width and 11 cm. in thickness, cut into the footings of the c.1220 south wall of the chancel and abutting the eastern edge of the late fifteenth century arcading, inserted when the chapel was constructed (fig. 37, volume one, page 101). On the north, or public side, beneath trefoil niches of varying widths are four small crudely carved figures, representing sick, lame or poor mendicants. From the left (or east) they are: (1), a woman, wearing widow's weeds; (2) a bearded beggar, supported by a crutch; (3), an old woman with a very uncertain-looking walking stick and (4), a young man standing on a pedestal, perhaps an orphan.

In the centre is a panel of three wide trefoil niches, the outer two bearing blank shields and the centre one with a horizontal corbel supporting a damaged shrouded corpse, 18 cm. in width.

On the west face of the tomb-chest is a panel containing a quatrefoil with another blank shield and beneath this is a panel carrying a four-line inscription in blackletter ulc, now sadly almost illegible.



▲ Fig 287: *The first two effigies of mendicants from the east on the north side of BRADING III; a woman dressed in widow's weeds and a bearded beggar, supported by a crutch under his right arm. Scales: 20 cm.*



▲ Fig. 288: *The central trefoil niche panel at BRADING III showing a shrouded corpse resting on a corbel, between two other niches, bearing blank and truncated shields. Scale: 50 cm.*

On the south, facing within the private chapel, the arrangement is dramatically different. Within a frame carved with a grapevine and leaf motif, still containing a light blue pigment as background and orange or red paint, are four sets of kneeling figures within trefoil niches, carved in a lively and skilled manner.

From the left (or west), there are three kneeling daughters, the mother, four sons and finally the effigy of Oglander himself, kneeling bareheaded in armour. Their faces are turned towards the altar of the family chapel.



▲ Fig. 289: *Effigies of an elderly female beggar, with a walking stick and a young man standing on a pedestal (?an orphan) represent two mendicants at the west end of the south face of the tomb-chest at BRADING III. Scale: 50 cm.*

(19) *Restored:*

YES



NO



*Details/Date:* N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components:* eight, plus six chamfered blocks forming the footing.

(21) *Lost components:* None.

(22) *Method of construction:* The tomb-chest was built on the existing footings of the thirteenth century chancel walls, taken down when the arcading was inserted in the late fifteenth century during the construction of the Oglander chapel. The edge of the tomb cuts into this pier and there is evidence of substantial repair work to its moulding (fig.36, volume one, page 100).

The north fascia is made up of three sections, all 52 cm. in height. From the east, these are: the two trefoil niches with diminutive figures, 40.5 cm wide; the three central niches with shields and the shrouded figure, 82 cm. wide and finally, at the west end, the two niches with two more effigies of mendicants, 41 cm. in width. The slab of Caen stone here is 6.1 cm. thick.

The west face's quatrefoil panel, 75.5 cm in height and 60 cm. in width, has a square area which took a painted achievement, and also has a smooth face at its base on which the three-line inscription is painted. A chamfered block, 5.1 cm. deep, acting as a footing for the monument is cut into the remaining chancel wall on the left hand side.

The south face is made up of two panels all including the 10 cm. deep bevelled frame: the first, with the figures of the daughters and wife, measures 60.5 cm. in height, as does the second portion, with the sons and the male effigy. At the south-east corner, two blank panels are visible on the east end of the monument. Overall, is the Purbeck marble bevelled coverstone.

(23) *Description of figures:* The figures of the three daughters and wife wear veiled head-dresses, the latter possibly portrayed as a widow. The three sons wear civilian dress – short tunics - with the elder son having a purse at his belt. The two younger have noticeably curly hair.

Oglander, with longer hair and kneeling on a cushion, wears decorated armour with a conspicuous belt buckle at his waist, and seemingly a long knife, like a *baselard*, unusually on his right hip.

(24) *Paint traces?* The grapevine frame has traces of light blue or turquoise pigment as a background, with brick-red colouring, as does Oglander's armour (fig. 43, volume one, page 106). A slightly darker red ochre was used on the dresses of the female effigies, again with a light blue background, and a buff colour on the tunics of the sons. The backs of their trefoil niches were coloured dark blue.

(25) *Religious iconography:* None, although the south face including iconography demonstrating the Oglanders' various acts of Christian charity.

(26) *Description:* On the north side of the tomb-chest are figures of crippled and sick mendicants, 'probably embodying the terms *hiaford* and *hlafdaeg*, (*sic*), i.e., lord and lady, or loaf-givers and dispensers of charity to the poor' (Stone, 1891, vol. 1, 16). This assertion may be mere Victorian antiquarian romance, but Oglander's grandson, Sir John Oglander, in his will, dated 10 November 1649, directed that a weekly dole of bread should be placed on this tomb for distribution to the needy (TNA, PROB 11/252, fol.91).

(27) *Erasures?*

YES    ☒    NO

☐

*Method:* The face of the shrouded figure on the north side has been damaged and the faces of the two mendicants in the niche at the west end of this fascia have also been smashed. The hands of the effigies on the south side have been hammered off, and the books carried by one son and a daughter



▲ Fig. 290: *Daughters and the wife as portrayed on BRADING III with the 10 cm. wide grapevine frame or frieze. Height of wife' effigy: 53 cm. Scale: ten cm.*



▲ Fig. 291: *Four lively and chubby-faced sons, one carrying a book, subsequently defaced, at BRADING III. Scale: ten cm.*

have been chiselled away. The faces of the elder son and of Oliver Oglander have also been damaged.

(28) *When?* Probably during 1548-1553.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### **(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze:* Grapevine, fruit and leaf motif used as a frame around the figures.

(31) *Other:* N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Trefoil niches containing figures; painted blackletter ulc inscription; quatrefoil panel at west end.

*Renaissance elements:* None.



▲ Fig. 292: *Effigies of the eldest son and father on BRADING III, showing iconoclastic damage to the hands and faces. Height of male figure: 55.7 cm.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☒ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

Low down on the west face of the tomb-chest.

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*: Four line, largely effaced. An earlier transcription, (Woodward, 1861-9, vol. 3, supplement, 72) provides the following: ‘..... Master Olywer Oglawnder..... he y<sup>e</sup> ..... 30<sup>th</sup> daye of December..... y<sup>e</sup> yer our Lord God m<sup>o</sup> cccc xxx ... and for ye wyf of .....’

There is some doubt about the accuracy of this transcription. From studying its remains, the following is suggested, with conjectural passages in square brackets

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line)

*Line 1* [Of your charite pray for the] **solle of Olifer Oglander Esquier** of [Nunwell in the] parish

*Line 2* [of Brading who died the] vij<sup>th</sup> **daye of dec**[ecember in ye.... yer ].....

*Line 3*.....

*Line 4* ..... **pere of dec**.....



▲ Fig. 293: *Remains of painted inscription below quatrefoil panel on the west end of BRADING III.*

*Errors*: None.

*Erasures*: Not known.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: None.



*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls: N/A.*

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 142 cm. (from chancel floor).

116.5 cm. (from floor of Oglander chapel).

(36) *Monument width:* 164.5 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 72.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

West end - Height: 60 cm. Width: 60 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 55.7 cm. Width: 31 cm.

Wife - Height: 53 cm. Width: 33 cm.

(40) *Other - Type:* Children

Girls - Height: 48 cm. Width: 26 cm.

Boys - Height: 48 cm. Width: 34 cm.

*Other - Type:* Mendicants

Widow woman - Height: 37.3 cm.

Crippled beggar - Height: 37.5 cm.

Elderly woman beggar - Height: 39 cm.

Youth on plinth - Height: 40 cm.

### **(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry:* None surviving. The two shields on the north side may have been painted.

The square within the quatrefoil panel on the west side was painted; there are very faint traces of a coat impaling an unidentified coat possibly blazoned *On a chevron between three bulls' heads, two and one....* This may be confirmatory evidence for the possible identification of Oglander's wife as Anna Bullock, as her family, based in Hampshire, had a coat emblazoned *Gules, a chevron between three bulls' cabossed argent* - which seems to fit the paint traces..

The Oglander arms were *Azure, a stork between three crosslets fitchy or.*

### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti:* None.

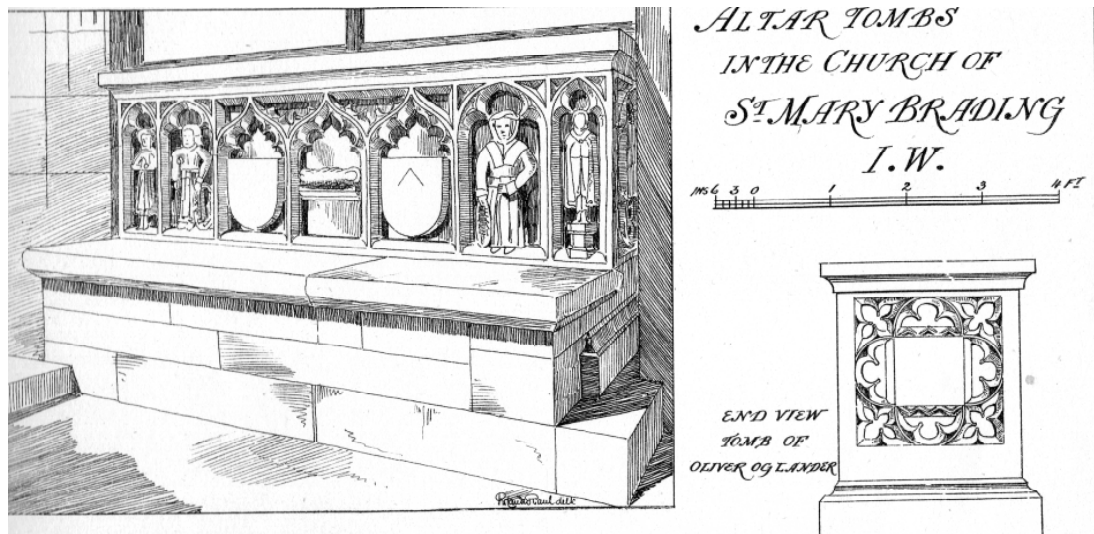
(43) *Antiquarian drawings:* Stone, 1891, vol. 1, pl.12.

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 23 April 2009.

(45) *Biographical information:* The Oglanders were one of the oldest families on the Isle of Wight. John Oglander died seized of the manor of Nunwell in 1483, leaving a son Thomas as heir, who may have died in 1503.

Oliver (who may have married Anna Bullock sometime before 1490), therefore inherited the manor, but was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey in 1509, serving in that post until 1522. On 21 May 1520, he leased the manor of Whitfield, or Whitefield, in Brading for 21 years at an annual rent of £14 9s.

His eldest son George was born in 1490 and died in 1566.



▲ Fig. 294: *Drawing and measured section of BRADING III* (after Stone, 1891, pl.12).

*Monument number:* 20

## Church Norton, (Old Selsey), 1537

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference:* SZ 8720 9576/SZ 89 NE 16.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Wilfred.

(3) *Location:* 3.22 km. north of Selsey, West Sussex, off B 2145. Post code: PO21 4TD.

(4) *Person(s) commemorated:* John Lews or Lewis, d. 1567, but the monument was erected after the death of his wife Agatha in 1537.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Reused	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of Death:* 1537 (wife, Agatha).

(8) *Date of Construction:* 1537.

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Attribution status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5 - on the basis of similar iconography at PETWORTH, WESTHAMNETT, RACTON and elsewhere in the series. Significantly, the use of 'spotting' or stab-marks, presumably to indicate grass, on the area immediately below the figures links this monument with others in the group.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* ?Edwardine Reformation, c.1548-53. Central religious scene removed. As John Lewis did not die until 1567, this was presumably done as a protective measure. Significantly, the images of the favourite or patron saints on each side of the tomb, were preserved.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall, old chancel, 163 cm. from east wall of structure, which was truncated in 1864; beneath most easterly window.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre:* YES ☒ NO ☐ Not known ☐

(15) *Link with another feature?* Not known.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☒ NO ☐ Now raised 35 cm. off floor.



▲ Fig. 295: *Tomb of John Lews or Lewis and wife, CHURCH NORTON, 1537, pictured from the south. Height of monument: 177 cm.*

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Creamy-coloured Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: Two figures, male left, female at right, kneel behind prayer desks with open books on top, looking towards a religious scene, (?a Trinity, is suggested by Salzman 1953, 209, but more probably a Resurrection) now missing, beneath what was originally a depressed four-centred arch.

Above each effigy is a scroll bearing an inscription relating to the deceased wife. The male figure, kneeling on a tasselled cushion, wears crudely carved armour without a tabard. The female effigy wears a Pedimental head-dress, an over-gown or cloak secured by a band below the neck, over a dress with fold-back cuffs. The base on which both figures kneel has been peppered with “dots”

On the west wall of the recessed canopy is a portrayal of St George, carrying a jousting lance (top broken off) and a bare sword, standing over the supine figure of the dragon. On the east

wall, a depiction of the martyrdom of St Agatha: two soldiers hold the saint, stripped naked to the waist before a palm tree, and are preparing to torture her with two pairs of pincers.

Below, on the tomb-chest, is an inscription in raised-letters on the chamfer. On the front of the tomb-chest are three octofoil panels, each bearing a shield.

(20) *Restored*: YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/date*: The top of the canopy has been crudely replaced and the monument raised up on stone blocks, the latter work probably done during the partial demolition of the church in 1864, as it does not appear in an earlier drawing (Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol. 2, 11). A drawing by Grimm, completed on 1 June 1790 (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 71) shows a much bigger base, suggesting an earlier phase of reconstruction.

(21) *Number of separate components*: At least nine separate carved slabs. The figures and scroll inscriptions form separate slabs, as did the missing central religious scene. There are two side panels and two sections of the tomb-chest lid.

(22) *Lost components*: Frieze, pediment and vaulting of recessed canopy; two side shafts and central religious scene.



▲ Fig. 296: Joins down central shield and moulded tomb-chest lid, shown by arrows. Scale: 50 cm.

(23) *Method of construction:* The tomb-chest front is in two halves, with the join down the centre shield. The figures and inscriptions are carved in bold relief on separate slabs, as was the central panel. A marking-out line survives on the tomb-chest lid and a vertical one, between the centre and right shields.

(24) *Description of figures:* The male figure, clean shaven with bobbed hair, wears plate armour over a long mail shirt, seen at the neck and extending below the hips. Short tasset plates hang from the base of the breastplate. The hands are clasped together in prayer, but unusually, gauntlets are worn.

The female effigy facing wears a heavily carved pedimental head-dress, cross-hatched to have originally taken colour on the brim and sides, with a cloak over a dress with fur-trimmed cuffs. Both faces are turned to look out of the monument at the observer and away from the missing central religious scene.



◀ Fig. 297: *Effigy of John Lews or Lewis at CHURCH NORTON, in armour and unusually wearing gauntlets at prayer. Height of figure: 50.5 cm.*



▲ Fig. 298: *Upper portion of the figure of Agatha Lews, portrayed wearing a heavily carved Pedimental head-dress, to take colouring. Height of figure: 47.8 cm.*

(25) *Paint Traces*: None apart from traces of black on the top quartering of the right-hand shield. Heron-Allen (1911, 162) reported paint traces in “the angles of the carving, on the framework and in the coats of arms.” The monument was undoubtedly whitewashed a number of times after its erection: in 1636, the church interior was reported as wanting “new whitening.”

(26) *Religious iconography*: Extant ☒ Erased ☒ Destroyed later ☐  
*Medium*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐  
*Type*: Lord in Majesty ☐ Pieta ☐ Resurrection ☒ Holy Ghost ☐  
Trinity ☐ Crucifixion ☐ Annunciation ☐ BVM ☐  
Martyrdom ☒ Other saints ☒ Angels ☐ Other ☐

(27) *Description*: The central panel probably contained a large religious scene, suggested to be a Trinity, or more probably a Resurrection. On each side panel are images of the wife’s patron saints.



On the west panel is St George, in a plumed helmet, and on the east, the martyrdom of St Agatha, who d. c.251 AD. She rejected the amorous advances of a Roman prefect, who, in retaliation, prosecuted her for her Christian faith. Among the tortures inflicted upon her was the cutting off of her breasts, seen in this panel. The two soldiers wear curious conical hats.



▲ Fig. 299: **Left**, The martyrdom of St Agatha, whilst tied to a palm tree. Note the feet and hats of her two tormentors. **Right**, St George and the dragon, forming the west inner wall of the recessed canopied tomb. Scale: ten cm.

(28) Erasures: YES

☒ NO

☐



*Method:* Removal of central panel. John Lews, who died after 1567, directed in his will that his body should be buried in his tomb in the chancel, indicating that it had already been erected after the death of his wife in 1537. Whilst only conjecture, it is plausible that he himself removed the central panel but his continued presence and local status protected the remaining religious iconography from iconoclastic attack – in itself surprising given the survival of the prayers for the souls of the deceased.

(29) *When:* Probably during the Edwardine Reformation.

(30) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(31) *Frieze:* Not applicable. Canopy of monument destroyed.

(32) *Other:* Not applicable.

(33) *Gothic elements:* Moulding on side panels, octofoil panels on front of tomb-chest.

*Renaissance elements:* Images of patron saints and the corbels on which they stand.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(34) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

Also on back wall.

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Black letter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Text:*

Here lythe Jhon Lewes & Agas his wyf e wyth Agas dep[ar]tyd thys . A° d° 1537

*Errors:* Not applicable.

*Erasures:* Not applicable.

(35) *Scrolls:*

(1) Above male effigy in Humanist script:

the · sayd · agas : had · to · hr (seriff) / husbands Jhon Wayt · of / Saynt ·  
Cross Jhon · rede / & last Jhon Lewes squyer / on hos solls · Jhu · have ·  
marce /

This scroll measures 36.5 cm. in width and 15 cm. in height.

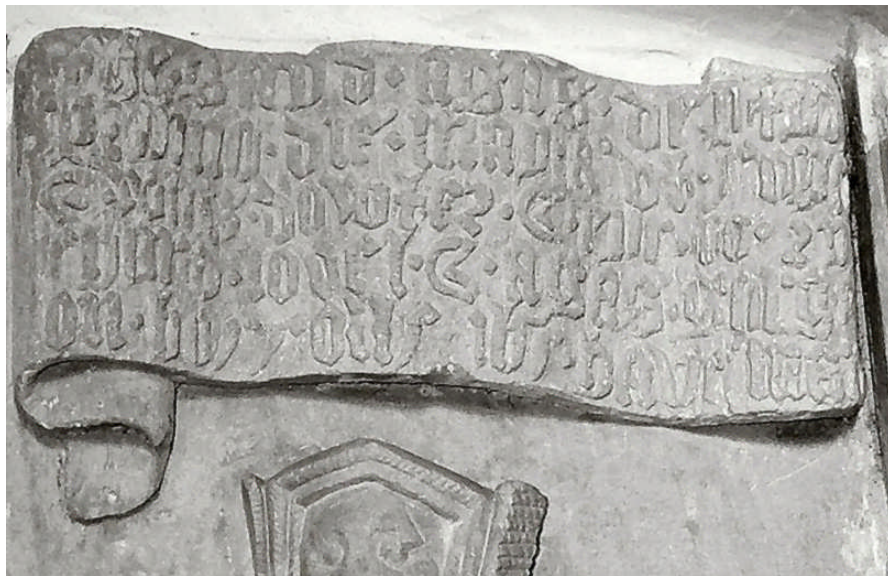


▲ Fig. 300: First of the two secondary inscriptions on scrolls indicating that the monument was erected to Agatha Lews or Lewis. Width of scroll: 36.5 cm.

(2) Above female figure in cursive, Humanist script:

the sayd · Agas · dep[ar]tyd / Primo · die · May · a° ut supra, / & was ·  
dowter · & eyr · to · syr / Richard · Lovel · & · Agas Gorges / on · hos · solls  
Jhu · have m[er]cy /

This scroll measures 37 cm. in width and is 16 cm. in height.



▲ Fig. 301: Second part of the secondary inscription to Agas Lews or Lewis. Width of scroll: 37 cm.

Errors: N/A.

Erasures: N/A.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(36) *Monument height*: 177 cm. (To top of side shafts, as restored arch is probably speculative).

(37) *Monument width*: 152 cm.

(38) *Monument depth*: 36.2 cm.

(39) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

*Left*: Height - 43 cm. Width - 44.5 cm.

*Centre*: Height - 43 cm. Width - 43 cm.

*Right*: Height - 42.5 cm. Width - 43.5 cm.

(40) *Measurement(s) of figure(s)*:

*Male*: Height - 50.5 cm. Width - 55 cm. (To right-hand edge of prayer desk)

*Female*: Height - 47.8 cm. Width - 33.4 cm.

(41) *Other (1) - Central slab space for religious scene.*

Height - 71 cm. Width - 46.6 cm.

*Other (2) - Figure of St George and dragon on west inner wall of recess.*

Height - 47 cm. Width - 14 cm.

*Other (3) - Martyrdom of St Agatha on east inner wall of recess.*

Height - 47.5 cm. Width - 17.9 cm.

**(F) - Heraldry**

▲ Fig. 302: *Left*, Left-hand shield, bearing the arms of LOVELL and *right*, the centre shield bearing the arms of GORGES. Scales: 50 cm.



(42) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three waisted shields on front of tomb-chest.

*Left shield*: Height - 26 cm. Width - 28 cm.

*Blazon*: *Barry nebuly or and gules a canton, ermine* (LOVELL of Buckinghamshire), (Lambarde, 1933, 207, although Heron-Allen, 1911, 162, blazons it as *Gules, six bars nebuly or, and a canton ermine*).

*Centre shield*: Height - 25.5 cm. Width - 29.5 cm.

*Blazon*: *Lozengy or and azure, a chevron gules* (GORGES), (Lambarde, 1933, 207).

*Right shield*: Height - 30.5 cm. Width - 27 cm.

*Blazon*: *On a chief, two mullets...* impaling *Argent, a chevron gules between three bugle horns sable*. (WAYTE), (Lambarde, 1933, 207).

These shields relate to the parentage and first two marriages of Agas Lews.



▲ Fig. 303: *Right-hand shield, bearing the arms of WAYTE. Scale: 50 cm.*

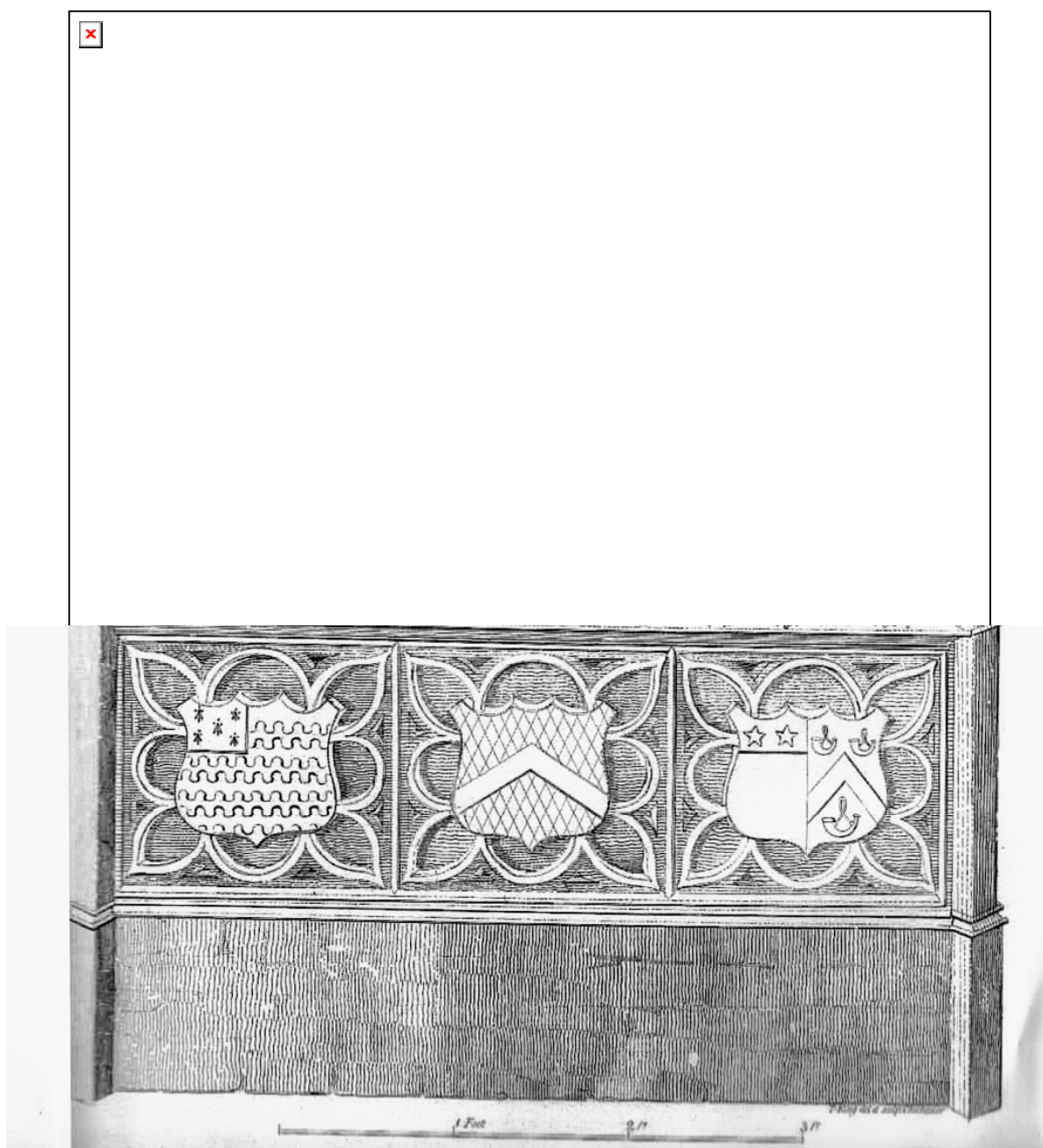
### (G) - Other information

(43) *Graffiti*: Initials 'WG,' of sixteenth century date, inscribed on the right-hand shaft. The initials 'RG' – possibly seventeenth century - are carved on the prayer desk in front of the female effigy

with a crude saltire scratched below. A symbol or numeral has also been scratched on the folds of her cloak.

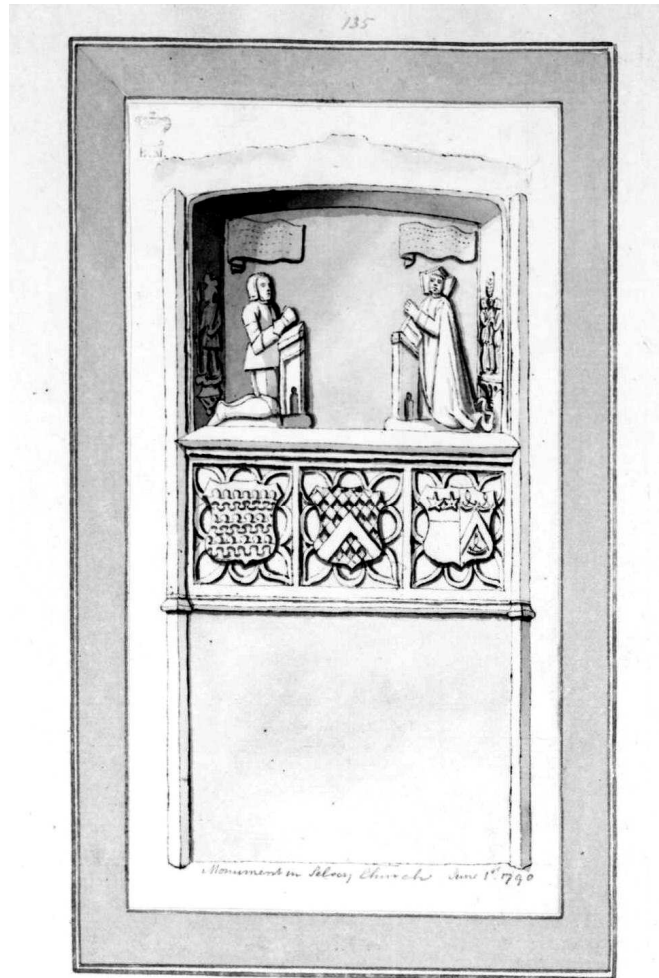
(44) *Dates recorded*: 4 May 2005; 18 January 2006.

(45) *Antiquarian drawings*: Two (Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol.2, 11; Grimm, 1790, BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 71).



▲ Fig. 304: *Engraving of the CHURCH NORTON monument* (after Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833).

An earlier drawing by Grimm, done on 1 June 1790, shows the monument on a much higher base, which suggests that it was reconstructed at an earlier stage.



▲ Fig. 305: *Drawing by Grimm on 1 June 1790 of the CHURCH NORTON tomb* (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 71. © British Library Board).

(46) *Biographical information*: John Lews or Lewis' wife, Agatha *née* Lovell, was married first to John Wayte, who died in October 1502 and is commemorated by a modest three-line brass inscription in Latin in St Cross, Winchester. She and her sister Joanna were claimants to the manor of Harteford, in Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, held by their mother's father, John Flegg. Agatha then married John Rede 'armiger' of Selsey who died sometime after 10 February 1517, leaving her the residue of his estate after various small bequests to Selsey church (Heron-Allen, 1911, 163). The date of her marriage to Lews is not known, but on 23 June 1532 the Chapter of Chichester

Cathedral confirmed a lease to Lews and his wife, of the rectory of Selsey for their joint lives (Peckham, 1952, 37) and two years later, an indenture, earlier granted by Bishop Sherburne, was confirmed of the lease of herbage and pasture of Selsey park to them for 80 years for an annual rent of £4, (Peckham, 1952, 43). The park was valued at £52 0s 9½d in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

In the subsidy roll of 1523, Lews – the principal taxpayer for the parish - paid a subsidy of £4 10s on an assessment of £90 (Heron-Allen, 1911, 253).

Lews married again after his wife died and served as churchwarden at Selsey between 1550 and 1560. In his will, dated 12 April 1567, he directs that his body to be buried in his existing tomb in the chancel and gives £3 6s 8d to the church for reparations. An annual payment of £10 would be made from the revenues of his farm at Thorney to his ‘loving wyfe Marye’ who was ‘to quietly enjoy and occupy the fearme and lease of the fearme and parke at Selsey’ for her life and then to his daughter Bridget, wife of Thomas Lewkenor (Heron-Allen, 1911, 163).

Monument number: 21

## Hamsey, c.1538

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 4143 1211/TQ 41 SW 34

(2) *Church dedication*: [Old] St Peter

(3) *Location*: off The Drove, Hamsey, Lewes, East Sussex BN7 3PX.

(4) *Commemorated*: Although in the nineteenth century termed 'The Founder's Tomb' or 'the de Say Tomb' this probably commemorates Edward Markewyck, d. c.1538. Chapman (1865, 29), suggested that it may commemorate Edward Lewkenor, who died seized of the manor of Hamsey in 1529 or another Edward Lewkenor who was Groom Porter to Edward VI and died in the Tower of London in 1556. Whilst the Hamsey monument is a fair copy of the Lewkenor tomb of c.1530 at KINGSTON BUCI, the date for the later Lewkenor is clearly wrong.

(5) *Purpose*: Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☐  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☐  
 (6) *Type*: Military & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Civilian & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Lady ☐  
    Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ? ☒  
    Other ☐ Not known ☐

(7) *Date of death*: c.1538

(8) *Date of construction*: c. 1538.

(9) *Will reference*: TNA, PROB 11/27, fols.132v-135, dated 12 November 1534; proved 22 May 1538.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed tomb with tomb-chest of the same type as SELMESTON, WESTHAMPNETT and KINGSTON BUCI

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of chancel, 30 cm from east wall, alongside main altar.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments*: The will of Edward Markewyck contains a request to his executors to 'ordenyn and make one Tombe of stone to be ledye upon with an Image and scripture there graven whereupon the Sepulchre may be sett...' (TNA, PROB 11/27, fol.132v).

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐



Markewyck's will asks that his body be buried 'in the pshe church of Hampsey before the Image of Saint peter in the Chauncell there'.

(16) *Moved?*

YES

☐ NO

☒



▲ Fig. 306: *The probable tomb of Edward Markewyck at HAMSEY, which he requested to be used as an Easter Sepulchre. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material:* White/grey Caen stone. 'Mr Elliott' the lawyer and antiquary, wrote to the Sussex historian Sir William Burrell, on 30 March 1777, remarking that the tomb 'has been too often whitewashed, so as to impair the neatness of the carving' (Chapman, 1865, 27). This has been removed.

(18) *Description*: Recessed tomb above tomb-chest with a flat four-centred arch 61 cm. in height supported on polygonal columns with moulded capitals, with vine carvings in the spandrels, very similar to SELMESTON. Secondary capitals on the columns support the entablature with its moulded cornice and a line of quatrefoils with different flowers at their centres which forms the architrave.

The soffit of the arch is diamond-paned vaulting with carved traceried panels on either side beneath. The tomb-chest has three square cusped panels, separated by two vertical niches, with traceried quatrefoils with a blank shield at each centre. There is no trace of an inscription which must have been painted on the narrow chamfer at the front of the tomb-chest.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 20+

(21) *Lost components*: ?Free-standing religious iconography at back of recess.



▲ Fig. 307: *Right-hand section of the recessed tomb showing what may be a later insertion of Caen stone slabs to replace religious iconography.*

(22) *Method of construction*: The cornice and frieze are in three sections with the arch and spandrels carved in two pieces. The tomb-chest coverstone is in two parts and the tomb-chest itself is divided into three sections, with the joints placed centrally down the two trefoil niches in the fascia. The left hand section is 53.5 cm in width; the centre, 54.5 cm and the right, 51 cm. The monument rests on three slabs.

As this is an outlying example of the carvers' work, the distance from their shop may have influenced its construction. It was probably transported by sea and then up the River Ouse to Lewes, just over 3 km. away.

(23) *Description of figures*: None present.

(24) *Paint traces?* None, apart from black within side niches on left hand side of monument. The monument was formerly whitewashed. The three shields on the front of the tomb-chest may have been blazoned in coloured paint.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input type="checkbox"/> Erased	<input type="checkbox"/> Destroyed later	? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Type</i> : Christ in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/> Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/> Resurrection	? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Holy Ghost <input type="checkbox"/>
Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/> Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/> Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/> Saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description*: The two plain slabs forming the back of the recessed tomb may be replacements for a panel, possibly depicting the Resurrection. There are no indications of peg-holes for fixing. Alternatively, there could have been a free-standing Crucifixion scene which could easily be removed.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ?☒ NO ☐

*Method*: ?Replacement with plain Caen stone slabs to back of recessed tomb, probably quite soon after erection of monument. Graffiti dated May 1650 provides an unlikely late *terminus ante quem*.

(28) *When?* Probably during the Edwardine Reformation of 1548-1553.

During repairs to Hamsey church in the late 1920s, a holy-water stoup was uncovered in the porch; the piscina of the altar in the south of the nave was rediscovered, as was a large aumbry on the east face of the south jamb of the chancel arch (Spokes, 1929, 221). Conjecturally, these were all blocked during this period.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Poor. Several blocks at the side of the monument are missing. Cracks down middle of cornice. Very damp.



▲ Fig. 308: Gothic cornice at HAMSEY surmounts a moulded quatrefoil cornice above a four-centred flat arch with vines in the spandrels. Scale: two metres.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Cornice*: Gothic leaves interspersed with single sprigs of three-leaved clover between flat-topped capitals of moulded polygonal pillars with quatrefoils in the frieze beneath. The flowers or plants at the centre of each quatrefoil vary, including four-leaf clover, ?carnation, rose and one other unidentified.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Cornice, quatrefoils on cornice and front of table tomb; interior moulded side panels and diamond-pane vaulting.

*Renaissance elements*: None.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ?☒ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ?☒

*Type*: Not known.

*Comments*: Presumably there was a one line inscription painted on the chamfer of the tomb-chest. There are no signs of rivet holes or plugs to indicate insertion of a brass inscription or signs of a scraped-down carved raised-letters or incisions.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures:* N/A

(34) *Prayer Scrolls:* N/A.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 309: **Left**, Left-hand polygonal column at HAMSEY with defaced trefoil decoration just below the base of the capital. **Right**, Moulded niches form the side panels of the recessed tomb with diamond panel vaulting above.

#### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 250·38 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 181 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 60·5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left - Height: 52 cm. Width: 47 cm.

Centre - Height: 52 cm. Width: 43 cm.

Right - Height: 52 cm. Width: 47 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other – Type:* N/A.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three shields, one each within each quatrefoil on front of tomb-chest. As there are no signs of carving or lead plugs for rivets to secure a brass shield, they may have been painted. There are no signs of paint remaining. It may be that the Markewyck family was not armigerous at this time and the shields were intentionally left blank.

Left - Height: 17.5 cm. Width: 12.2 cm.

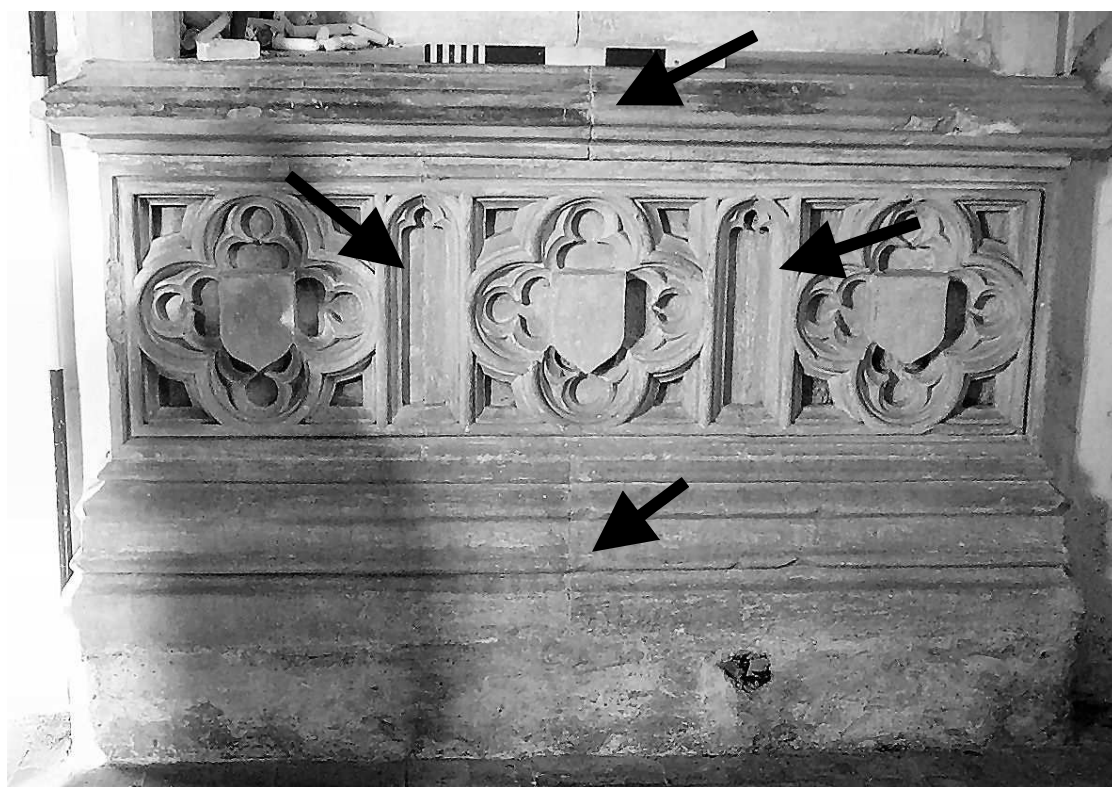
*Blazon*: Not known.

Centre - Height : 18.2 cm. Width: 12.2 cm.

*Blazon*: Not known

Right - Height: 16.7 cm. Width: 12.2 cm

*Blazon*: Not known.

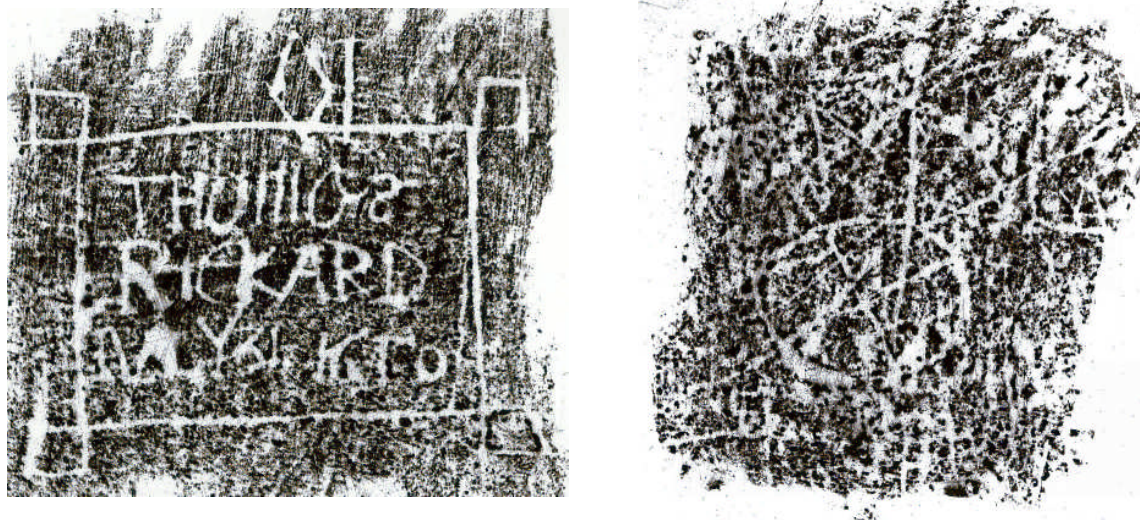


▲ Fig. 310: Tomb-chest at HAMSEY, with arrows marking joints in the top, in its face and in the plinth. Scale: 50 cm.



**(G) - Other Information**

(42) *Graffiti*: Three examples, all probably dating from the mid-seventeenth century, here illustrated by heelball rubbings:



▲ Fig. 311: **Left**, Name and date within a decorated box: 'Thomas / Rickard / May 31 1650'. Scratched on back wall of recessed tomb. **Right**, Seven-point star within a circle, with confused scratchings immediately above. On surface of tomb-chest cover, HAMSEY.



▲ Fig. 312: Initials and date within a simple box: 'W. W / 16 [?80]'. Top of tomb-chest at HAMSEY.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Measured drawing of the monument dating from the mid-nineteenth century (Chapman, 1865, 27). See fig.57, volume one, page 133.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 8 March 2007.

(48) *Biographical Information*: Edward Markewyck appears as the largest contributor in the 1524-5

lay subsidy roll out of the 14 names that appear under Hamsey, with a liability of 66s (Cornwall, 1956, 94). His will, dated 12 November 1534, reveals Markewyck as a pious man, concerned about the welfare of his soul. He left 20d to 'the mother church of Chicestre' and 6s 8d 'to the high awlter of Hampsey for tithes necligently forgotten'. He bequeathed separate sums of 6s 8d 'to the mayntenyng of the ornamentes of the Church of Saint Johns under the Castell of Lewes' and 'in like manner to the Parishe Church of Chaleghe' [Chailey]. Markewyck also left a vestment of white silk 'with an Image of our lade therin embroidered' to the Greyfriars of Lewes.

His will continues: 'I will that myn executours at the day of my burial and also at my monethes day shall prepare and get as many preestes as they may conveniently. And geve to every prest that shall singe or say Dirige and masse for my soule, my fathers soule my mothers soule, my frends soules and all christen soules at every of the said days 8d.... I will that my executours shall prepare and orderyn agenyst my monethes Day 12 new Torches and those to and those to brenne [burn] at the tyme of Divine Service the same day to be celebrated and after that Day the same Torches to be geven... unto 12 of the next poure Parish Churches where moost need shall require by the discrecon of my said executours....

I bequeath to every house of fferes within the Countie of Sussex 10s to singe a Trentall of Masses within every of the said house Immediately after my decease for my soule, my fathers soule, my mothers soule and all christen soules...

I bequeath to the convent of the Priory of Lewes 40s wherby my soule may be the better remembred I being a brother of their Chapter...I geve and bequeath to the Chamberer of the Monastery of Saint Pancrasse of Lewes 40s for a remembraunce to pray for my soule.

I bequeath to Walter Mascall Clerk tenne marcs sterling to singe and say masse ...for the space of one yere next after my decesse at the same universitie where he is scoler or student'.

Out of the profits and rents of his property, an 'honest and good preest being an Englishman borne' should be paid to 'singe and say masse' for his soul for 20 years at Hamsey and an obit of 20s should be kept every year for the same period in the same church.

Markewyck's will mentions lands and tenements in the parishes of Hamsey and St John-sub-Castro, Lewes and other members of his family may have lived there. George Marwick of Allington in the latter parish, in his will dated 24 November 1558 asked to be buried in the churchyard at Hamsey and his possible brother William, also of Allington, requested burial in Hamsey church in the same year (TNA, PROB 11/27, fols.132v-135).

It may be that Markewyck or his executors paid for the insertion of a Caen stone doorway in the twelfth century south wall of Hamsey church (fig. 22, volume one, page 80).



Monument number: 22

## West Wittering I, c.1538

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SZ 7774 9842/SZ 79 NE 6

(2) *Church dedication*: SS Peter and Paul.

(3) *Location*: Pound Road, West Wittering, Chichester, West Sussex PO 20 8AJ.

(4) *Commemorated*: William Ernle esquire and his first wife, Elizabeth *née* Bond.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [1] wife(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death*: c.1528.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1538. Probably erected just before his second marriage to Bridget Spring.

(9) *Will reference*: N/A.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. The roundels containing initials resemble those containing heraldry at PETWORTH, and the lost frieze is similar to that extant on that monument. The blind arcades in the tomb's side panels have a strong affinity with those at WESTHAMNETT and HAMSEY. Angels, more Renaissance in style, carry shields. The tiny corbels on which the tomb-chest images stand resemble those at CHURCH NORTON and CHICHESTER II. The area beneath the tomb on the conventional representation of the Resurrection, carries the idiosyncratic 'stab-marks' found on other monuments of this series.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of chancel, immediately west of and abutting WEST WITTERING II. A drawing by S.H. Grimm, dated 31 May 1790 (BL, Add. MS, 5,675, fol. 70), shows the latter set at right angles to this monument. Superficially, this seems unlikely but an account of a visit in 1803 described the two tombs as 'adjoining to each other, forming an angle with a small vacant space between the back of the monuments and the east end of the chancel' (Done, 1965, 19).

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

On 10 April 1543, Thomas Love, of Wittering, left his son two ewe sheep 'toward the mayntenaunce of a tapre of iij lbs for the Sepulchre at Easter' (Godfrey 1941, 399), evidence that the tomb was in existence then.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Linked with second monument to Ernle and his second wife, WEST WITTERING II, c.1546.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

Possibly, given the change in position of WEST WITTERING II.



▲ Fig. 313: WEST WITTERING I, c.1538, the monument commemorating William Ernle's first wife, Elizabeth, née Bond, on the north wall. Part of WEST WITTERING II can be seen at right. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* Creamy Caen stone.

(18) *Description:* Recessed canopy tomb with flattened arch, above a tomb-chest with three cusped diamond panels enclosing a shield each, alternating with thin niches containing diminutive figures

of saints standing on corbels. Left to right, they have been identified by their attributes, as (1) St George, (2) St Barbara, (3) a monastic saint carrying a processional cross and (4) probably St Roche with his dog.

The side panels of the recess consist of two layers of double trefoil niches, repeated on the soffit. A truncated pendant is situated in the centre of the arch. The pediments of the moulded columns and a cornice with cherubs and more shields have been lost.

Within the recess, is a representation of the Resurrection, with Christ, right hand raised in blessing, stepping from the tomb, surrounded by sleeping soldiers in armour, armed with a variety of pole weapons. This is flanked by two shields carried by angels, the right bearded. Below are two roundels, bearing the initials 'W E' for 'William and Elizabeth' and lover's knots. 'W' is in the left hand spandrel and 'E' in the right.

A one line inscription in raised blackletter ulc is carved on the chamfer of the tomb-chest.

(19) *Restored:*

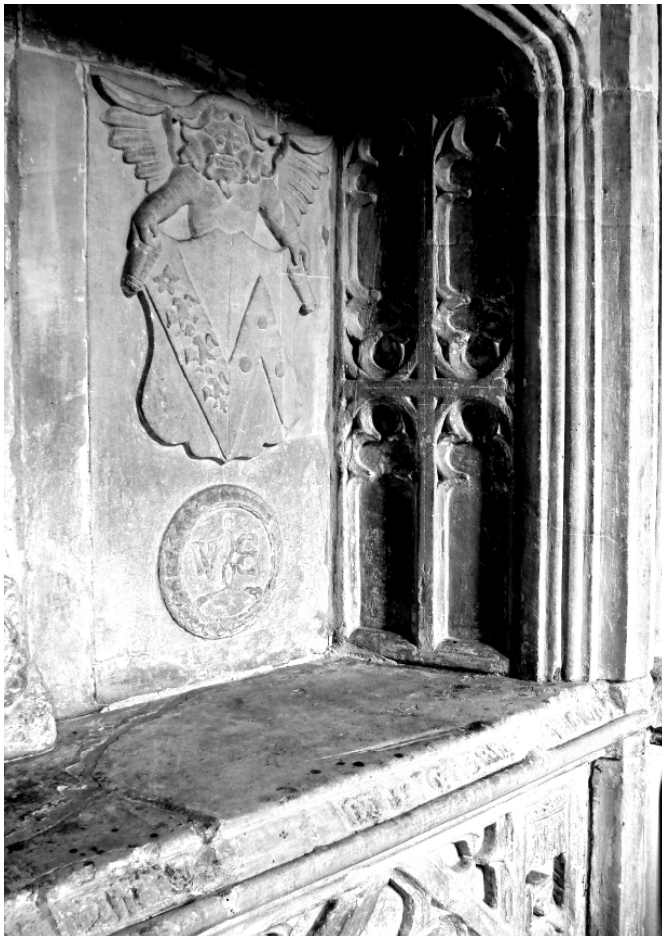
YES



NO



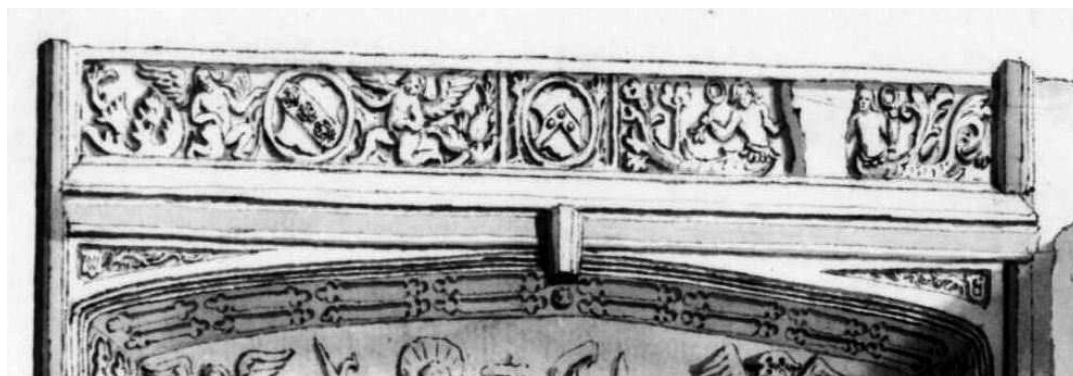
*Details/Date:* Differences in the colour of the stone, suggest that two short sections of the arch and a length of the right hand moulded side column alongside the tomb-chest may have been renewed.



◀ Fig. 314: *Double layer of trefoil niches at WEST WITTERING I, and above, on the back wall, the right-hand angel bearing a shield with a roundel below.*

(20) *Number of separate components*: 29.

(21) *Lost components*: Tops of the moulded side columns and a cornice or frieze with cherubs, mermaids and shields.



▲ Fig. 315: *The lost frieze at WEST WITTERING 1 showing cherubs and mermaids bearing shields. From the drawing by S. H. Grimm, dated 31 May 1790 (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70. © British Library Board).*

(22) *Method of construction*: Left and right, at the base, are short sections forming the bottom of the moulded side columns and the lower edge of the tomb-chest and footing. Two more blocks complete the footing, together with a short plug. The tomb-chest, with its panels and small images is all of one piece. The coverstone, with its carved chamfer inscription is in two halves, which incorporate a very short section of the side column on each side. Above are two sections of column, left and right which also include portions of the side panels.

The spandrels, which incorporate the soffit, are in two sections, with the truncated central pendant acting as a keystone.

At the back wall, each motif is carved from a single block. There seems to have been some problems constructing this part of the monument: the central Resurrection is surrounded by four small thin blocks packing out the space between this and the other features. Similarly, there is a shallow strip of Caen stone below the roundel on the left, as if the measurements for this had been miscalculated. The arched space between the soffit and the top of these features is filled by four more blocks carved to fit.

(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* Traces of black paint within the cusping of the tomb-chest.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type</i> : Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



▲ Fig. 316: *The Resurrection at WEST WITTERING I* showing it carved out of one block of Caen stone. The face of Christ and his right hand have been smashed, as have the heads of the sleeping soldiers. Scale: 50 cm.

(26) *Description:* The figure of Christ with a nimbus stands outside a quatrefoil panelled tomb, the face and right hand sheared off by hammer blows. Three sleeping soldiers surround the tomb, armed with a halberd, pike and a poleaxe. The one on the right has a shield and bare feet.

The angel, bearing a shield on the left, has bobbed hair; that on the right is bearded. Beneath the central pendant may have been carved a portrayal of the Holy Ghost as the Dove.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Hammer blows to face of Christ and heads of soldiers.

(28) *When?* Probably during the Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good. Whitewashed.



▲ Fig. 317: Tomb-chest at WEST WITTERING I showing niches for imagery, alternating with cusped diamond panels bearing shields. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Lost. Grimm's drawing of 1790 shows cherubs and mermaids supporting shields.

(31) *Other:* N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Tomb-chest with images in niches; blackletter inscription.

*Renaissance elements:* Cherubs and mermaids on lost frieze; angels bearing shields. The former may have been added when the second monument, WEST WITTERING II was erected, c.1546.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type:* Capitals ☒ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Text* ("/" denotes end of line)

*Line 1* Of yur charite pray [for] ....William [Ernle] and Elizabeth hys wyf...

*Errors:* None.

*Erasures:* None.

(34) Prayer Scrolls (left to right): N/A.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 193.5 cm. (Frieze lost).

(36) *Monument width:* 217.6 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 40.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left - Height: 47.5 cm. Width: 48.5 cm.

Centre - Height: 47.5 cm. Width: 48.5 cm.

Right - Height: 48.5 cm. Width: 48.5 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other - Type:*

Resurrection - Height: 28.2 cm. Width: 62 cm.

### **(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type:* Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* Two, left and right of Resurrection, on back wall.

Left - Height: 43.4 cm. Width: 41.5 cm.

*Blazon:* Argent on a bend sable three eagles displayed or, on the bend in chief a mullet for difference (ERNLE).

Right - Height: 43 cm. Width: 43 cm.

*Blazon:* ERNLE impaling Argent on a chevron, sable three bezants (BOND), (Lambarde, 1933, 208).

This shield is repeated in the glass of the Bishop's Palace at Chichester and may have come from Cakeham.

Tomb-chest left: ERNLE.

Tomb-chest centre: ERNLE impaling BOND.

Tomb-chest right: BOND.

Left roundel: 9 cm. in diameter.

Right roundel: 9.3 cm. in diameter.

*NOTE:* Two shields, carved in Caen stone, probably by these masons, are in the splays of the window in the east wall of the chancel over the tomb, bearing the arms of BOND and ERNLE (fig. 25, volume one, page 83).





▲ Fig. 318: Angels bearing shields at WEST WITTERING I, the left blazoned with the arms of ERNLE and the right ERNLE impaling BOND. The angel on the right is heavily bearded and is not a wodehowse, as suggested elsewhere (Mosse, 1933, 202).



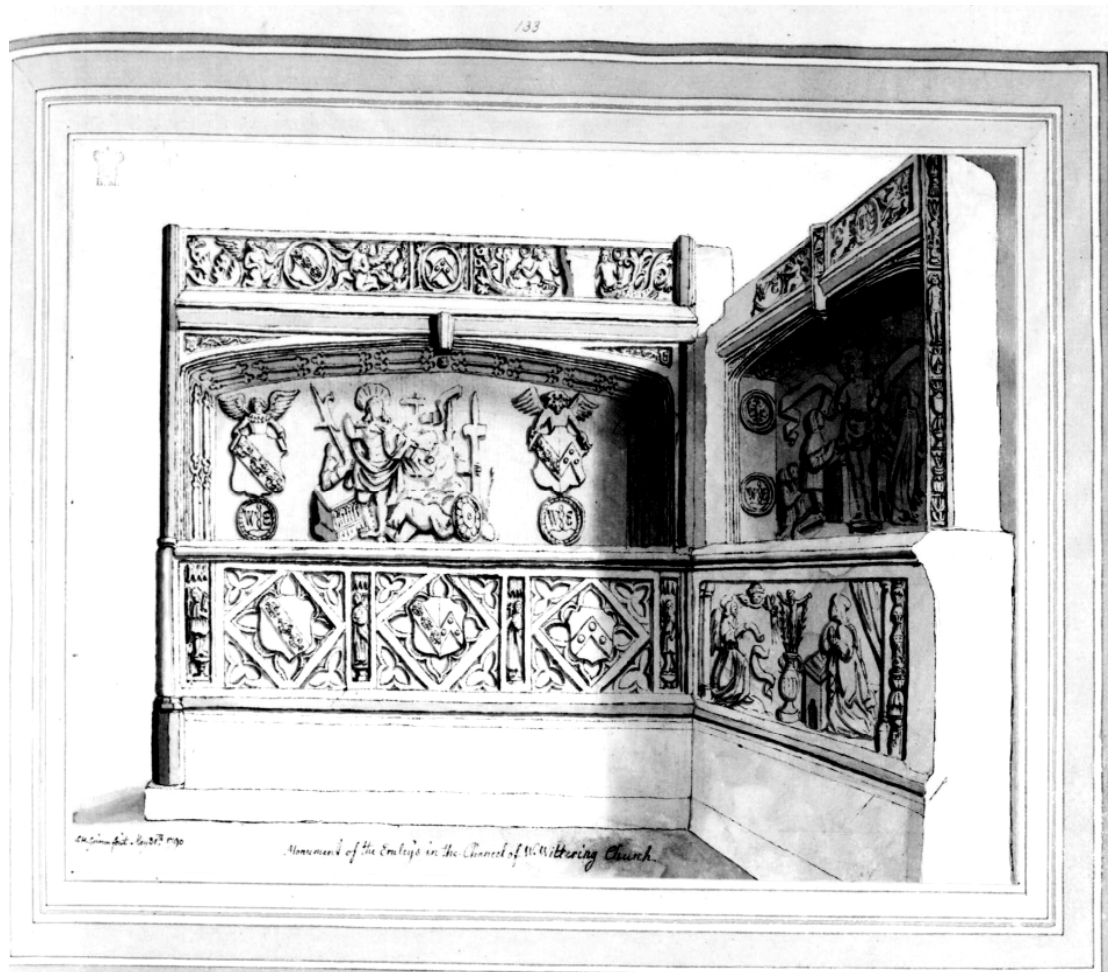
▲ Fig. 319: The two roundels at WEST WITTERING I bearing the initials 'W' and 'E' separated by lover's knots, for 'William' and 'Elizabeth' Ernle, repeated in the spandrels. The roundel on the right is not a perfect circle.



**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: Key motif scratched on left hand shield.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by S.H. Grimm, showing the original arrangement of the monuments, dated 31 May 1790 (BL, Add. MS, 5,675, fol. 70)



▲ Fig. 320: Grimm's drawing of the original arrangement of WEST WITTERING I and II, showing the lost friezes on both. Dated 31 May 1790 (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70. © British Library Board).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 15 May 2005; 8 October 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: William Ernle was the third son (born, c.1501) of Sir John Ernle, (c. 1464-1520) attorney-general to Henry VII from 7 July 1507, who was buried at Sidlesham. William inherited a substantial inheritance and followed his father into Gray's Inn and represented Chichester in the Parliament of 1542 (Whittick, 2004b, 510). Elizabeth married William sometime before 1522. She was a member of the Bond family and was a widow from an earlier marriage to a

Legg *alias* Legh. On 1 December 1522 Bishop Sherborn of Chichester granted a lease of Cakeham manor 'for their lives and three years thereafter', a grant confirmed by the Cathedral Chapter the following March (Peckham, 1952, 15). There were two children of the marriage, Elizabeth and Francis. In 1528, apparently not long after the birth of her son, Elizabeth Ernle died, as suggested by Ernle's surrender of the lease on Cakeham Manor, and his taking up of a new one in his sole name from Michaelmas 1528. The document is dated 20 March 1528 (Peckham, 1952, 29).

For further information on Ernle, see WEST WITTERING II.

*Monument number: 23*

## Racton, c.1538

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SU 7795 9024/N/A.

(2) *Church dedication:* St Peter.

(3) *Location:* B 2147, 0.402 km. south of junction with B.2146, Racton, West Sussex PO18 9DP.

(4) *Commemorated:* John Gounter esquire and his second wife, Jane, daughter of Henry Aylward.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [1] wife(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* 1557.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1538. Unfinished ?

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/40. fols. 236v-237v.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed canopy tomb, similar to others of this group at SELMESTON and KINGSTON BUCL. The friezes, with their pelicans and cherubs, resemble those at BOXGROVE I, PETWORTH and the lost example at WEST WITTERING II. The grapevine architrave has an affinity with PETWORTH.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall, within old chancel, 405.5 cm. from the east wall.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Comments:* Religious iconography of Christ in Majesty is suggestive of this role in the Pre-Reformation liturgy.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☐ NO ☒

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* Creamy Caen Stone.

(18) *Description:* Recessed table tomb with three arches; to the south, the four-centred arch is flattened but the side arches, east and west, are more pointed. The tomb-chest has three cusped panels bearing shields on the south, alternating with two thin trefoil niches. The west end also has a cusped panel with a shield. The east end is blank although there are surviving marking out lines for ornamentation that was never carved. Was the monument unfinished - or were economies imposed?

The moulded octagonal side shafts support spandrels with the initials 'I' and 'G' on each side amid a trailing flower motif, for 'John Gounter'. Above is a thin architrave of a boldly executed grapevine, below, on the left, a frieze of cherubs supporting a shield bearing the arms of GOUNTER and pelicans performing the same role on the right. The cornice is of alternating fleur-de-lis and anthemion.



◀ Fig. 321: Monument to John Gounter d. 1557, but erected c.1538, and his second wife, at RACTON. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

The corner shafts and a central pendant terminate in flat floriated caps reminiscent of Corinthian capitals. A Tudor rose is carved underneath the base of the pendant.

On the west side, the arrangement is different: at the top are two cherubs supporting a roundel with the initials 'I' and 'G', above a continuation of the grapevine architrave. Below is another panel showing two pelicans and a bejewelled chalice – a reference to the medieval legend of the pious pelican feeding her offspring with her own blood and evocative of the central message of the Mass.

Within the recess are two kneeling groups of effigies; the wife on the left with two daughters and a prayer scroll and Gounter on the right with four sons beneath a prayer scroll, carved in a very similar manner to WEST WITTERING II. Between the figures is the larger portrayal of Christ in Majesty, carrying a banner.



▲ Fig. 322: West end of the RACTON tomb showing the lower panel depicting the legend of the pelican in her piety, feeding her offspring with her own blood. Width of tomb: 56.5 cm.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date:* Decorated finials of shafts restored in 1996 by Kenneth Child. The monument was also cleaned, re-assembled and now sits on a lead membrane as protection against damp leeching through the Caen stone.

(20) *Number of separate components:* At least 35.

(21) *Lost components:* None.

(22) *Method of construction:* At the two front corners, two carved blocks, 29.5 cm. in height, form the bases of the octagonal piers, which also include sections of the moulded footings on the east and west ends. Overall, four moulded blocks form the footings of the monument and the bottom edge of the tomb-chest. This is in three modules, with joins down the centre of each trefoil niche, and also includes the adjoining sections of the piers. The coverstone is in three major parts, with one thin strip running longitudinally along the back, beneath the panel bearing the carved figures. The coverstone is mitred into the tomb-chest panels at the east end (fig. 35, volume one, page 96). Vertical and diagonal marking out lines survive on these slabs to enable erection of the pier sections on top; as the base parts are cut into the coverstone, this suggests some additional carving was necessary on site.

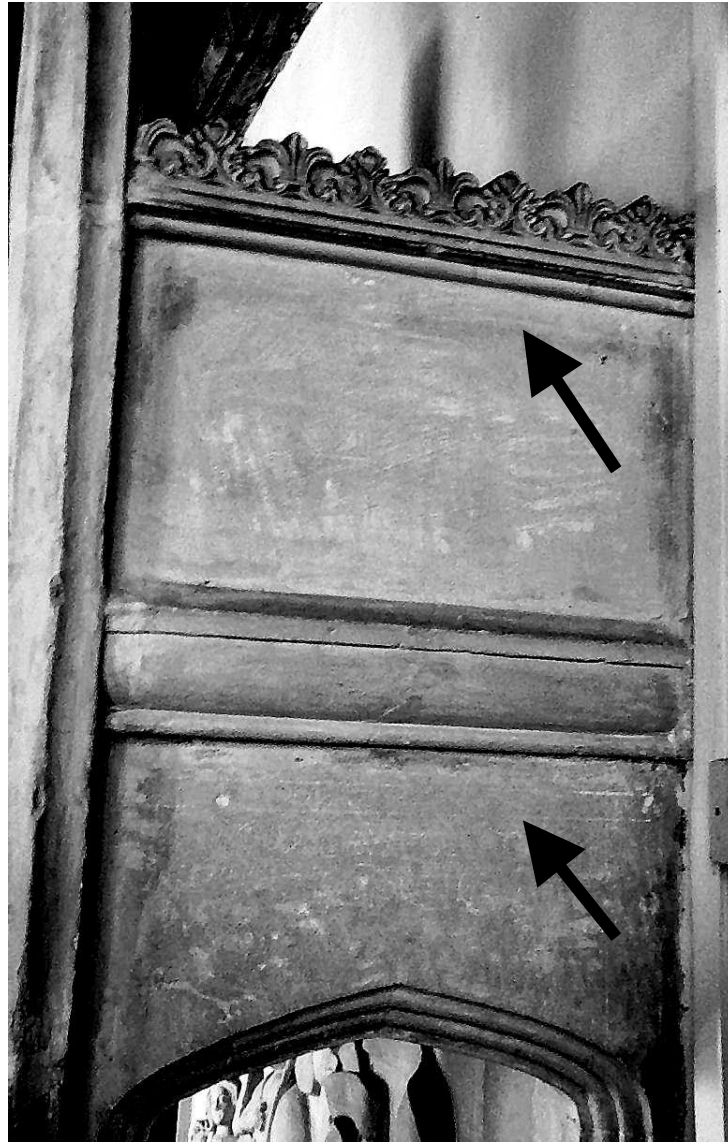
Further sections of the pier, left and right, support the spandrels, which include the soffit and the grapevine architrave. A short section in the centre, including the pendant, forms the keystone to the flattened arch and this component extends upwards between the two separate frieze panels and the thin cornice, which incorporates a small section of the pier on either side. The floriated terminations are also separate components.

This assembly scheme is followed on the east and west faces, with the exception of the tops of the arches which are part of the lower panels. The east face is blank and contains marking out lines for carving similar ornamental panels to the west, but this decoration was never undertaken, apart from the inclusion of the cornice (fig.323, page 474).

The back panel consists of a single block which bears the carved figures, and plain slabs which pack out the space between the soffit and the edge of the tomb.

(23) *Description of figures:* Unusually (but like RUSTINGTON II) the wife is depicted kneeling before a prayer desk on the left, with her husband facing her on the right. She wears a pedimental head-dress with the lappets folded up, and a cloak or mantle, fastened across the chest over a gown with very prominent cuffs, very similar to the female effigy at WEST WITTERING II. Behind her kneel two daughters, dressed similarly. A prayer scroll curls upwards from her hands, but this is blank and must have been painted.

The figure of John Gounter, opposite, has bobbed hair and is in armour, worn beneath a tabard. A blank prayer scroll is above. His arms are absurdly long and he wears gauntlets, perhaps a



▲ Fig. 323: *The blank uncompleted east face at RACTON with marking out lines for the carving of decorative panels.*

punning reference to the family arms. Again, this effigy resembles the male figure at WEST WITTERING II, as do the four sons, dressed in civilian attire, with long false sleeves hanging down from their elbows. These are a charming group, with the youngest portrayed almost falling off the mound upon which he is kneeling.

Both figures kneel on mounds with the idiosyncratic ‘spotting’ seen on other tombs of this series. They both look up adoringly at the figure of Christ in Majesty.



▲ Fig. 324: *Female effigy at RACTON, shown in a very similar portrayal to that at WEST WITTERING II. Width of female figure and daughters: 48.5 cm.*



▲ Fig. 325: *Effigy of John Gounter and his four sons at RACTON. Width of group: 57 cm.*



(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i> Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Damaged later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i> Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type:</i> Christ in Majesty	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* The figure of Christ in Majesty, longed-haired and bearded, seems to be naked apart from a cope, which has a beaded decoration along its edge and is fastened by a large circular morse at the chest. The left hand clutches a crosier (the top of which is missing) to which is attached a banner, in a conscious representation of the *Agnes Dei*. The right hand (now broken off) was raised in blessing.

On the west face, is a panel depicting the medieval legend of the pelican in her piety feeding her offspring with her own blood (fig. 322, page 472 and fig. 90, volume one, page 178).

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Damage to the figure of Christ and the top of the crosier.

(28) *When?* ?The Edwardine Reformation – although Gounter was alive during this period and may have provided some protection to his monument. He died in 1557, so this damage may have occurred in the second wave of Protestant iconoclasm during Elizabeth's reign.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* Two panels on front of entablature, display left, two winged cherubs, amid flowers, supporting a shield, and right, two pelicans with another shield. Nairn & Pevsner (1965, 311) call them swans and Smith thought them to be 'dragons' (Sussex Archaeological Society, Verena Smith papers box no. 16).

(31) *Other:* On west front, two cherubs support a beaded roundel with the initials 'I' and 'G' for John Gounter, above another panel with pelicans and a chalice, symbolising Holy Communion.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Spandrels and cornice of fleur-de-lis and anthemion.

*Renaissance elements:* Friezes on south and west faces of entablature.



▲ Fig. 326: *Crudely carved figure of Christ in Majesty at RACTON, with damage to the hand raised in blessing and the banner. Height of figure: 59 cm.*



▲ Fig. 327: *Left and right friezes on the south face with cherubs and pelicans supporting shields at RACTON. Frieze and cornice are 35 cm. in height.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type*: Not known. Probably painted on chamfer of tomb-chest, 3.5 cm. deep.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures*: N/A.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: Two scrolls over main kneeling figures. Probably painted. Now blank.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls*: Not known.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 270.5 cm. to top of finials; 235.5 cm. to top of cornice.

(36) *Monument width*: 199 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 56.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 49 cm. Width: 47 cm.

Centre - Height: 49 cm. Width: 47 cm.

Right - Height: 49 cm. Width: 47 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures*:

Male - Height: 41.5 cm. Width: 57 cm. (including sons).

Wife - Height: 40 cm. Width: 48.5 cm. (including daughters)

(40) *Other - Type*: Christ in Majesty.

Height: 59 cm. Width: 22 cm.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three on south face of tomb-chest; one on west face. Two shields in friezes on south face of entablature.

*Tomb-chest*:

Left - Height: 32.3 cm. Width: 33.5 cm.

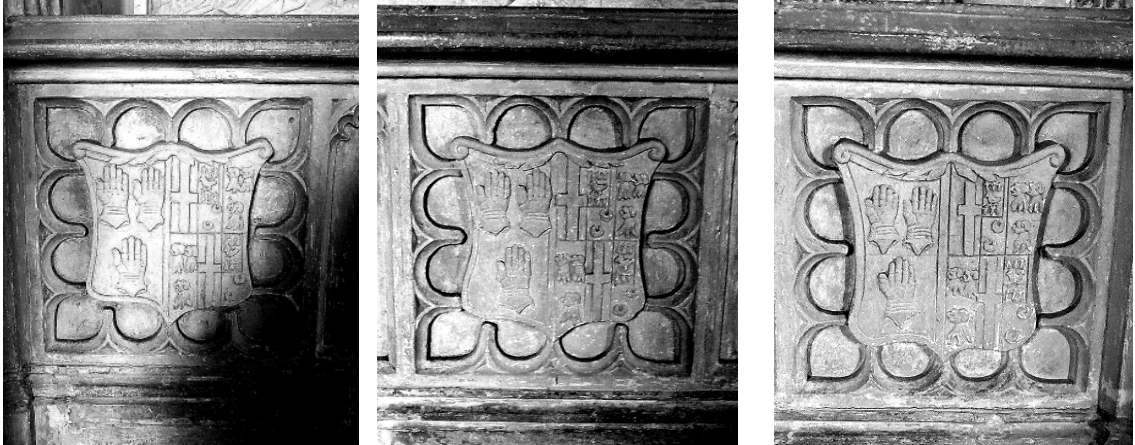
*Blazon*: *Sable, three gauntlets argent, a bordure or* (GOUNTER) impaling, quarterly of six, 1. and 5.

*Or, a cross azure* (DE BOHUN of Midhurst), 2. and 6. *Gules three crescents or, a canton ermine, a*

*martlet sable for difference* (COOKE of Rustington) and 3. and 4. *Sable, three talbots' heads argent* (HOWLES of East Standen, IoW), (WSRO, P 2282, Lambarde, 1934, 175).

Centre - Height: 33.2 cm. Width: 33 cm. *Blazon*: As above.

Right - Height: 33 cm. Width: 33.1 cm. *Blazon*: As above.



▲ Fig. 328: Left, centre and right shields on tomb-chest at RACTON, bearing GOUNTER impaling quarterly of six, 1. and 5. DE BOHUN, 2. and 6. COOKE and 3. and 4. HOWLES. Shields are 33 cm. in height.

These are almost the same arms as were probably blazoned on the missing shield on RUSTINGTON I.

Other:

- (1) West face of tomb-chest - Height: 33 cm. Width: 33.6 cm. *Blazon*: GOUNTER
- (2) - Left hand frieze. Height: 22 cm. Width: 22.5 cm. *Blazon*: GOUNTER
- (3) - Right hand frieze. Height: 22 cm. Width: 22 cm. *Blazon*: GOUNTER



▲ Fig. 329: Arms of GOUNTER on west face of the tomb-chest at RACTON. Shield is 33 cm. in height.

### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: There are a number of late sixteenth and seventeenth century graffiti on the tomb-chest, or the east end of the monument, the most interesting being a dated four-line inscription in Latin (fig. 50, volume one, page 112). This reads: 26 IVLY 1594 / NIL LACHRI ME AVT / GEMITVS / DEFVNCTA CORPORE / PRESEVNT/ Translated, 'Tears and groans are no benefit to a dead body'.

In the centre of the tomb-chest coverstone, is a name and date, 'FRANCIS DREWE 1612'. At the east end of the coverstone, is what seems to be some form of game, like Nine Men's Morris, 12.5 cm. in width, (fig. 49, volume one, page 111). There are also a series of badly worn initials on the tomb-chest: 'W W' at the east end; 'T E' scratched within a rectangle, 4.7 cm. in height and 3.9 cm. in width; 'T W' on the chamfer at the west end and 'M ?D' arranged vertically in the centre. At the east end of the chamfer is the date '1616'.

There are no traces of mason's marks on the monument.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: S.H. Grimm drew the monument, c.1782, but bizarrely drew the figures facing the wrong way. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 41).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 16 May 2006; 18 June 2007.

(45) *Biographical information*: John Gounter was the son of Hugh Gounter son of William of Gilston, Breconshire, but adopted the arms of an ancestor, (an ?uncle) John Gounter, of Chilworth, near Guildford, Surrey, who died in 1511 and whose wife, Margaret bequeathed the estate at Racton to John Gounter in c.1527.

He married three times: (1) Mary, daughter of Thomas Cooke of Rustington, and Rockley, IoW (RUSTINGTON I) and Joan Howles, daughter of William Howles of East Standen, IoW (? Howlys, BRADING I). There was one daughter, Mary, of the marriage. (2) Jane, daughter of Henry Aylward, (who is represented on the monument), with one son, Arthur, born in 1536 and John, William and Henry and two daughters, Constance and Mabel. This is the wife and the sons and daughters shown on the monument. (3) Jane, relict of Edmund Lewknor of Tangmere, Sussex, (d. 1543), daughter of ... Tyrell of Fining, near Rogate, Sussex. There was one son, Jasper (WSRO, P 2282),

Gounter was a JP and also served as a Commissioner of Sewers and Musters from 1534. In 1537, he purchased land called 'Neelys lond' (*sic*) at Warblington, Sussex, from William Ernle, (WEST WITTERING I and II), (WSRO, P 2282). His seat was Racton House, on the opposite bank of the River Ems. A drawing by Grimm in 1782 (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 42) shows the interior of the hall with wainscoting and a frieze carved in wood, resembling that on the monument - perhaps produced by wood-carvers who were part of the Chichester Cathedral 'works organisation' and



*Monument of Gounter on the Side of Racton chauncel.*

▲ Fig. 330: Grimm's drawing of the RACTON monument, c. 1782, with curiously, the figures facing the wrong way. There is no possibility of them having been reversed since that time: they are carved on a single slab with the central figure of Christ in Majesty. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 41. © British Library board).

shared the same designs as the masons (fig. 28, volume one, page 85). The house was demolished in 1841.

In his will, dated 30 September 1557 and proved the following July, Gounter asked that his 'bodie ... be buried in the chauncell of Racton' (TNA, PROB 11/40, fol. 236 v).

Monument number: 24

## Chichester II, St Andrew Oxmarket, c.1540

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SU 8623 0482/SU 80 SE 116.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Andrew Oxmarket.

(3) *Location*: St Andrew's Court, off East Street, Chichester, West Sussex PO19 1YH.

(4) *Commemorated*: William Royse, City of Chichester coroner (?son of CHICHESTER I), and wife Joan. This previously anonymous monument has been identified by careful transcript of its battered inscription in raised Blackletter ulc

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [1] wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death*: c.1540. His will (WSRO, STC I/3/fol.1) is dated 11 May 1540 and he is believed to have died shortly afterwards (Hunnisett 1985, xxxv). No date for the granting of probate has been recorded.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1540.

(9) *Will reference*: WSRO, STC I/3/fol.1

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	--	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Similar in treatment to other exterior monuments of the series at MUNDHAM and CHICHESTER I. The corbels supporting the personal saints resemble those on the side panels at KINGSTON BUCI and CHURCH NORTON.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: Mural, exterior west wall of church, 130 cm. from north jamb of west door and 114 cm. from pavement level (fig. 71, volume one, page 150).

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

*Comments*: N/A.

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	-----	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------



▲ Fig. 331: *CHICHESTER II*, the exterior monument to the City of Chichester coroner, William Royse and wife, with an inscription in raised blackletter ulc, and religious iconography including two personal saints. Monument height: 79 cm.

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Grey Caen stone, recently liberally coated with cement paint.

(18) *Description*: Male figure at left, in ?civic robes, kneels before a prayer desk, subsequently smashed, three or four sons kneeling behind. Wife, at right, perhaps wearing some type of mob cap, kneels at a similarly smashed prayer desk, with at least seven daughters behind.

Prayer scrolls, probably originally raised-lettering, curl upwards to two personal saints, a female figure with a sword and crown, standing on a corbel above the man, almost certainly St Catherine of Alexandria, and a bishop once holding a crosier, the other (missing) hand raised on blessing, positioned above the wife. This may be St Richard of Chichester, or even St Thomas à Becket, whose shrines were destroyed in late 1538, shortly before this monument was erected. Above all is a portrayal of God the Father in Majesty, perhaps wearing a Papal tiara, the right hand raised in blessing. Beneath is a two-line inscription in raised blackletter ulc, 104.2 cm. in width and 9.2 cm in height.



(19) *Restored:* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date:* N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components:* One single slab of Caen stone.

(21) *Lost components:* None.

(22) *Method of construction:* Carved out of a single block in high relief.



▲ Fig. 332: *Kneeling figure of William Royse, in civic robes, at CHICHESTER II.*  
*Height of figure: 30 cm.*

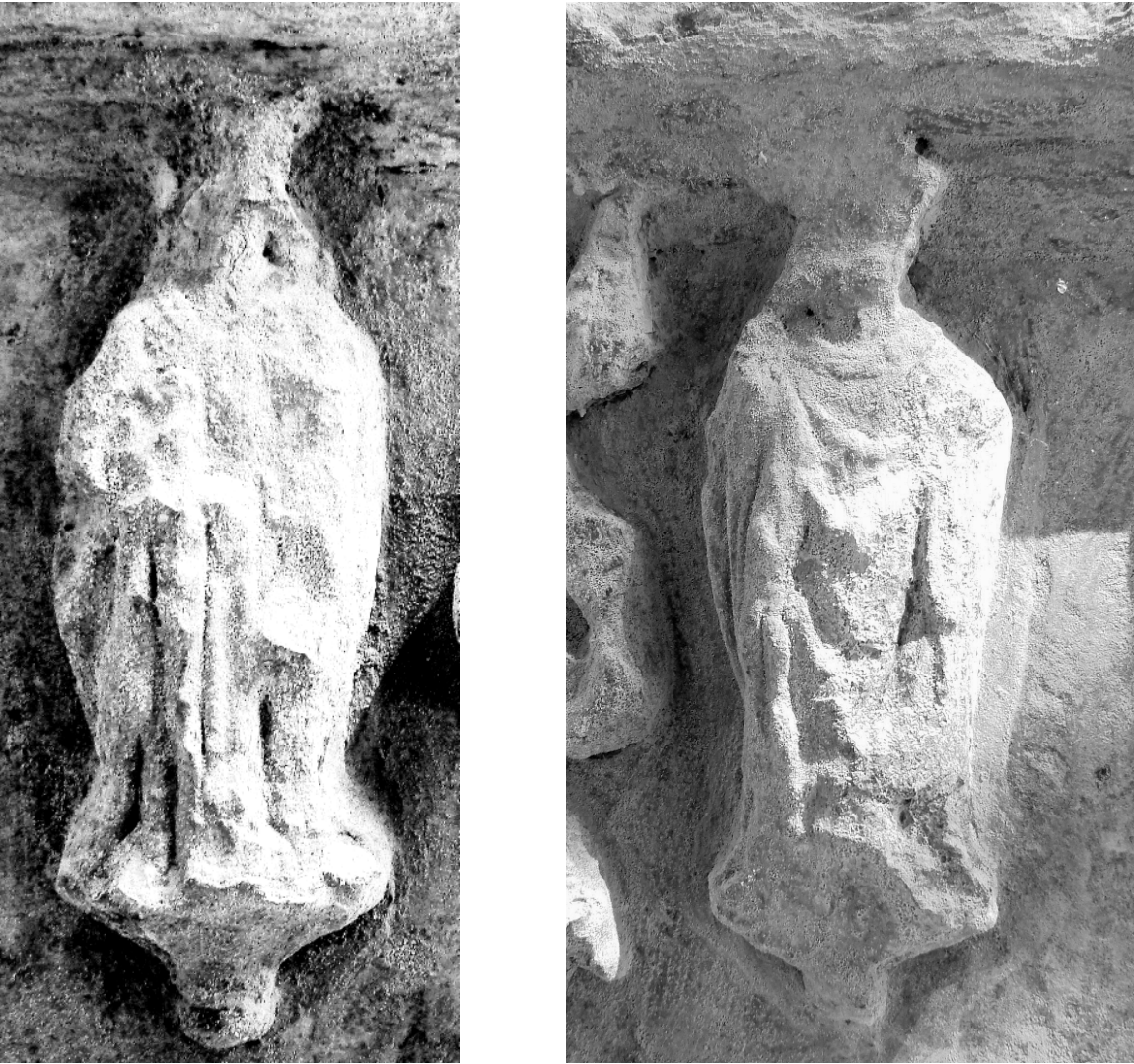


▲ Fig. 333: The battered kneeling figure of Joan Royse, with a curious type of mob cap, on the CHICHESTER II panel. Height of figure: 29 cm.

(23) *Description of figures:* William Royse is wearing civic robes, (?as a coroner), a cloak falling down his back. His wife may be wearing some kind of over-garment over a dress and seems to have

some type of mob cap on her head. The sons also have long gowns. Destruction of the monument precludes a description of the daughters' head-dresses or clothes.

(24) *Paint traces?* None. A generous coat of white cement paint has been administered to the panel in recent years.



▲ Fig. 334: The two patronal saints at CHICHESTER II. **Left**, a female effigy wearing a crown and carrying a sword; the attributes of St Catherine of Alexandria, 16 cm. in height. **Right**, the effigy of a bishop, probably St Richard or St Thomas à Becket, 17.3 cm. in height.

(25) Religious iconography:	Extant	<input type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Medium:	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Type:	God in Majesty	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>

Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* At upper left, female saint wearing a crown and holding a sword, point down, in her right hand – the attributes of St Catherine of Alexandria. At upper right, the figure of a bishop, the right hand raised in blessing – probably St Richard of Chichester or St Thomas à Becket, which is surprising given the state suppression of their cults in late 1538. Above, the remains of a vigorous carving of God the Father, rising from clouds, His right hand raised in blessing.



▲ Fig. 335: *The depiction of God the Father arising from clouds and within a mandorla on CHICHESTER II. Height of image: 32 cm.*

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* The kneeling effigies have been smashed by a hammer, as have their prayer desks, presumably because these had Books of Hours resting upon them. The face of the two patronal saints have also been smashed, together with that of God the Father in Majesty, and the base of the bishop's corbel has also been attacked.

(28) *When?* The Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Poor.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze:* N/A.

(31) *Other:* N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements:* Blackletter ulc inscription.

*Renaissance elements:* None.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text:* Foot ☒ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* Largely effaced two line inscription.

*Text* ("/" denotes end of line)

*Line 1* [Of] yowre charite pray for the [soule]s [of] Wylliam /

*Line 2* Royse [of] Chit [estr] and [hi]s [wy]fe [..... ] ame'

*Errors:* Not known.

*Erasures:* Largely effaced.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* Two thin prayer scrolls which must have had painted text.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* Text erased.

### (E) - Dimensions

(35) *Monument height:* 79 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 113.8 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 6 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 30 cm. Width: 42 cm. (Including sons, excluding prayer desk)



Wife - Height: 29 cm. Width: 46 cm.

(40) *Other - Type*: Religious iconography.

St Catherine (left) - Height: 16 cm. Width: 6.5cm.

Bishop (right) – Height: 17.3 cm. Width: 6.5 cm.

God the Father – Height: 32 cm. Width: 28.5 cm.

## **(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: None.

## **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 15 May 2006; 15 July 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: William Royse was probably the son of Thomas (CHICHESTER I). He held considerable property in Chichester and surrounding villages such as North Mundham and was steward of the manor of Oving in 1535. He first appears as one of the two Chichester coroners in March 1527 when he took an inquest into the murder of Richard Barber ‘capper’ (Hunnisett 1985, 17-8). In September 1533 Edward Holand, a tailor, confessed before Royse that he murdered William Skynner, late the servant of Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester, and keeper of the episcopal palace, with a large stone which he used to hit the unfortunate Skynner over the head (Hunnisett, 1985, 24). He had sought sanctuary in the church of the Friar Preachers in the city and this was the last known abjuration in Sussex and sanctuary rights were abolished in 1540 (Hunnisett, 1964, 50).

On 5 May 1526, the dean and chapter at Chichester confirmed a lease of land to William Royse at ‘Provenderfild’ for 30 years and four years later, he was assigned nine acres of land in ‘Spittyllfyld’ Chichester and a barn outside the city’s Southgate, at a total annual rent of 17s 4d. In 1533, the chapter, at the request of Bishop Sherborn, assigned Royse and his wife Joan the lease of Cookes house in North Mundham with 15 acres of land called ‘the Southes’ lately held by Sir William Shelley (CLAPHAM) together with two garden plots (Peckham, 1952, 32, 42, 123).

The valuation of Chichester cathedral in 1535, lists Royse’s holdings as a mill with a ‘little croft’ in St Sepulchre’s parish (valued at £2 13s 4d) and leased glebe land in Wick and Treyford (£2). He was also in receipt of a fee of £1 6s 8d for his stewardship of ‘Oving and Hilsters’ (Peckham, 1954, 161-2, 166).

Monument number: 25

## Westhampnett, c. 1540

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: SU 8809 0617/SU 80 NE 17.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Peter.

(3) *Location*: 60m north of Stane Street, Westhampnett, Chichester, West Sussex PO18 0NT.

(4) *Commemorated*: Richard Sakevyle, gentleman, and wife Elizabeth, *née* Thetcher.

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & wife	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>

(7) *Date of death*: c.1539.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1540.

(9) *Will reference*: None found in the National Archives or WSRO.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: Not applicable.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed tomb with tomb-chest of the same type as CHURCH NORTON, RACTON HAMSEY and PETWORTH. The side panels of the recess are larger versions of the design found at HAMSEY. The arch and capitals of the side columns have been restored.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: North wall of chancel, 96 cm. west from east wall and immediately east of the organ, which was inserted in the early twentieth century. Altar rails abut western edge of tomb-chest.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen Stone.

(18) *Description*: Recessed tomb with niche vaulting above tomb-chest with three 12-lobed panels



▲ Fig. 336: Monument of Richard Sakevyle and his wife Elizabeth on the north wall of WESTHAMPNETT church, positioned between the altar rails and altar steps. The top of the monument has been restored. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.

bearing shields. Three groups of figures are at the back of the recess. From left to right, kneeling effigy of a man in civilian clothes, the separate effigy of a single son kneeling behind; a rare design of the Holy Trinity and a kneeling figure of a lady, with the single figure of a daughter kneeling behind.

(19) *Restored:*

YES

☒ NO

☐

*Details/Date:* Top of monument and the side columns, (including the capitals), have been restored, probably at the restoration of the church in 1867.

(20) *Number of separate components:* 24, including restored top of arch.

(21) *Lost components:* Top of arch, pediment, top of columns, left and right, and cornice.



(22) *Method of construction:* The back of the recessed tomb was carved in three panels, with the religious scene slotted into the middle. Unusually, the tomb-chest was carved in just two pieces, with the left-hand niche and three panels all of one piece. It may be that an error was made during construction or pre-fabrication at the workshop. A small vertical “plug” of Caen stone in the same colour and texture was inserted in the plinth, which would have otherwise been too narrow to match the recessed tomb or tomb-chest cover.

An antiquarian drawing of the early 1830s (Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol. 1, 121) shows the base as brick-like slabs, but this is unlikely to be artistic licence as this part of the monument seems contemporary with the remainder (fig. 345, page 499).

Was this use of already prepared components, perhaps from a discarded tomb, or an indication of pre-made tomb parts?



▲ Figs. 337: *Male and female figures at WESTHAMPNETT. The female effigies are less skilfully carved. Scales: ten cms.*

(24) *Description of figures:* The male effigy, at left, has bobbed hair and the face is slightly turned to the observer. He kneels at a prayer desk with a book on top, wearing a long furred over-gown. A ribbon-like prayer scroll emanates from his hands. Behind him kneels his son, dressed in a fur-edged gown with puffed sleeves and a long false sleeve hanging from the elbow. The son has no prayer desk.

On the other side of the Holy Trinity kneels his wife, her face again turned towards the observer, wearing a pedimental head-dress, with folded lappets, and a mantle with two brooches fastening a cord across her chest.

Her gown has furred wrists. A pomander hangs about her waist. Her costume is mirrored by that worn by the rather pathetic effigy of her daughter, kneeling behind. The female effigies are somewhat less skilfully carved. The base upon which they kneel is stippled like the effigies at RACTON, PETWORTH and CHURCH NORTON.

(24) *Paint traces?* The monument has been whitewashed but there are traces of black paint on the right hand tomb-chest panel. Claw chisel marks survive on the niches to provide a key for pigments to be applied.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i>	Extant	<input type="checkbox"/> Erased	<input type="checkbox"/> Destroyed later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i>	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>Type:</i> Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/> Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/> Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/> Trinity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM	<input type="checkbox"/> Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(27) *Description:* At first sight, this might be mistaken for a Pieta. However, this is an unusual portrayal of the Holy Trinity, found only in Northern Europe.

God the Father, dressed in a cope, fastened by a prominent morse, is enthroned, the left hand supporting an open book.

The crucified Christ, naked except for a loin cloth, reclines on the Father's right knee, held up by His right arm. The wounds of the Crucifixion are prominently shown – have they been recut?

Above the figures is the Holy Ghost, as usual portrayed as a dove, now nearly effaced. Beneath, on a plinth is a short inscription in raised blackletter ulc.

(28) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* The heads of the effigies in the Holy Trinity have been smashed, as has Christ's right arm and hand. The portrayal of the Holy Ghost as a dove has been effaced.

(28) *When?* Probably the Edwardine Reformation, 1548/53. The hands of the son's effigy and those of the female figures have also been smashed. It is not known when the top of the monument was destroyed, or whether its loss was due to an act of iconoclasm. The original font was removed from Westhampnett church during the seventeenth century republican interregnum (Evans, c.1930, 13), and there may have been other depredations in this period.



▲ Fig. 338: *The Holy Trinity on the Sakevyle monument at WESTHAMPNETT. Scale: ten cm.*

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Poor. The monument is suffering from settlement, with the joints widening. There is also damage to the tomb-chest panels.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: N/A. The top of the monument has been restored.

(31) *Other*: Not applicable.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Tracery in vaulting of the soffit and side panels of recessed tomb; tomb-chest panels and niches. The original arch probably had a Gothic frieze and pediment.

*Renaissance elements*: None.



▲ Fig. 339: *The design of the side niches is repeated in the soffit of the recessed tomb at WESTHAMPNETT. Three separate slabs were employed which may indicate problems in construction.*



▲ Fig. 340: *Side niches are larger versions of the design found at HAMSEY, c.1538.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☒ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text:* Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* Almost certainly painted on the chamfer of the tomb-chest: there are no sign of lead plugs or rivet holes to indicate the use of a brass fillet inscription. However, it is possible that an inscription could have been painted above the now destroyed arch. Given that the short inscription beneath the Trinity is in blackletter, it is likely that the main inscription was also this type).

*Text* (“/” denotes end of line) On a narrow bordered plinth beneath the Trinity is the following line in blackletter ulc: *Sancta trinitas unus Deus* / Translated as ‘Holy Trinity, One God’.

*Errors:* Not known.

*Erasures:* None.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls:* The two prayer scrolls were probably painted with prayers to the Holy Trinity. No sign of the lettering remains.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* Probably whitewashed over.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 199 cm. (Present height, with restored arch).

(36) *Monument width:* 188 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 45 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:*

Left - Height: 45 cm. Width: 43 cm.

Centre - Height: 44 cm. Width: 43 cm.

Right - Height: 44 cm. Width: 43.5 cm.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 44 cm. Width: 24.2 cm.

Wife - Height: 42 cm. Width: 23.5 cm.

(40) *Other - Type:* son.

Height: 26 cm. Width: 11.5cm.

*Type:* daughter.

Height: 22.5 cm. Width: 11 cm.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐



Type:           Shield           ☒ Escutcheon           ☐ Crest           ☐

*Number and position:* Three shields on tomb-chest.

Left - Height: 25 cm. Width: 27 cm.

*Blazon:* *Quarterly, or and gules a bend vair.* (SACKVILLE).

Centre - Height: 25.5 cm. Width: 27 cm.

*Blazon:* SACKVILLE impaling *Gules a cross-moline and on a chief argent three grasshoppers vert* (THETCHER).



▲ Fig. 341: **Left**, left-hand shield on the WESTHAMPNETT tomb-chest, bearing the arms of SACKVILLE. **Right**, centre shield displaying SACKVILLE impaling THETCHER.



▲ Fig. 342: *Right hand niche and shield, displaying the arms of THETCHER.*

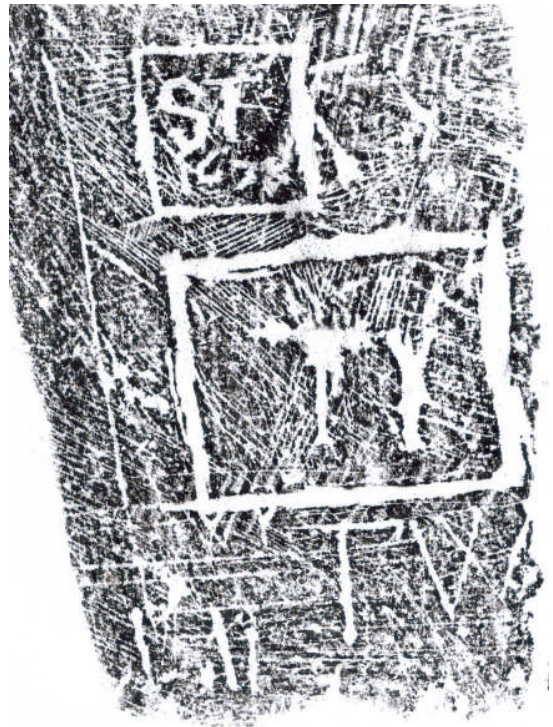
Right - Height: 26 cm. Width: 27.5 cm.

*Blazon:* THETCHER. (Lambarde, 1933, 203.)

Note: The arms of Thetcher, together with those of TAWKE and ST. JOHN of Halnaker are carved in stone on the arch of the doorway in the north aisle of Westhampnett church (Evans, c.1930, 11).

### **(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti:* One group of graffiti was found on the tomb-chest cover, immediately in front of the Trinity group. It comprises four groups of initials, dating from the mid-seventeenth century. Two are within boxes: 'S.T 1636' and 'T.Y'. Beneath the latter, are two more sets: 'L ?N' and 'T.W.'. On the face of the female effigy's prayer desk are scratched a five pointed star and the initials 'L.E.' upside down.



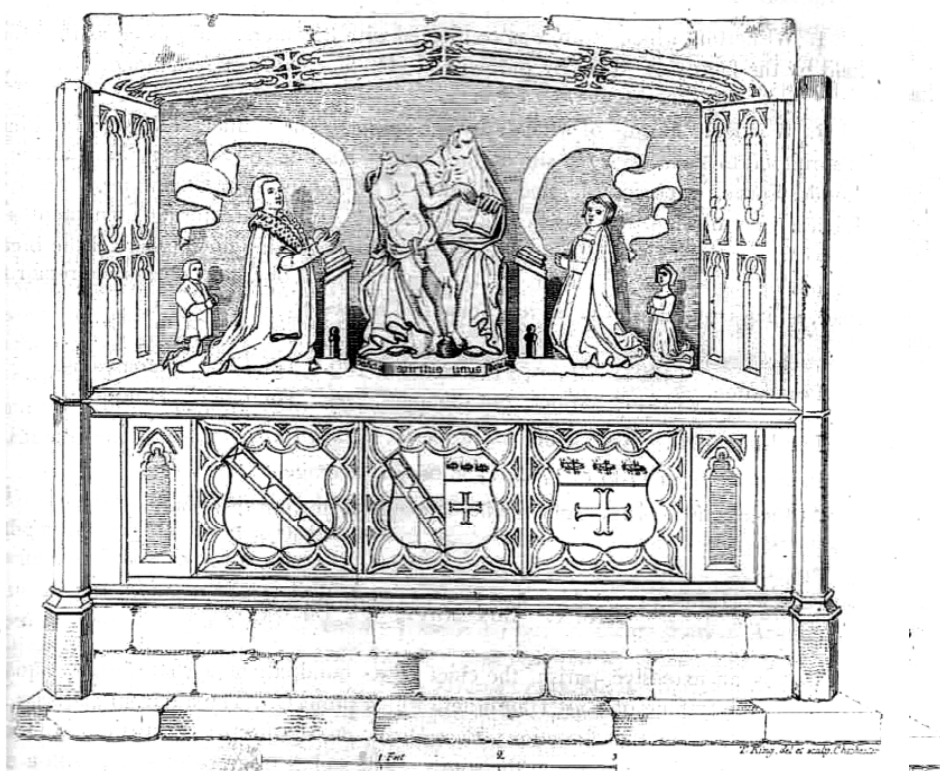
▲ Fig. 343: *Left*, Graffiti on top of tomb-chest in front of the Holy Trinity at WESTHAMPNETT. *Right*, Graffiti on female effigy's prayer-desk.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings:* Grimm drawing of 1782 (BL Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 66) and an early nineteenth century engraving of the tomb (Dallaway & Cartwright, 1833, vol. 1, 121). The canopy is lost in both.

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 3 June 2007.



▲ Fig. 344: *Grimm's drawing of the WESTHAMPNETT tomb in 1782* (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 66. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 345: *Nineteenth century engraving of the WESTHAMPNETT monument,* (after Dallaway & Cartwright, vol. 1 ,121).



(45) *Biographical* information: Richard Sakevyle was the second son of Richard Sakevyle of Chiddingly, East Sussex, the uncle to Thomas, first Lord Buckhurst (Mosse, 1933, 189). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Thetcher, of Westhampnett Place, a mansion originally built by the Tawke family. (It was located west of the church and was rebuilt in the eighteenth-century. It was leased as a Union workhouse in 1835 and destroyed by fire in 1899). The Thetchers were later notorious recusants (Evans, no date, pp.10-11).

Richard's name does not appear under Westhampnett in the 1524/5 Subsidy Rolls, possibly due to a *lacunae* in the document. He and his father did however serve as commissioners to collect the subsidy in the Rapes of Pevensey and Hastings, together with two members of the Thetcher family (Cornwall, 1956, 124 and 134). The Sakevyles held property near Pevensey and Richard served as a Commissioner of the Peace in Sussex in 1509 and 1512.

On 3 October 1533, Robert Sherborn, bishop of Chichester, granted Richard Sakevyle junior, "in consideration of his good counsel hitherto given to me and my Church and of his administration of the courts of its liberties," for life of the rent of 40s a year from the manor of Broyle, near Chichester, paid half yearly. The grant was confirmed by the dean of Chichester, William Fleshmonger, and the chapter a year later (Peckham, 1952, 42).

Monument number: 26

## Rustington II, c.1540

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 0505 0227/TQ 00 SE 30.

(2) *Church dedication*: SS Peter and Paul.

(3) *Location*: The Street, Rustington, West Sussex BN16 3NR.

(4) *Persons commemorated*: ?Richard Covert and wife, known to be lord of the manor of Rustington in 1535.

(5) *Purpose*: Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☐  
Grave ☐ Cenotaph ☐

(6) *Type*: Military & [1] wife ☒ Civilian & wife(s) ☐ Lady ☐  
Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐ Other ☐ Unknown ☐

(7) *Date of death*: c.1540.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1540.

(9) *Will reference*: Not known.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5 on typological grounds. Kneeling figures at prayer desks resemble closely others in the series – RACTON, WESTHAMNETT and PETWORTH.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: ?Edwardine reformation, c.1548-53. The monument was buried in the floor of the chancel, probably after October 1551.

(13) *Position in structure*: Mural, high up (78.5 cm.) on north wall of the north transept, or Lady Chapel, 81.5 cm from the junction with the west wall. Previously hidden behind the church organ (until ?1930s).

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☐

*Comments*: Not known. The iconography suggests the monument's use in the Easter rites. No evidence for its original position in the structure.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* No evidence available.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☒ NO ☐

(17) *Original position*: Possibly on north wall of Lady chapel. Panel was buried faced down in the chancel floor, the reverse forming part of the chancel steps (Corfield, 1960, 12; Hussey, 1852, 280). It was discovered by the then vicar, the Revd. J. C. Green in 1844, as reported to the annual meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, held at Chichester in July 1853 (Green, 1856, 323).



▲ Fig. 346: *The current battered state of RUSTINGTON II, seen from the south. No scale provided because of the inaccessibility of the monument. The monument is 81 cm. in height and 79 cm. in width.*

### **(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Caen stone, badly stained from period when it was buried face-down (?in bare earth).

(18) *Description*: Shallow recessed panel with Renaissance arch, supported by two columns. The left hand column bears a crudely-carved Corinthian capital, now battered; the right is fluted to a point halfway up, without any decoration to the capital. Remains of a figure (?a patron saint) are on top of the left hand column: that on the right is completely effaced.

Within the arch is a cross in low relief, standing on a low plinth with emblems from the medieval 'Instruments of the Passion' hanging from its arms: at left, a scourge of twigs, and at right, the *flagellum*, a whip with four knotted strings. The left column may have been intended to symbolize the post at which Christ was whipped.

The badly damaged figure of Christ, wearing a loin cloth and with grotesquely large feet, is represented as the 'Man of Sorrows' as the arms are not nailed to the cross.

A bold Renaissance serif remains in the left hand spandrel of the arch. Below at left, are the badly damaged remains of a kneeling lady at a prayer desk, with three smaller figures of daughters kneeling behind her. At right, is the armoured figure of a man, wearing a tabard, also kneeling on a cushion at a prayer desk with linenfold panelling. Behind, kneel two sons with furred civilian gowns and bobbed haircuts.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☐ NO ☒

The monument has been patched with cement in the upper spandrel of the arch and on the left hand edge.



▲ Fig. 347: **Left**, kneeling female effigy, with three daughters behind at RUSTINGTON II. The head and her prayer desk have been smashed. **Right**, the headless male effigy, in armour with a tabard kneels on a tasselled cushion, with two sons behind. Height of female effigy: 33.5 cm; height of male figure: 29.2 cm.

(20) *Number of separate components:* Single panel carved in relief.

(21) *Lost components:* The panel may have formed the back of a recessed canopied tomb, with tomb-chest.

(22) *Method of construction:* One single flat block of Caen stone.

(23) *Description of figures:* The female effigy probably wore a pedimental head-dress, as indicated by the lappets hanging down below the shoulders. Her dress was squared-necked, with carving to indicate decorated edging. Her three daughters probably wore the later (and more fashionable) 'Paris' head-dress. The front daughter wears a girdle loosely knotted below the hips.

The male figure wears a tabard over his armour – probably originally with his arms painted on the surface. There is no sign of a sword or dagger. The larger (eldest) son behind wears a furred gown with long sleeves.

(24) *Paint traces?* Traces of red pigment survive beneath legs of male effigy.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i> Extant		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Erased	<input type="checkbox"/> Damaged	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i>	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<i>Type:</i>	Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/> Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/> Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/> Holy Ghost <input type="checkbox"/>
	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/> Crucifixion	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM <input type="checkbox"/>
	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/> Other saint(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* As there are no visible signs of His hands being nailed to the Cross, this portrayal of Christ is almost certainly that as the 'Man of Sorrows' or the 'Image of Pity,' often accompanied by emblems of the 40-strong 'Instruments of the Passion' series of motifs.

This was a popular devotional image, derived from the legend that Pope Gregory I, (540-604), had experienced a vision of Christ, seated or standing in His tomb, displaying His Wounds, His left hand raised in blessing and surrounded by the implements of the Passion (Duffy, 1992, 238). A popular woodcut bearing the Image of Pity and the Instruments, circulated widely from the late fifteenth century and was later reproduced in printed devotional works.

Two patron saints probably topped the left and half columns.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* The head, legs and arms of Christ have been smashed. The male and female kneeling effigies have been decapitated. The tops of the prayer desks, which probably displayed open missal books, have also been destroyed. Images of patron saints on top of the two columns have been smashed.

(28) *When?* Probably during the Edwardine Reformation. The panel was subsequently buried (?for protection), face down in the pavement of the chancel.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* This panel may have formed part of a recessed canopied tomb, of which there is no trace now in the structure. Following its recovery in 1844, cement was used to patch up some damaged portions. It was subsequently hidden behind the church organ until at least the 1930s.



◀ Fig. 348: *Christ portrayed as the 'Man of Sorrows' at RUSTINGTON II.*



► Fig. 349: *Renaissance serif or scroll in the left spandrel of the arch at RUSTINGTON II with rectangular motifs in its soffit.*

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: N/A.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: None.

*Renaissance* elements: Serif or scroll within left spandrel of arch. Rectangular motifs on soffit of arch.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type*: Not known.

*Comments*: If a larger monument existed, probably painted on a chamfer on three sides on the tomb-chest.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures*: N/A.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls*: Not applicable.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 81cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 79 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 10 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*: N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures*:

Male - Height: 29.2 cm. Width: 15 cm.

Wife - Height: 33.5 cm. Width: 12 cm.

(40) *Other – Type*: N/A.

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: N/A.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 25 August 2005.

(45) *Biographical Information:* The possible attribution of this monument to Richard Covert and wife is based solely on Corfield, who provided no evidence to support his assertion. An earlier identification was to a member of the Dawtrey family, who held the manor of West Preston in the parish of Rustington (SAC, 1856, 323, and repeated by Mosse, 1933, 148).

A third part of the moiety of the manor of Rustington was quitclaimed to Richard Covert and his son and heir-apparent, John Covert, in 1535, together with tenements in Rustington, Poling and Angmering, Sussex, and a third part of the manors of “Staundenne, Rowekey and Bychebrigge” [Bembridge] on the Isle of Wight (Dunkin, 1915, 378).



*Monument number: 27*

## Wiston, c. 1540

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: TQ 1553 1239/TQ 11 SE 37.

(2) *Dedication*: St Mary.

(3) *Location*: 25 m. east of Wiston House, Mouse Lane, near Steyning, West Sussex.

(4) *Person(s) commemorated*: Sir Richard Shirley and two wives, (1) Anne, daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove, West Sussex, and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Guldeford, widow of Thomas Isley, of Sundridge, Kent.

(5) *Purpose*: Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☐  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☐  
 (6) *Type*: Military & [2] wife(s) ☒ Civilian & wife ☐ Lady ☐  
 Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐  
 Other ☐ Unknown ☐

(7) *Date of death*: 1540.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1540.

(9) *Will reference*: TNA, PROB 11/28, fols.171v-172.

(10) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5 on basis of tomb-chest design, similar to others in series. The lost frieze closely resembles those now missing at WEST WITTERING I and II and the 'cherub mermaids' look very similar to those on BROADWATER I.

(11) *Monument/carving extant*: YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, source of information*: A woodblock of the original recessed canopied tomb, emasculated in the Victorian restoration of the church, was published in *SAC*, 1852, 13. S. H. Grimm also drew the monument in 1781 (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 31).

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: The tomb was destroyed in the heavy-handed restoration of 1867 by the London architect G.M. Hills, when much of the structure was rebuilt, including the fourteenth century south aisle.

(13) *Position in structure*: Re-erected on interior south wall of St Mary's chapel, 3.05 m. west of the junction of its east and south walls, 138 cm. above the current floor level.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☐

*Comment*: Not known.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

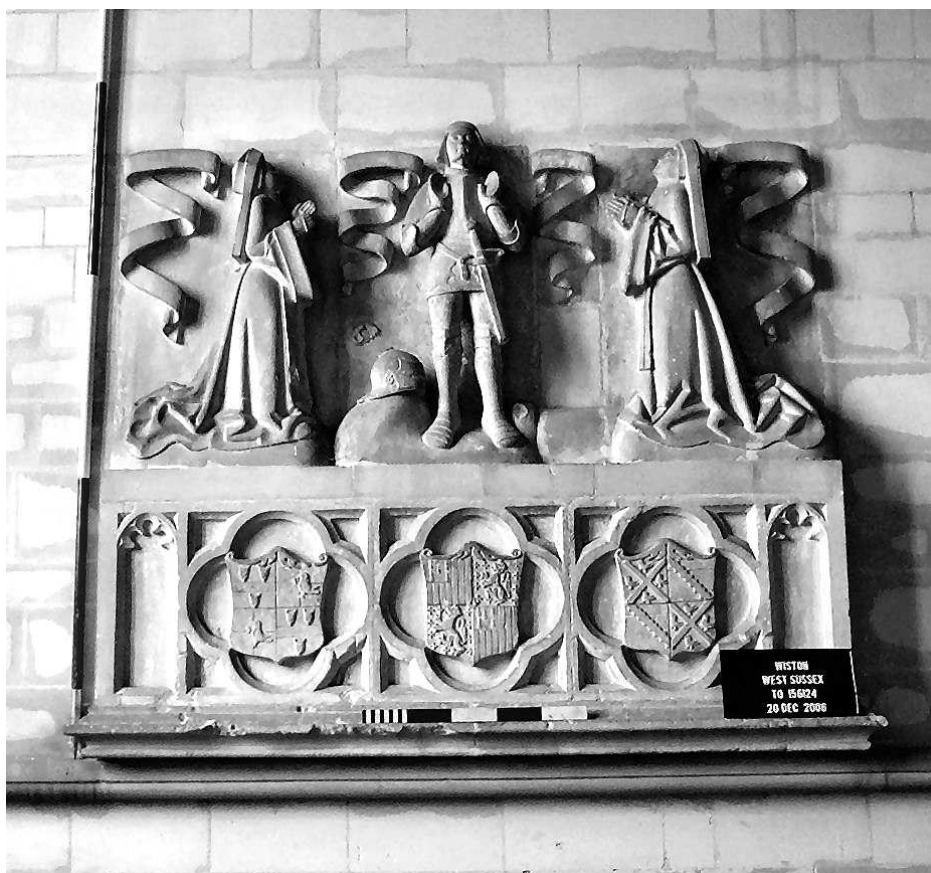
*Additional information:* Shirley's will asked that monument be located adjacent to an image of St Anne.

(16) *Moved?*

YES ☒ NO ☐



*Original position:* In his will, Shirley asked to be buried 'in the chauncell of our Lady before the image of seynt Anne' (TNA, PROB 11/28, fol.171v). The monument's original location was therefore probably on the north side of the south chapel now occupied by the Caen stone mural monument with brass inscriptions to Charles Goring of Wiston and wife, d. 1849.



▲ Fig. 350: *The present state of the Shirley monument at WISTON. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

## (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* Grey-white Caen stone.

(18) *Description:* Sir Richard Shirley, in armour, (which is portrayed for effect, rather than accuracy), stands facing front between his two kneeling wives. Beneath, on the fascia of a tomb-chest, are three waisted shields within three quatrefoil panels with two narrow vertical niches bearing ogee arches on either side.

There are four prayer scrolls: two longer ones behind and above the female effigies; two shorter versions are positioned on either side of the male effigy, with no trace of the original painted texts. At the male effigy's feet is a sallet helmet resting upon a representation of a humped rock, the anchor point for a lost feather plume from the apex of the helmet still visible on the panel behind. Drawings of the monument before destruction (fig. 355, page 516 and fig. 356, page 517) confirm that the figures were originally positioned within a canopied recess above a tomb-chest, with corbels supporting patronal saints left and right (CHURCH NORTON). The kneeling, but damaged, figure of a saint was extant on the left, c.1850; the right hand corbel was empty.

The effigies' eyes were raised towards a ?carved representation of the Holy Ghost above them, shown almost effaced in the 1852 engraving.

A mask (?‘Green Men’) were carved in each spandrel of the four-centred arch. Above on the pediment, four caryatids supported two further small shields.

The carved chamfer once on the top of the tomb-chest now forms the base of the monument. Four plain blocks of Caen stone, originally the monument's base, are now positioned on top of the quatrefoil panel fascia of the tomb-chest.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/date:* Reassembled and re-cut at the restoration of the church in 1867. A small piece of Caen stone, 25cm. in height and 15cm. in width was inserted below the scroll to the right of the male effigy, together with another piece, 15.5 cm. in height and 16 cm. in width, immediately below, which was used as a patch, probably to repair damage during reconstruction of the monument. This was crudely carved to resemble a rock to match the base on which the effigies stand/kneel (fig.351, page 511). The 1852 engraving demonstrates that the left and right shields were transposed during the rebuilding of the tomb, possibly because the original setting was incorrect.

(20) *Number of separate components:* Eight remain, comprising three slabs with effigies and scrolls carved in high bas-relief, all in separate pieces; three quatrefoils bearing heraldic coats, with two shallow vertical niches carved in the same stone blocks, left and right; chamfer inscription and original base blocks.

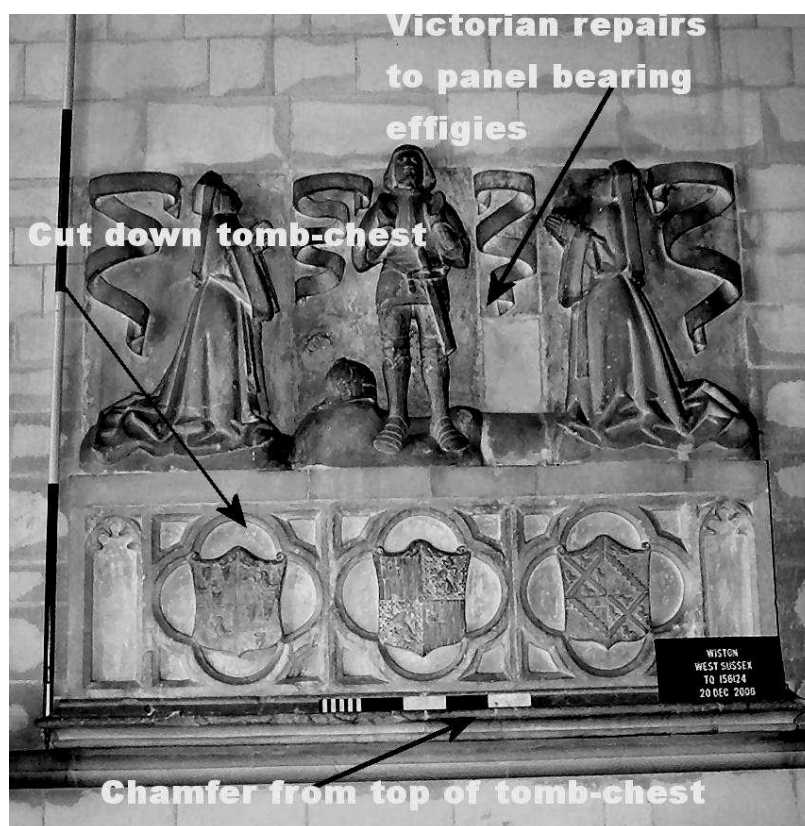
(21) *Lost components:* Recessed arch with side panels, side shafts, two spandrels and central boss; pediment with two figures and small shields; two arched panels from tomb-chest.

(22) *Method of construction:* N/A, because of the monument's reconstruction. No discernable method of fixing.

(23) *Description of figures:* The male effigy, with bobbed hair, stands full face in armour with stylised square-toed sabatons on the feet. The arms are raised in adoration, palms out, very much resembling the method of supplication fashionable in late fifteenth century East Anglican

monuments. This may be a conscious antiquarian echo of monuments of c.1480-5, in line with the use of a clearly anachronistic sallet helmet at his feet and may reflect a desire to display status and lineage. Given that, no tabard is worn, but the design may have relied on the original six coats of arms to make obvious the importance of the marriage alliances. The sword is thrust through the belt, and hangs diagonally in front.

On either side kneel two wives in profile, heads tilted upwards, wearing gowns with full hanging sleeves and pedimental head-dresses with long lappets hanging behind. Their dresses are draped modestly over their heels.



▲ Fig. 351: *The Victorian reconstruction of the Shirley tomb at WISTON, showing how the original components were re-used when the monument was moved. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

(24) *Paint traces?* Traces of blue pigment survive behind the male effigy's legs and around the edges of the right-hand prayer scroll – areas which are protected against damage or erosion. Red pigment is also extant on the lower edges of the right scroll and above the lower edge of the second from left scroll.

Brown undercoat is extant on the armour of the male effigy, and on the dress of the right hand wife. Some red and a little gold remains on portions of the tomb-chest shields.

Much of the surface of the base area below the figures has been combed by some sharp instrument such as a riffle file, to provide the key for paint.



▲ Fig. 352: *Oblique view of the male effigy at WISTON, showing the hands raised in supplication and the sword hanging in front of the trunk, reminiscent of the fashion in East Anglican brasses in the late fifteenth century. The armour is not an accurate portrayal of harnesses of the period: the 'poleyns' or the armour plates protecting the knees would have not have functioned at all and look as if they were worn back-to-front. Clearly, the carver was unfamiliar with the various components of a sixteenth century harness - or how it was worn. Scale: ten cm.*

(25) Religious iconography: Extant

☐ Erased

☒ Damaged

☒

Medium: Carved

☒ Painted

☐

Type: Our Lord in Majesty

☐ Pieta

☐ Resurrection

☐

Holy Ghost

☒ Trinity

☐ Crucifixion

☐

Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> BVM	<input type="checkbox"/> Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

(26) *Description:* The outline of a portrayal of the Holy Ghost - a winged dove within a nimbus - is seen in the 1852 engraving, positioned within the recessed canopy, over the head of the male effigy and thus, forming the focal point of the monument and its design. The surviving saint, shown on the left in the same print, is a standing female and could be St Anne, given the Christian name of the first Shirley wife.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method of erasure:* The image of the Holy Ghost seems to have been carefully erased. The saint on the left has apparently been decapitated. This suggests at least two stages of destruction: the first - the Holy Ghost - was intentional, as a protective measure, and the second was an act of iconoclasm. When the saint's figure on the right was lost must remain a matter of conjecture.

(28) *When?* Probably the Holy Ghost carving was scraped down in the late 1540s and the saints' images were defaced during the period 1549-1553.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Dramatically re-arranged to destroy its original meaning. Remnants are in good condition.



▲ Fig. 353: The two wives of Sir Richard Shirley left and right of the main effigy. Both wear identical costume with beaded (?pearl) edges to their pedimental head-dresses and carry rosaries, looped over their hands held in prayer. Scale: ten cm.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Pediment*: Lost pediment showed two groups of two caryatids with double tails supporting two small shields, reminiscent of the iconography at BOXGROVE I.

(31) *Other*: The two spandrels of the arch contained a male mask at left, behind oak leaves –was this an image of the ‘Green Man’? At left, there was another mask, possibly female, again peering from behind oak leaves.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Quatrefoil panels bearing three shields at front of tomb-chest; flattened arch.

*Renaissance elements*: Pediment with caryatids, and spandrels, together with corbels supporting small images.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) <i>Main inscription</i> :	Carved	<input type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known/lost	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Position of text</i> :	Foot	<input type="checkbox"/> Frieze	<input type="checkbox"/> Chamfer	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Type</i> : Capitals	<input type="checkbox"/> Blackletter ulc	<input type="checkbox"/> Rounded	<input type="checkbox"/> Humanist	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Comment*: There are no traces of carved lettering on the chamfer, nor of rivets or plugs for a brass fillet inscription. Therefore, the inscription was probably painted on the tomb-chest chamfer. This has been lost.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures*: N/A.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*:

1: Now blank. Probably painted text.

2: Now blank. Probably painted text.

3: Now blank. Probably painted text.

4: Now blank. Probably painted text.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls*: Not known.

**(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 151 cm. Head of male effigy 7 cm above top of back panel.

(36) *Monument width*: 171.1 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 11.8 cm. (18 cm. width of chamfer, now re-positioned at base).

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*:

Left - Height: 46.4 cm. Width: 63.1cm.

Centre - Height: 46.2 cm. Width: 44.2 cm.

Right - Height: 46.1 cm. Width: 63.5 cm.



▲ Fig. 354: View of the tomb-chest at WISTON from the north. Note the faint traces of original pigments on the centre shield. Scale: two metres.

*Comment:* Left and right panels are all of one piece and measured as such. Before the loss of the two missing vertical niches, the original tomb-chest must have measured c. 210 cm. in width.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 85.1cm. (From base on block on which effigy stands). Width: 30.2cm, across elbows. Note: Head 7 cm. above top of panel.

Wife 1(left) - Height: 77 cm. (Panel is 78.7 cm. in height). Width: 47.7 cm. (Measured across base of figure. Panel is 48.2 cm. in width).

Wife 2 (right) - 76.3 cm. (Panel is 78.3 cm. in height). Width: 47.4 cm. (Measured across base of figure. Panel is 52.5 cm. in width).

(40) *Other - Type:* N/A.

## (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry:* Carved

☒ Painted ☒

*Type:* Shield

☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* Three on front of original tomb-chest, curved and waisted. The 1852 engraving shows that the left and right shields were transposed when the monument was re-assembled and are now positioned under the correct wife. Two smaller shields, now lost, were on the pediment.

Left shield - Height: 26.2 cm. Width: 23.7 cm.

*Blazon:* Quarterly of four, 1. and 4. *Sable, a fess engrailed between three whelk shells, or*



(SHELLEY), 2. and 3. *Quarterly, azure and or, a falcon argent* (FALCONER, or MICHELGROVE).

Centre shield - Height: 28.2 cm. Width: 23.6 cm.

*Blazon*: Quarterly of four, 1. and 4. *Paly or and azure, a canton ermine* (SHIRLEY), 2. and 3. *Azure crusily, a lion rampant or, crowned argent* (BROASE).

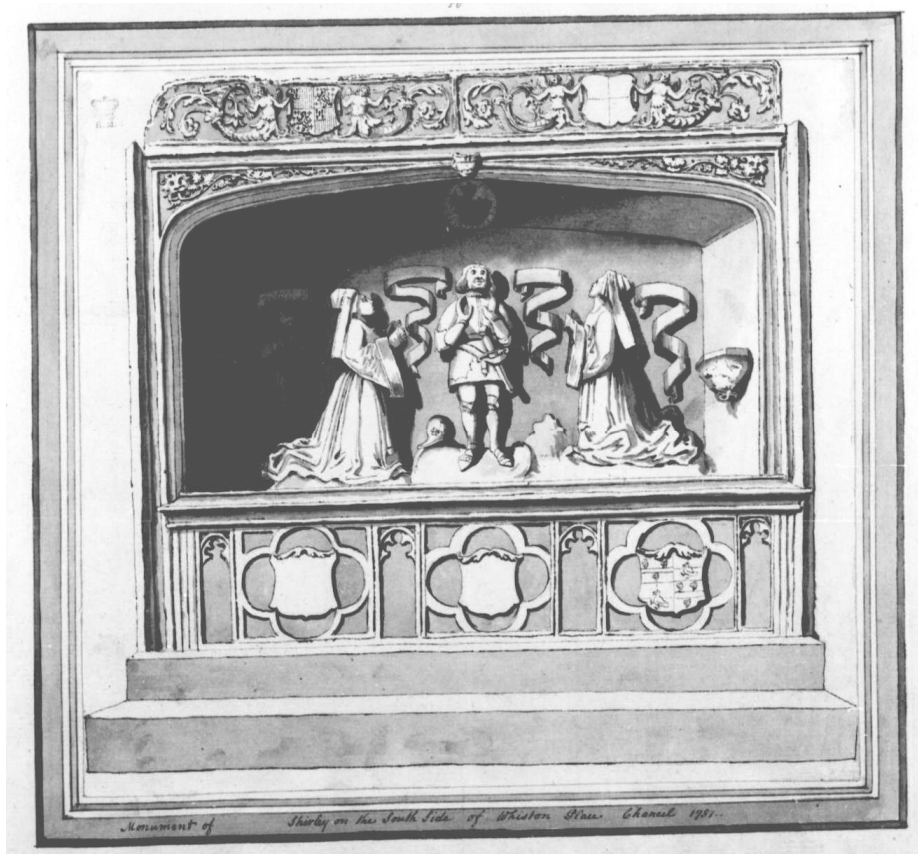
Right shield – Height: 27.3 cm. Width: 22.8 cm.

*Blazon*: Quarterly of four, 1. and 4. *Or, a saltire between four martlets, sable* (GULDEFORD), 2. and 3. *Argent, a chief sable over all, a bend engrailed gules* (HALDEN), (Lambarde, 1931, 231).

### (G) - Other Information

(42) *Graffiti*: Vertical scratches left of the base of lady on left - possibly damage caused during reconstruction. There are also scratches beneath the left elbow of the male figure.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: SAC, 1852, 13. Drawing by S.H. Grimm in 1781 (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 31).



▲ Fig. 355: Drawing by S.H. Grimm of the WISTON monument in its original position in the south chapel in 1781 (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 31. © British Library Board).



▲ Fig. 356: *The Shirley monument before its destruction in the 1867 restoration of WISTON church. Note the two extra niches in the tomb-chest and the original, heraldically incorrect, arrangement of the coats of arms below the figures of the two wives. The image of the Holy Ghost above the effigies, although erased, makes sense of the iconography of the tomb.* (After Lower, 1852, 13).

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 18 February 1995; 21 April 2006; 20 December 2006.

(45) *Biographical Information:* Sir Richard was the eldest son of Ralph Shirley, an esquire of the body to Henry VII, and sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1503, and Joan, daughter of Thomas Bellingham of Lyminster (Berry, 1830, 172.)

His parents' modest London-made monument, a Purbeck slab despoiled of its brass plates, remains on the wall in the north east corner of St Mary's chapel in Wiston church, erected soon after Ralph Shirley's death in 1510. In Ralph's will (TNA, PROB 11/16, fols. 216-7), written on 11 February and proved on 7 May that year, he directed that his 'body should be buried before th'ymage of our Lady in the Chapell of o<sup>r</sup> Lady within the p<sup>y</sup>she church of Westneston'[Wiston] and bequeathed three pounds [1.36 kg.] of wax for the maintenance of "Our Lady's light," burning before Her image.

Richard's sister Beatrix, became the second wife of Edward Bray, after the death of her first husband, Edward Elrington who has another tomb by the same makers at PRESTON EPISCOPI,

c.1520. Her monument from this series is at SELMESTON, dated c.1533. Another sister, Jane, married Sir John Dawtrey, of Moore, in Petworth, West Sussex, and is depicted on a third tomb by these carvers, at PETWORTH.

Richard succeeded to the manor of Wiston on his father's death, which was stocked with 91 cattle, four horses and 800 sheep. He was sheriff of Sussex in 1515 and 1525 (Lower, 1852, 12). His first wife was Anne, daughter of John Shelley I of Michelgrove, across the South Downs from Wiston, and they had five sons and six daughters. These were William, who succeeded his father to the manor, Thomas, Edward, Ralph and Richard. Of the daughters, Elizabeth married John Mychell 'the younger', of Stammerham in Horsham, Sussex; Alice married Thomas Challoner, of Kenwardes in Lindfield in the same county. Of the other daughters, Anne married Richard Farnfold, Cecily married John Leeds but two others, Jane and Frances, died unmarried (Comber, 1933, 258). On his first wife's death, Richard married in June 1525, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Guldeford KG, the widow of Thomas Isley, of Sundridge in Kent. After his death in 1540, she remarried William Stafford esquire.

He seems to have been knighted in 1526, during the royal progress through Sussex (Bindoff, 1982, vol. 3, 316). He became a knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1529 and four years later, his name appears on a list drawn up by Thomas Cromwell of those who opposed, on grounds of conscience or of economic expediency, the Bill in restraint of appeals to Rome then being debated in the Commons. Despite this, he became a knight of the body to Henry VIII and in 1536, he was ordered to supply troops for the royalist forces at Ampthill, Bedfordshire, mustered to put down the Pilgrimage of Grace, but he was ordered to remain in Sussex to maintain law and order.

Sir Richard's will, dated 21 October 1540 (TNA, PROB 11/28, fols.171v-172) bequeathed his soul 'to Almyghty god, my creator & maker, and to his blessed mother, Seynt Mary, and to all the holy company of h'vyn'. He willed that his 'bodie be buryed in the churche of Wystone in the chaunsell of our Lady before the image of seynt Anne' and 'at the daye of my buryall I will there be seyde one Trentall of masses and at my monthes mynde one trintall of masses. And in lyke maner, the daye of my yeres mynde one trintall of masses for my soule and all Christen solles. And every of the preestes at eche of the saide dayes I will be rewardyd as shalbe thought convenient by myn Executour'. He also left instructions for 'every of suche por people as shalbe at my buryall to praye for my soule' to be given one penny. The sum of 6s 8d was left for the upkeep of Wiston church and Sir Richard gave 'to every other churche standing within foure myls of Wyston one lode of lyme or bricke and also 12d of money for the Cariage of the same'. His son William was appointed executor and his overseers included his cousins Richard Bellingham, Sir John Gage and Sir

William Shelley, who erected another of this series of monuments to himself and his wife at CLAPHAM a few years later.

Sir Richard died on 16 November 1540, and his son, 'aged 42 and more' succeeded him in the manor (Atree, 1912, 204). He died in 1551 (TNA, C142/67, no.91) and his widow Mary, wife of Richard Elrington, held Wiston in 1568.

*Monument number:* 28

## Chichester III, c.1545

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SU 8595 0478/SU 80 SE 121.

(2) *Church dedication:* Holy Trinity.

(3) *Location:* Chichester Cathedral, St Richard's Walk, Chichester, West Sussex PO19 1QB.

(4) *Commemorated:* Ellis Bradshaw, alderman and former mayor of Chichester. Previously an anonymous tomb, but Bradshaw's will (TNA, PROB 11/30, fols. 377-379v) asked that his body be 'buried under a marble stone with a Crucifix graven in the same to be layde in the myddle of the processional Sowthe Ile w't'in the Cathedrall church of Chicester Immediately agenst the Iron Dore going to saint George Chapell w'th a picture to be graven in Laten or free stone to be sett in the great pyller on the Northe side of the same Ile and a Roll of scripture desiring all people to pray for me. And that to be sett there whersoevere I Dye Immediately after'.

As his executors precisely fulfilled these instructions as regards position, there seems every probability that this tomb commemorates Bradshaw.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death:* c.1545. His will (TNA, PROB 11/30, fols. 377-379v) is dated 10 May 1544 and was proved 25 June 1545. His wife Agnes is described as a widow in a document dated 23 March 1546 granting her a rent charged on the Deanery revenues.

(8) *Date of construction:* c. 1545.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/30, fols. 377-379v.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. The spandrels resemble carvings at BOXGROVE II and PETWORTH. The strapwork on the pilasters has an affinity with those flanking the reredos of the altar at BOXGROVE I and at CLAPHAM and WEST WITTERING II. What remains of the blackletter ulc inscription in raised-letters resembles that found on CHICHESTER II.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* The inscription may have been effaced by chiselling during the Edwardine Reformation. Other 'casual' damage, such as that to the central pendant of the

monument, may have occurred during the occupation of the cathedral by Parliamentary forces in December 1642.

(13) *Position in structure:* Cut into the south face of third pier of south arcade of nave, opposite the Johnson-style mural monument and brass to William Bradbridge, three times mayor of Chichester, mounted on the south wall of the south aisle of the nave.



▲ Fig. 357: *CHICHESTER III*, a small mural monument, probably to Ellis Bradshaw, d. 1545, cut into the third pier of the south arcade in the nave of Chichester Cathedral.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* N/A.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Bradshaw asked specially to be commemorated by a monument close to the entrance to St George's chapel, and asks in his will (TNA, PROB 11/30, fol. 377) that a priest should 'singe three masses wikelye for me by the space of one yere after my death at saint Georges aulter and to geve him for every masse foure pence. The first to be of the five woundes of our lord the seconde of Requiem, the thirde of the Resurrection....'

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒



▲ Fig. 358: CHICHESTER III from the south, showing the three-line inscription at the base, the shallow recessed canopy and curved strips in the frieze, originally painted with invocatory prayers. Height of the monument: 118.2 cm.

## (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* Grey-cream Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: A shallow recessed canopied tomb, cut into the pillar of the south arcade of the nave, with a single block, measuring 77.6 cm. in width and 11.7 cm. in height, carrying a three-line inscription in raised blackletter ulc, almost entirely effaced. The angled pilasters on either side and the central pendant are covered with a great number of Renaissance motifs; naked cherubs with lutes, a demon playing a guitar, flowers, including the Tudor rose, grotesque masks and arabesques, similar to CLAPHAM and BOXGROVE II.

The interior side panels and the shallow soffit are filled with strips of roundels containing quatrefoils. The frieze has two curved, or arched scrolls, on which some invocatory prayers were carved in raised-letters, set between two trefoiled leaves, on which are carved, (again in raised-letters), the sacred monogram 'IHS'. The very shallow cornice has a trailing flower motif.

The lower portion of the back of the recess may have been painted with religious iconography. There is no trace of this now.

The top of the side pilasters may have terminated in a flattened pediment.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: six, plus 13 Caen stone blocks forming the back wall.

(21) *Lost components*: Three squared-off pediments to the diagonal pilasters on both sides and the central pendant; painted iconography on back wall?



▲ Fig. 359: Left hand frieze panel at CHICHESTER III showing two curved scrolls between two trefoil leaves with the sacred monogram carved upon them.



(22) *Method of construction:* A portion of the south face of the pier was excavated to insert the monument frame and the back rebuilt with Caen stone blocks to make good. The diagonal pilaster side shafts are in two sections on either side and include the interior side panels of roundels. The spandrels are in two blocks, incorporating the soffit and the frieze. The central pendant forms a keystone between them.



▲ Fig. 360: *Left-hand spandrel, side panels and a portion of the soffit at CHICHESTER III with some of the Renaissance motifs on the pilaster.*

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography:* Extant ☐ Erased ☒ Destroyed later ? ☐

*Medium:* Carved ☒ Painted ? ☒

*Type:* Not known.

(26) *Description:* Trefoil leaves with sacred monogram: prayers on scrolls.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* Chiselling off the inscription. Erasing the sacred monogram on the trefoil leaves on the frieze and text on scrolls.

(28) *When?* Probably during the Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Poor to good.



▲ Fig. 361: Renaissance motifs from CHICHESTER III: **left**, a cherub with a lute and **right**, an ?ape with four arms holding up an urn.





▲ Fig. 362: More figures from the pilasters at CHICHESTER III; **left**, a naked man wearing a hat and **right**, a cherub climbing a flowering plant.

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: Two panels, separated by a pendant, with two curved scrolls with prayers carved in raised-letters

(31) *Other*: Thin cornice of trailing, intertwined flowers.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Blackletter inscription; frieze with curved prayer scrolls between trefoil leaves.

*Renaissance elements*: Motifs carved on pilasters.

### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) <i>Main inscription</i> :	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Painted	<input type="checkbox"/> Not known/lost	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Position of text</i> :	Foot	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Frieze	<input type="checkbox"/> Chamfer	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Type</i> :	Capitals	<input type="checkbox"/> Blackletter ulc	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rounded	<input type="checkbox"/> Humanist <input type="checkbox"/>

*Comments:* Three-line inscription in raised blackletter ulc on block at base of monument, now almost entirely effaced, apart from a few letters on line three.

*Errors:* N/A.

*Erasures:* Almost all the inscription has been erased.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* Four prayer scrolls, one above each other on two panels of frieze, probably forming a contiguous prayer on each panel.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* Texts in raised-letter erased.



▲ Fig. 363: *Left*, a devil playing a guitar, now eroded, and *right*, a two-headed mask on CHICHESTER III.

#### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 118.2 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 96.6 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 14.4 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* N/A.

(40) *Other - Type:* N/A.



**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: None.



▲ Fig. 364: *Left*, a rather smug cherub with a lute and *right*, a naked kneeling man in a tall hat on the pilasters at CHICHESTER III.



▲ Fig. 365: *Left*, a Wodehowse playing a lute and *right*, a tower with three gun-ports and three masks above on the pilasters at CHICHESTER III.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: None known.

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 20 June 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: Bradshaw was a miller and baker. On 5 September 1528 he was granted the office of baker of the common bread to the dean of Chichester, the canons 'resydencers' and the vicars choral for 41 years at a fee of 40 shillings a year (Peckham, 1959, 15). In addition, he agreed to purvey, for nine years, 'comen brede as white brede with cobbes' for the community in the close and 104 quarters of wheat each year, for £31 4s (Peckham, 1952, 74-75). The previous month, he had embarked on a long career of acquiring property rights connected with the Dean and Chapter by taking on the lease of Burpham parsonage, with its barns and outhouses, for 41 years at a rent of £15 (Peckham, 1952, 74). In June 1529, Bradshaw took on the tenancy of a barn and lands called 'Coluerhowse' or Kipston, in Hunston and Merston, south of the city and in April 1530, was assigned the manor of Grayingwell on the condition that yearly, on 1 February, he would deliver to the dean and chapter 12 quarters of wheat to be baked for the dole of Bishop Ralph Neville. In 1533, Bradshaw is mentioned in connection with rentals of tenements in North Street (WSRO CAP I/23/1 fol. 112).

On 8 January, the dean and chapter appointed him the office of porter or verger of the cathedral, with a rent of 20 shillings paid quarterly and a gown worth eight shillings (Peckham, 1952, 79). Almost five years later, on Christmas Eve 1535, Bradshaw became receiver and surveyor of the lands, rents and tenements of the cathedral. He was already a tenant of lands in Birdham; and of Deanery Farm in St Sepulchre's parish and in receipt of tithes in Ferring and Burpham (Peckham, 1954, 161, 168). On 29 March 1538 the chapter leased him the tenement in North Street Chichester 'where Edmund Molens lately dwelt with the small tithes and barn ... for 21 years for a rent of 33s 4d for the tenement and 23s 4d' for the tithes. On 3 January 1540 he was given a share in Wilmington manor and at Michaelmas 1545, he was granted three crofts of arable and one of meadow outside the city's Westgate (Peckham 1952, 49, 54, 58, 78-9, 97).

Bradshaw was mayor of Chichester in 1538 and was involved in the surrenders of both the Greyfriars and Blackfriars houses in the city in October of that year and signed the inventories of their contents. In 1542, he was named in the will of Thomas Taylor of the parish of St Bartholomew, Chichester, to organise his funeral and burial and that there should be 'iij quarters of whett devyded and gevyn amonges pore pepul, by ye appointment of ... M[aster] Bradshaw, for my soll and all crysten sollis' (Godfrey, 1935, 286).

Bradshaw, in his will, left four pence each to 100 of the 'pourest housholders in Chichester'

and bread and drink to 'the comen beggers... after the laudable custome'. On the day of his obit, 'there will be viij blak gownes, price of every one of them six shillings, delivered unto Eight poure Housholders in Chichester to beare viij playne Tapers aboute the herse of a ponde apece. And four Tapers more of like weight to be borne by foure poure widowes and they, every one them, foure pens'. He left his 'howses at the Highe Crosse bought of Raufe Hardfeld with a gardyn in the East Lane bought of Mr John Champion, which I geve to James my sonne during his naturall lyfe ffor the whiche howse and a garden I will that my executours my sonne James and my sonne William and his heires for ever gyve and bestowe in almes yerely in the lente tyme within Chicester the some of Thirtene shillings and four pence by the oversight and Councell of the Stewarde of the said Citie of Chicestr'.

Bradshaw was also concerned about the legacy of his time as alderman and mayor and the rights of the city. He directed that 'where there remayneth a certeyn great Cupbord in the Councill House of Chichester yet unmete for to putt evidence in, I will that my Executrice cause ffourtie greate Draught boxes to be made within the same to put in severally all evidences, charters and grauntes of the same Citie' (TNA, PROB 11/30, fol. 378).

A series of indentures between Bradshaw, as mayor, and William Fleshmonger, dean of Chichester, describe annuities paid by the city to the latter. The agreements included the provision of a priest to say obit Masses at the Jesus altar on the north side of the cathedral (WSRO, CHICTY/AY/140), in return for payment of the priest's wages and provision of food and drink at the mayor's table. These grants were subsequently proved invalid in law on 8 February 1549, Bradshaw then being described as 'having long been dead' (WSRO, CHICTY/AY/117).

Monument number: 29

## Broadwater II, c.1545

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number*: 14661 04396/ TQ 10 SW 19.

(2) *Church dedication*: St Mary.

(3) *Location*: Broadwater Road, Worthing, West Sussex BN14 8HT.

(4) *Commemorated*: Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr and his wife Elizabeth *née* Bonville (*see* BOXGROVE I).

(5) <i>Purpose</i> : Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secular	<input type="checkbox"/> Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(6) <i>Type</i> : Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/> Military	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(7) *Date of death*: 25 September 1554, at his house at Offington, near Worthing, Sussex.

(8) *Date of construction*: c.1545, probably after death of wife in early 1540s. Will refers to 'my power Remembraunce that I have made there [at Broadwater] in the sowthe side' (TNA, PROB 11/37, fol.100).

(9) *Will reference*: TNA, PROB 11/37, fols. 97v-100v, dated 5 September 1554; proved 12 November 1554.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	--	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information*: N/A.

(11) *Identification status*: Attributed. Confidence: 5. The trailing flower decoration resembles that on BOXGROVE I and the heraldic roundels have affinity with PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING I and CLAPHAM. The precise and accurate carving of the heraldic supporters - a dragon, griffin and talbots - mirrors those at the west end of BOXGROVE I.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction*: N/A.

(13) *Position in structure*: East wall of south transept, 54.5 cm. of south pier of arch supporting central tower.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

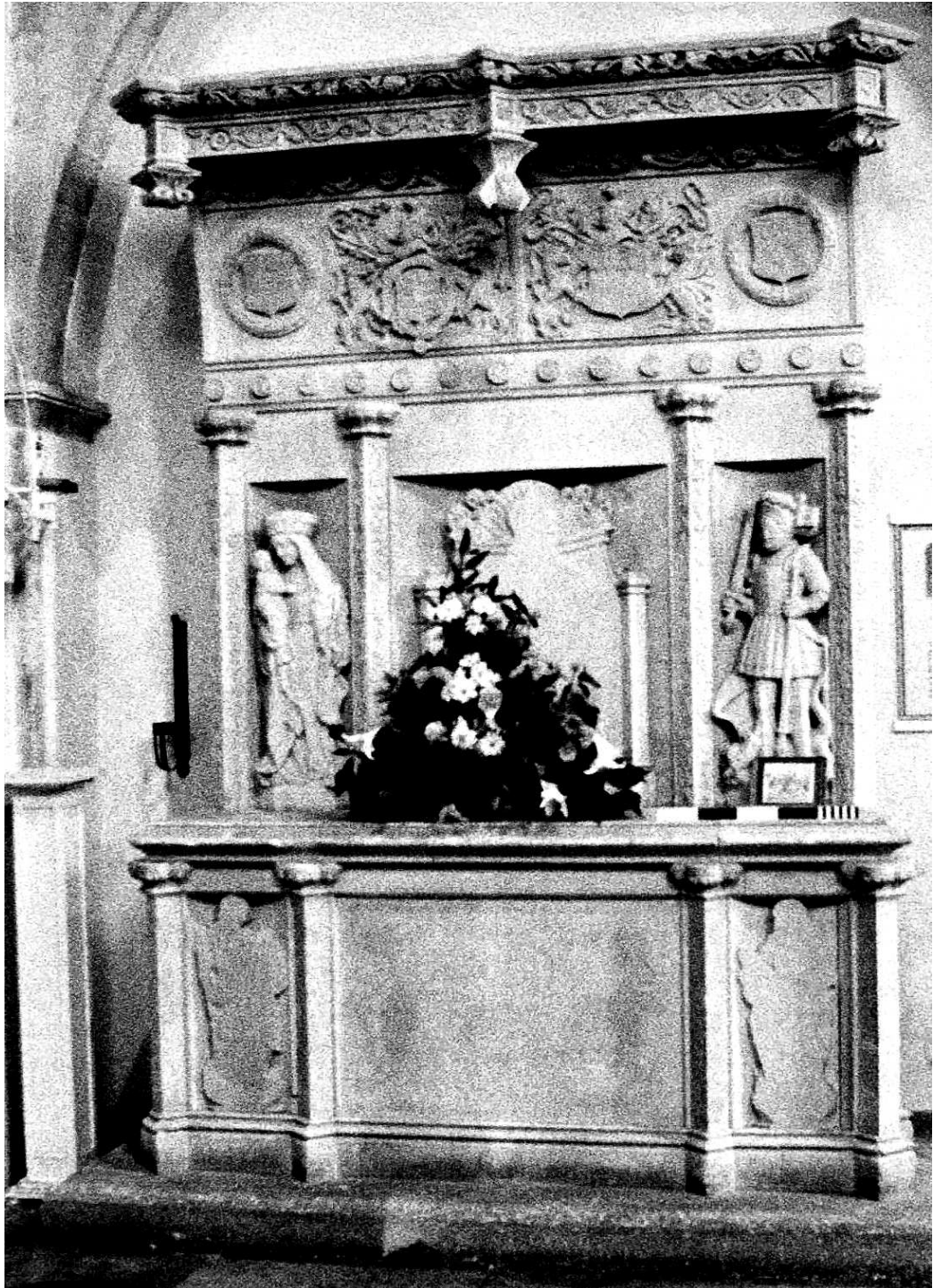
*Comments*: N/A.

(15) <i>Linked with another feature?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
--	-----	-----------------------------	-------------------------------------

(16) <i>Moved?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------	-----	--	--------------------------



Moved in 1826 when it was dismantled from its original position at the east end of the south aisle, adjacent to the la Warr vault (discovered 2009) and rebuilt in its present location.



▲ Fig. 366: Monument to Sir Thomas West II and wife, c.1545, BROADWATER II, now in the south transept of the church after being moved in 1826. Scale: 50 cm.

## (B) – Description

(17) *Material*: Light-grey Caen stone.

(18) *Description*: The plain tomb-chest has three panels separated by angled capped piers with erased religious iconography in the left and right panels, the centre always designed to be blank. From its outline, that on the left is probably a representation of St Christopher carrying the infant Christ. The imagery on the right is a female saint, possibly St Anne, the mother of the BVM.

The top of the monument resembles a reredos, with three recessed concave panels separated by angled and capped shafts, each angle filled with vertical Renaissance motifs of trailing roses, cherubs, urns and what Nairn & Pevsner call ‘typical candelabra motifs’ (1965, 391). The left panel is filled with a half-turned image of the crowned BVM carrying a rather chubby Christ child, carved from one block, 77 cm in height. Her left hand holds a lily, as a symbol of purity and innocence, but the bloom has been broken off. The central panel had a Holy Trinity, 95 cm. in height and 67.5 cm in width, now effaced and polished off. The right-hand panel contains the half-turned figure of St George, 78 cm. in height, in helmet and armour, trampling a vigorous dragon with a tail showing prominent scales.

Above, in a shallow architrave, there are 14 small roundels containing the initials ‘T’ and ‘E’ for Thomas and Elizabeth West and a number of heraldic badges associated with the de la Warrs. These roundels and the heraldry on the tomb are the only method of identifying those commemorated.



▲ Fig. 367: Top of BROADWATER II showing the shallow frieze of roundels, two heraldic roundels or wreaths and two coats, together with a slightly concave architrave and truncated pendants.

Two heraldic roundels, wreathed rather like CLAPHAM and PETWORTH flank two coats with crests and supporters of talbots, griffins and a dragon. Above is a concave frieze of trailing roses topped by two more bearing various flowers, separated by three truncated pendants.

Overall, Nairn & Pevsner see the transition to Renaissance on this monument more in 'the spacing, the total absence of any crowding, the stress on partitions' rather than in style or design (1965, 391).

(19) *Restored*: YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date*: Firstly, the 1826 dismantlement and reconstruction and secondly, the tomb was again rebuilt in the mid-1990s as its wrought iron dowels had corroded and it was leaning out dangerously from the east wall.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 47.

(21) *Lost components*: None.

(22) *Method of construction*: The tomb-chest consists of eight components, with thin slabs forming the blank central panel and the sides, fitted into tenons behind the angled columns, the tops of which are cut into the moulding above. The imagery was carved from single blocks forming the left and right panels. The coverstone is in two sections, the shorter 47 cm. in width. On the reredos, the recesses for the imagery are formed of two courses of curved blocks with the central Holy Trinity and the flanking figures presumably secured by wrought iron dowel pins and cement to the tomb-chest coverstone.

The angled columns are in three sections, with the caps forming separate components which are rebated, in square section, into the five blank blocks forming the reredos just below the architrave containing the small roundels.

The frieze containing the heraldic wreaths and coats is in four sections, with the upper portion butting onto the moulding below the curved frieze above which is in three lengths. Above, the corner pendants are separate components and the upper friezes are formed of four lengths, one long, one short, on each side of the central pendant.

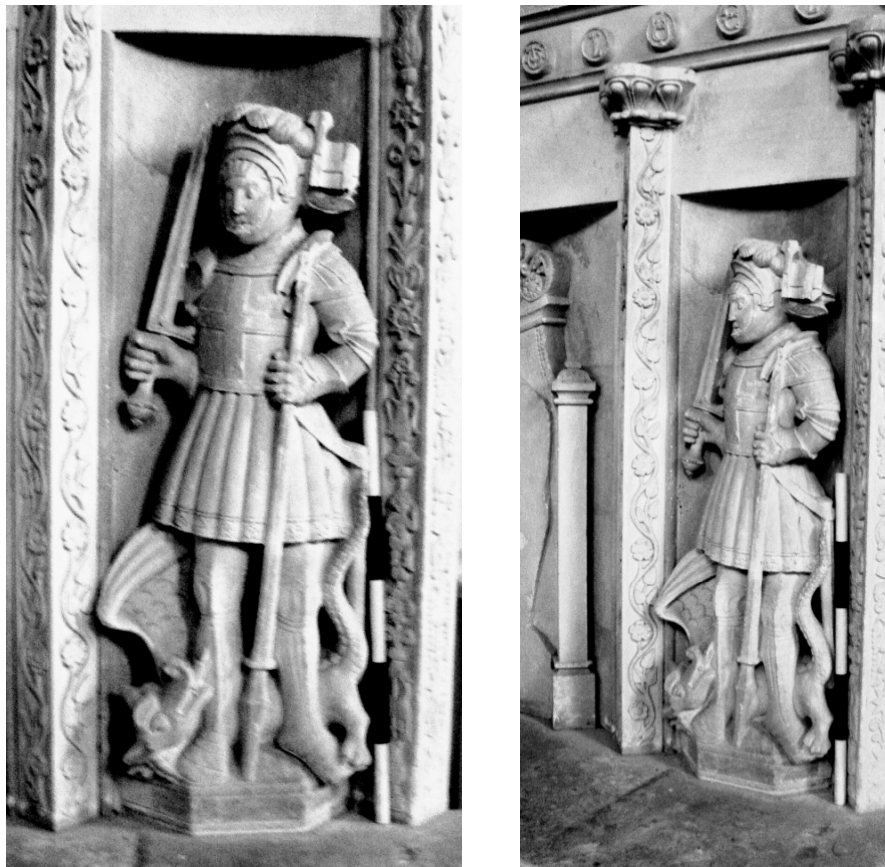
(23) *Description of figures*: N/A.

(24) *Paint traces*? None.

(25) <i>Religious iconography</i> : Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium</i> : Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<i>Type</i> : Our Lord in Majesty	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



▲ Fig. 368: *Three views of the effigy of the BVM with child at BROADWATER II. Scale: 50 cm.*



▲ Fig. 369: *Two views of the effigy of St George and the dragon on the right-hand side of the reredos at BROADWATER II. Scales: 50cm.*





▲ Fig. 370: Upper portion of the figure of St George at BROADWATER II with broken lance and quillon (or cross-guard) of his sword and the vigorous dragon with feathered wing and scales on the tail beneath his feet. Full height of effigy: 78 cm. width at base: 33.5 cm.



▲ Fig. 371: Effaced Holy Trinity forming the central panel at BROADWATER II. The short angled pinnacle at upper left of the polished-off iconography is God the Father's right hand raised in blessing. Scale: 50 cm.

(26) *Description*: At left, is the effigy of the crowned BVM, the Christ child held in her right hand, the remains of a lily held in her left. The Holy Child is curly-haired and has beads around His neck. Her counterpart on the right is the martial figure of St George in armour and plumed close helmet with visor raised and a tabard with pleated skirts, with the cross of St George (and England) emblazoned across his chest. In his left hand, he grasps a lance (now broken) point down with the flag of St George at its base and holds a sword in his right. Below, the dragon turns its head, with a forked tongue protruding, to look upwards and unfolds its wings behind the legs of the effigy. Further damage to the effigy of St George was caused in 1975 when thieves used the figure as a battering ram to gain entry into the vestry (Mayo, 1995, 9). Both effigies may have been partially recut during the Victorian period. In the central panel is a representation of the Holy Trinity.

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method*: Chiselled off and then carefully polished flat on the reredos and tomb-chest. The effigies of the BVM and St George were removed from their fixings, turned around to face inwards to the monument and then plastered over in an act of concealment. They were discovered when the monument was dismantled in 1826 (Harrison, 1932, 9).

(28) *When?* The Edwardine Reformation, 1548-1553. A Purbeck marble altar stone, 324 cm. long and 92 cm. wide, was hidden probably c.1559 after the order to remove these from churches was promulgated. It is now laid into the chancel floor just by the screen with its five consecration crosses still visible.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Good.

### **(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: Trailing flower motifs, possibly marguerite daisies, with another trailing flower in the shallow frieze below.

(31) *Other*: The architrave has trailing roses.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Religious iconography.

*Renaissance elements*: Reredos, angled columns with caps, motifs on columns.

### **(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

*Comments*: No sign of where an inscription could have been positioned, whether carved or painted.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*: N/A.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height*: 290 cm.

(36) *Monument width*: 206 cm.

(37) *Monument depth*: 52 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels*: Not undertaken because of immovable obstructions caused by construction work in the immediate vicinity.

(39) *Measurement of figures*: N/A.

(40) *Other - Type*: Religious iconography:

BVM - Height: 77 cm. Width: 29 cm.

St George - Height: 78 cm. Width 33.5 cm.

Effaced Holy Trinity - Height: 95 cm. Width: 67.5 cm.

Effaced ?St Christopher - Height: 58 cm. Width: 21.5 cm. (Estimated)

Effaced ?St Anne - Height: 59 cm. Width: 25 cm. (Estimated).

### (F) - Heraldry

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type*: Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☒ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Two heraldic roundels; two coats with crests on reredos.

Left roundel - *Blazon*: *Barry or and azure an escutcheon ermine on a chief or three pales between two base esquires azure* (MORTIMER).

Quartered shield and crest - *Blazon*: Quarterly, 1. and 4. *Gules crusily fitchy a lion rampant argent* (LA WARR), 2. and 3. *Azure three leopards' heads inverted jessant-de-lis or* (CANTELUPE).

The arms of LA WARR are without the crosslets, as on BROADWATER I (Lambarde, 1931, 234).

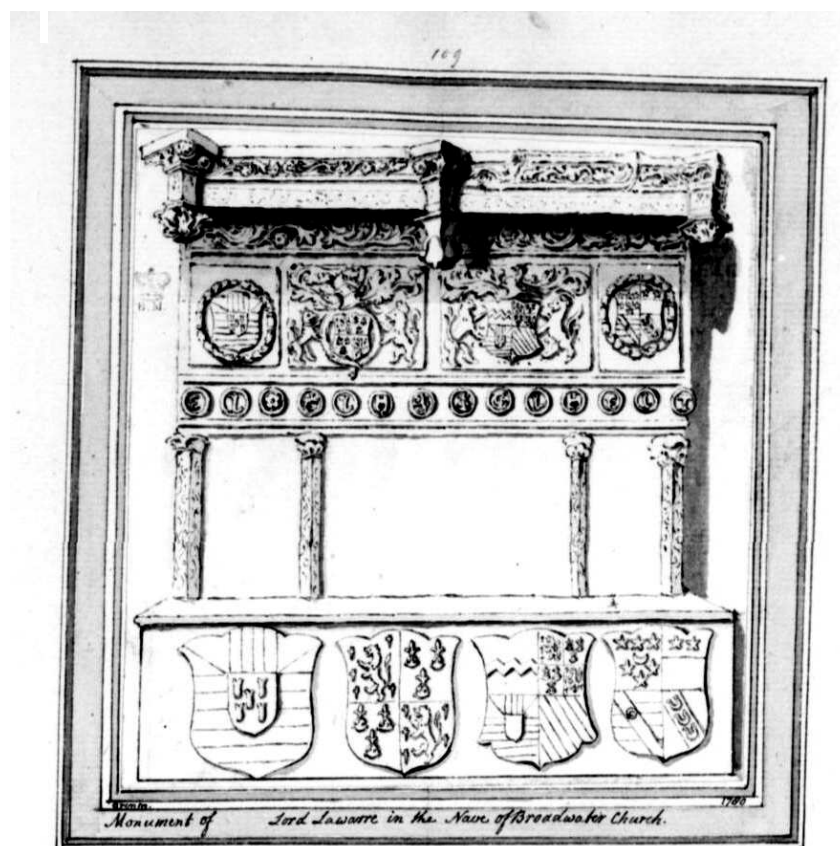
Shield and crest – *Blazon*: Quarterly, 1. LA WARR, 2. LA WARR and CANTELUPE quarterly, 3. MORTIMER, 4. GRESLEY (but here the bends are not enhanced and displays one too many (Lambarde, 1931, 234).

Right roundel - *Blazon*: Quarterly of four, 1. *Sable six rowels or a crescent for difference* (BONVILLE), 2. *Argent on a chief gules two rowels or* (ST JOHN), 3. *Barry or and vert on a bend gules, an annulet for difference* (POYNINGS), 4. *Or on a bend sable three horse shoes or* (FERRERS)

### (G) - Other information

(42) *Graffiti*: None discovered.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: S.H. Grimm drew the tomb in 1780 and his sketch shows the tomb without the two images of the BVM and St George, which had been turned inwards and plastered over (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 61). He also shows four shields on the tomb-chest; there is no physical evidence of them today and this must have been another example of artistic licence.



▲ Fig. 372: *BROADWATER II*, drawn in 1780 by S.H. Grimm, showing the images of the BVM and St George turned inwards (BL, Add. MS., 5,673, fol. 61. © British Library Board).

(44) *Date(s) recorded:* 6 September 2005; 3 June 2009.

(45) *Biographical information:* See BOXGROVE I.

A new vault was constructed at Broadwater by the first pier in the south aisle arcade, almost certainly when this monument was erected, *c.*1545. His wife's remains must immediately have been re-interred here, having been transferred from Boxgrove or possibly from the chapel in the de la Warr mansion at nearby Offington. La Warr's funeral was described by the London mercer Henry Machyn in 1554:

The x day of October was bered the good lord De la Warr in Sussex, with standard, banar of armes, banar-roll, [coat] armour, target, sword elmet, with harolds of armes. Then cam the corse with iiij baners borne about hym. [He] was the best howssekeper in Sussex in thes days and the mone [moan] (was greater) for hym for he died without issue. And ther wher a goodly herse of wax and pensels and viij dozen skoychyons and ther was a grett dolle of money and met [meat] and drnyke as was (ever known in) that contrey (Nichols 1858, 71).





▲ Fig. 373: *Entrance to the de la Warr vault at the east end of the south aisle at Broadwater, found in early 2009 during building operations on the floor of the church. (Photograph © Charles Randall of Worthing, via St Mary's Broadwater).*

A computers' roll, dated 1555, prepared by the executors of de la Warr's will, details his property in Sussex, including lands and manors at Bramber Castle, Broadwater, Cakeham, Cowfold, Ewhurst manor, Henfield, Lyminster (the Calceto priory), Mockbridge, Offington, Shermanbury, Sompting and Wiston. He also had estates in East Sussex at Blatchington, East Chalvington, Dean's Place, Alfriston, Eastbourne, Portslade, Ripe and Selmeston (WSRO, Add. MS., 8,112).

His *inquisition post mortem*, at Lewes in April 1555, noted his coheirs as his nieces Joan, late Duchess of Northumberland, aged 50; Mary, aged 38, wife of John Warnett and Anne, aged 36, wife of James Gage. These were daughters of de la Warr's sister Dorothy (Atree, 1912, 236).

He had already disinherited his nephew William West by act of Parliament in 1550 after his unsuccessful attempt to poison him two years before, but William had been reinstated as an heir by the time of his uncle's death in 1554. West became embroiled in the Dudley conspiracy and was arraigned at the Guildhall at the end of June 1556 and insisted on answering the charge as William

lord de la Warr. He was convicted of treason but was pardoned the following year. In 1563, he was restored in blood by Elizabeth and in February 1570 was knight and created baron de la Warr.

There is an oil painting of Sir Thomas West II, painted c.1550 by a follower of Hans Holbein junior in the Tate Collection (Riordan, 2004, 244).

Monument number: 30

## West Wittering II, c.1547

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SZ 7774 9842/SZ 79 NE 6

(2) *Church dedication:* SS Peter and Paul.

(3) *Location:* Pound Road, West Wittering, Chichester, West Sussex PO 20 8AJ

(4) *Commemorated:* William Ernle esquire and his second wife, Bridget, daughter of Thomas Spring, known as the 'rich clothier of Lavenham', Suffolk.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [1] wife(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* 20 January 1546 (Atree, 1912, 82).

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1547. Ernle's eldest son is not present on the monument; he died in September 1547, which may provide dating evidence.

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/31, fols. 19v-20v.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5, on its similarity with other tombs in this series. The Renaissance strapwork has affinity with CHICHESTER III and CLAPHAM. The idiosyncratic 'spotting' marks on the mounds below the two figures are found other tombs at RACTON, PETWORTH, WESTHAMPNETT and CLAPHAM and below the heraldic supporters at BROADWATER II.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of chancel, immediately east of WEST WITTERING I and hard up against the east wall of the chancel.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* WEST WITTERING I was designed as an Easter Sepulchre.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

Linked with WEST WITTERING I. It may have served as a credence table during the Easter liturgy (Done, 1965, 19).

(16) *Moved?* YES ☒ NO ☐

A drawing, dated 31 May 1790, by the Swiss artist S.H. Grimm, shows the tomb at right angles to WEST WITTERING I, aligned north-south in the chancel. It was moved to its present position against the north wall and abutting the earlier tomb when the church was restored in 1844 (Done, 1965, 19).

**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Creamy Caen stone.

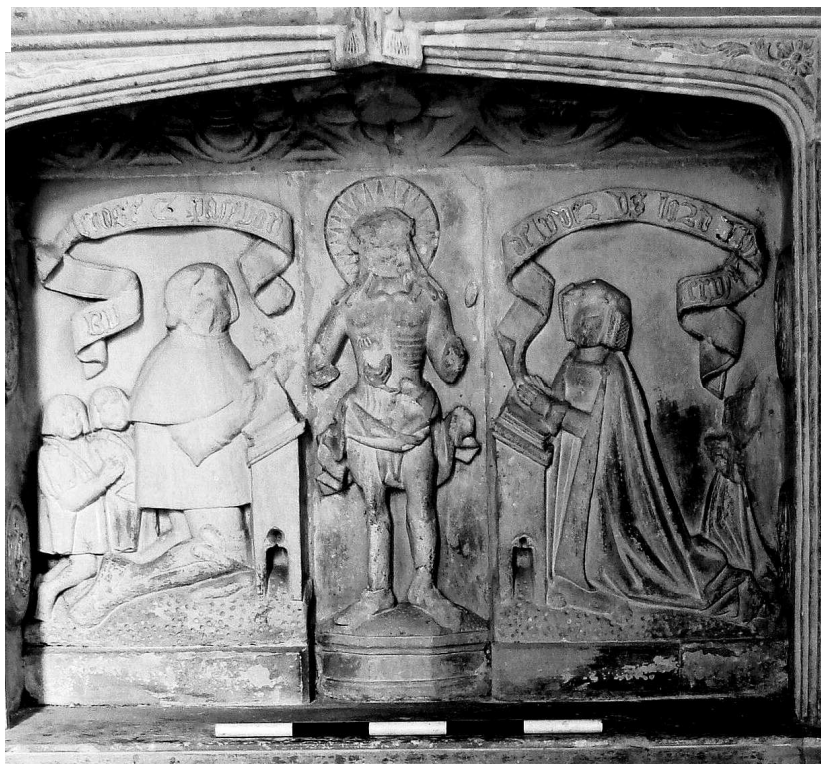


▲ Fig. 374: *The monument to William Ernle and his second wife Bridget, c.1547 at WEST WITTERING II, showing the effigies kneeling before a battered image of Christ in Majesty, above a depiction of the Annunciation on the tomb-chest. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

(18) *Description:* The tomb-chest front has a depiction of the Annunciation with the winged archangel Gabriel at left (with God shown as a tiny head and shoulders image above), facing the Virgin Mary kneeling before a prayer desk. Between them is an unusual representation of Christ crucified within the leaves and blooms of a lily, symbolising purity and sacrifice, emanating from a vase. On either side of this panel are two thin pilasters with Renaissance motifs arranged vertically.

Above is a coverstone with a bevelled edge, supporting moulded and angled side shafts, again decorated with Renaissance or Italianate emblems. The spandrels are decorated with modest flower trails with the battered remains of a central pendant. Above was a frieze (now lost but shown damaged in a drawing by S.H. Grimm in 1790, BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70) which had two panels. The left had cherubs supporting a roundel containing the initials 'W' and 'E', and the right, two winged horses (or griffins?) supporting a similar roundel.

Within the recess, beneath a soffit of quatrefoils, there is a central figure of Christ in Majesty, or perhaps depicted as the Man of Sorrows, standing on a low plinth. On the left, kneels the effigy of William Ernle at a prayer desk, with two kneeling sons behind and a prayer scroll above. On the right, is the kneeling effigy of his second wife Bridget, also at a prayer desk and with a prayer scroll, with one daughter kneeling behind.



▲ Fig. 375: *Kneeling figures and religious iconography within the recess of WEST WITTERING II. Note the stab marks on the mounds on which the effigies kneel. Scale: 50 cm.*

Both figures kneel on mounds spotted with the stab marks characteristic of some monuments in this series.

On the side panels are two roundels on each side, the upper with a shield blazoned with an eagle displayed and the lower with the initials 'W' and 'E' again, separated by a lover's knot.

(19) *Restored*:

YES

☐

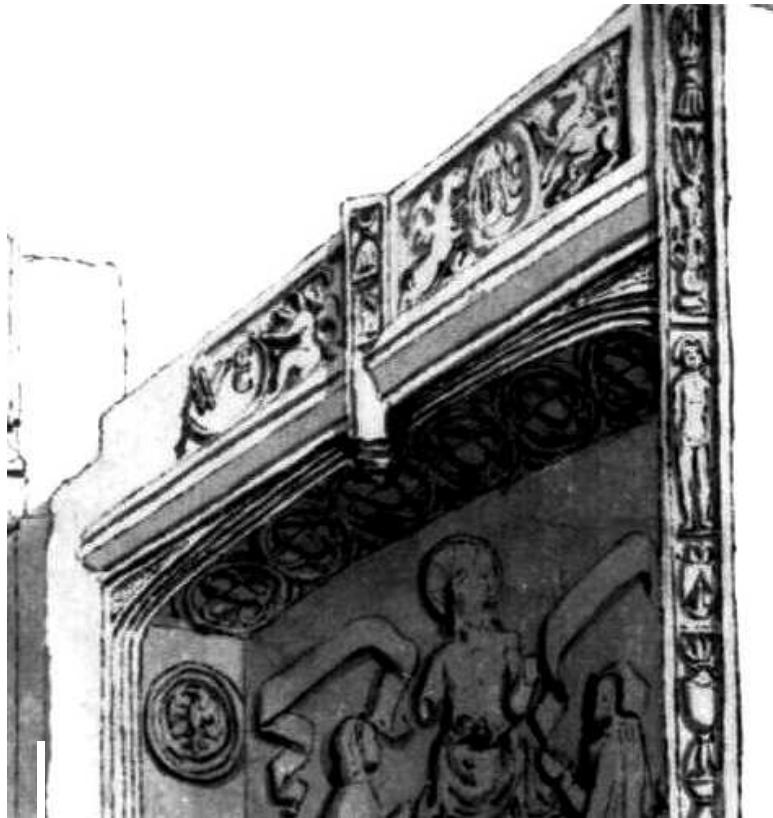
NO

☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 13.

(21) *Lost components*: Two panels forming the frieze on top of the monument and the pinnacles of the side shafts.



▲ Fig. 376: *Drawing of the lost frieze at WEST WITTERING II from the sketch by S.H. Grimm dated 31 May 1790. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70. © British Library Board).*

(22) *Method of construction*: The base of the tomb-chest is formed of three moulded components, the centre slab somewhat thinner and with a small block beneath. The coverstone also is a single module, saved for a small piece on the right hand corner. Unusually, the angled side shafts between the spandrels and the tomb-chest are of one piece and include the side panels with their roundels.

As found elsewhere among these monuments, the spandrels and the soffit are made up of two massive blocks and include the central pendant which originally projected upwards to help support the now lost two panels forming the frieze.

Within the recess, the effigies and central religious iconography are carved out of three blocks of Caen stone.



▲ Fig. 377: *Figures of William Ernle and his wife at WEST WITTERING II: Ernle wears armour and a tabard - his two sons are dressed in civilian robes. Bridget Ernle has a pedimental head-dress with folded lappets and wears a cloak or robe, fastened over her gown across the chest. Scales: 20 cm.*

(23) *Description of figures:* William Ernle, bare-headed with a bobbed style, wears a tabard, (probably originally painted) over armour. Behind him kneel two sons in civilian dress with long false sleeves hanging from their elbows in a fashion that became prevalent after c.1545. Both look directly at the observer. At right, Bridget Ernle wears the pedimental or kneel head-dress, with the lappets folded up and a cloak or mantle fastened across her chest. Her dress has prominent cuffs. Her sole daughter also wears a mantle and may have a rosary draped over her praying hands.

(24) *Paint traces?* None. The monument has been whitewashed in the past.

(25) <i>Religious iconography:</i>	Extant	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Erased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Destroyed later	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>Medium:</i>	Carved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Painted	<input type="checkbox"/>		



<i>Type:</i> Christ in Majesty	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Pieta	<input type="checkbox"/>	Resurrection	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holy Ghost	<input type="checkbox"/>	Trinity	<input type="checkbox"/>	Crucifixion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annunciation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BVM	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martyrdom	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other saint(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Angel(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



▲ Fig. 378: *Christ in Majesty, or the Man or Sorrows occupies a central position within the recess at WEST WITTERING II. Scale: 20 cms.*





▲ Fig. 379: *The Annunciation panel at WEST WITTERING II, with the rare Christ crucified/lily symbolism. Note the Renaissance or Italianate motifs on the pilasters each side. Scale: 50 cm.*

(26) *Description:* Christ stands full-face, the right-hand raised in blessing, the left probably pointing to the wounds of crucifixion.

On the front of the tomb-chest, the winged archangel Gabriel kneels, with God portrayed as a tiny figure above his left shoulder. At right, the Virgin Mary kneels at a prayer desk in a pillared and curtained room. Between them is a rare depiction of Christ crucified in the upper leaves and blooms of a lily standing in an Italianate pot. This crucifixion/lily is seen in a wall painting of c.1450 in the chantry chapel of Sir John Leigh at GODSHILL. While erecting his monument, did these masons see this wall painting and incorporate it in their pattern books?

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* The face and heads of Christ have been smashed, as have the faces of William Ernle and his wife and daughter. The sons survived unscathed.

(28) *When?* The Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Good.

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: Lost. The left hand portion had cherubs supporting roundels containing the initials 'W' and 'E'; the right hand, winged horses or griffins.

(31) *Other*: Renaissance motifs of cherubs, masks, flowers, vases are carved on the pilasters on the side of the tomb-chest and on the angled faces of the side shafts and central pendant.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Quatrefoil soffit; raised blackletter ulc script on prayer scrolls.

*Renaissance elements*: Renaissance or Italianate motifs on pilasters of tomb-chest and on angled faces of side shafts and the central pendant and lost friezes.



▲ Fig. 380: A selection of Renaissance reliefs from the pilasters flanking the spandrels at WEST WITTERING II.

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ ?☒ Not known/lost ☐

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☒

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*: There was probably a painted inscription identifying the deceased on the tomb-chest chamfer.

*Errors*: None known.

*Erasures*: None.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right)*:

1: (Above male figure) *By [His] cross and passyon*

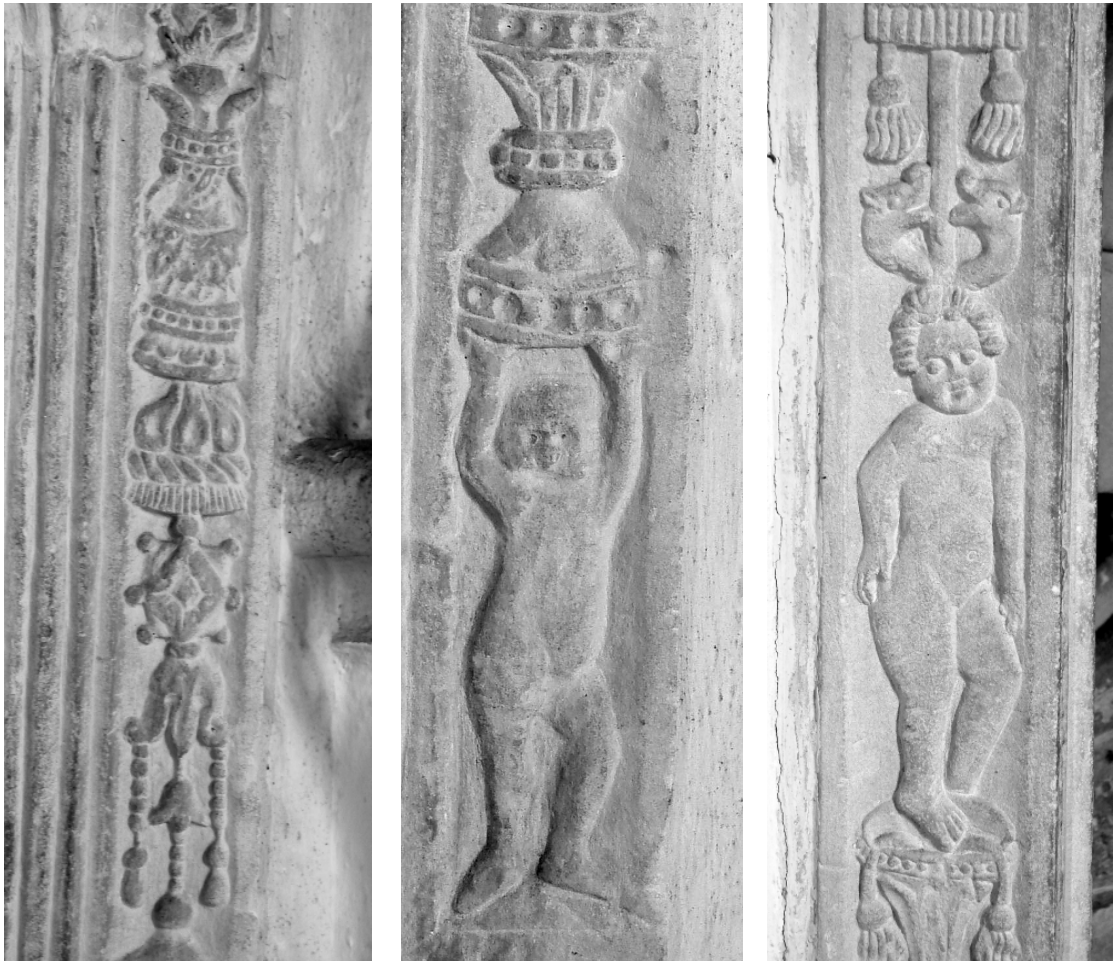
2: (Above female figure) *delpyver us Lord I u S cryst*

The scrolls are clearly intended to read on from each other.

3: (From the archangel Gabriel): *Ave Maria dominus te[cum]...*

Translated: 'Hail Mary, God is with you...'

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* The tomb-chest scroll is mutilated.



▲ Fig. 381: *Further Renaissance motifs from the pilasters at WEST WITTERING II, the centre figure somewhat worn.*

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 182.5 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 134.4 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 40.5 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

*(39) Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 52.5 cm. Width: 27 cm.

Wife - Height: 45.3 cm. Width: 28.5 cm.

*(40) Other - Type:*

Christ in Majesty - Height: 53 cm. Width: 10.5 cm.

Virgin Mary – Height: 32.5 cm. Width: 21.7 cm.

Archangel Gabriel – Height: 32 cm. Width: 22 cm.

Lily Crucifix – Height: 32.7 cm. Width: 12 cm. (Across outstretched hands).

**(F) - Heraldry**

(41) *Heraldry*: Carved ☒ Painted ☐

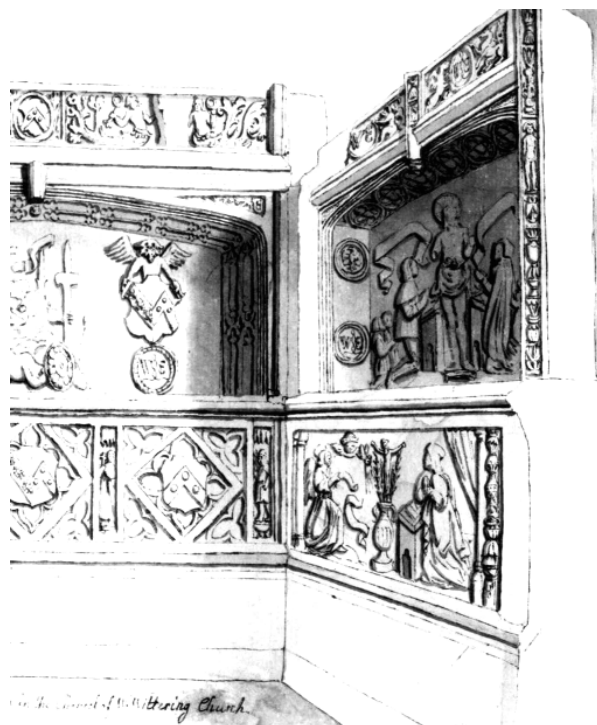
Type: Shield ☐ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Two eagles displayed within the upper roundels on the side panels, apparently taken from the Ernle shield and used here as a badge.

**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by S.H. Grimm on 31 May 1790, (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70).



◀ Fig. 382: Grimm's drawing of WEST WITTERING II alongside the earlier monument. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 70. © British Library Board).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 18 October 2005; 6 July 2008.

(45) *Biographical information*: William Ernle was the third son, born, c.1501, of Sir John Ernle, (c. 1464-1520), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1519-1536, and Attorney-General to Henry VII from 7 July 1507. He was buried at Sidlesham. William inherited a substantial inheritance and followed his father into Gray's Inn (Whittick, 2004b, 510).

There were two children of his first marriage to Elizabeth Bond, Elizabeth and Francis. In 1528, apparently not long after the birth of her son, Elizabeth died, as suggested by Ernle's surrender of the lease on Cakeham Manor, and his taking up of a new one in his sole name from Michaelmas 1528. The document is dated 20 March 1528 (Peckham, 1952, 29). On 15 August 1538, William married Bridget, daughter of Thomas Spring, known as the 'rich clothier of Lavenham', Suffolk (Done, 1965, 16). Their eldest child Catherine was baptised on 17 July 1539 and three more children followed.

In December 1538, Ernle was one of two commissioners ordered to destroy the shrine of St Richard in the Lady Chapel of Chichester Cathedral (LP, vol. 13, pt. 2 no. 101). This may have been a test of his loyalty to the reforms of Henry VIII's government. Indeed, a few days earlier, he wrote to the Chief Minister, Thomas Cromwell, enclosing an evangelical tract, which had 'marvellously aggrieved those papistical fellows in Chichester'. He also sent scurrilous allegations by Thomas West, ninth baron de la Warr (LP, vol. 13, pt. 2, no. 106). He sought permission to mount Cromwell's arms over his house at Cakeham, south of Chichester, as a token of fealty to the Minister. Ernle represented Chichester in the Parliament of 1542.

William died on 20 January 1546. An *inquisition post mortem* held at Petworth on 25 October that year, recorded his heir as his son Francis, 'aged 18 and no more' that July, a minor and a ward to the king. William died seized of the manor of East Wittering and messuages and lands in Birdham, Goring, Tangmere, Hunston and North Mundham, all of which belonged to his father, Sir John Ernle. There were also lands in West Wittering, Oving and Compton (TNA, C 142/75/64).

His widow Bridget was recorded living at Cakeham, seized of lands at Kirdford, Sidlesham and Almodington (*sic*) (Atree, 1912, 82).

His will, dated 15 January 1546 and proved the following 18 February, asked for his burial 'in the churche of Westwetering asnd yf I chance to dye withyn ten myles of the same or elles to be at the discession of myne executrix'. If his eldest son died without issue, then his lands would be bequeathed to his son Richard (aged nine years and eight months at his death) and the remainder to his youngest son (TNA, PROB 11/31, fol. 19v).

Francis married Eleanor Cutler in London in 1547, but died in September that year.

Bridget clearly erected the tomb and may have added the frieze in the new Renaissance taste at the same time to the earlier monument, WEST WITTERING I, to match. The death of the eldest son may also explain his absence from the tomb and may be useful dating evidence.

She married Sir Henry Hussey of Slinfold in June 1546 and died at West Wittering in 1558 and was buried at Slinfold.

*Monument number:* 31

## Boxgrove II, c.1547

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* SU 9086 0758/SU 90 NW 13

(2) *Church dedication:* SS Mary and Blaise.

(3) *Location:* Church Lane, Boxgrove, Chichester, West Sussex PO18 0ED.

(4) *Commemorated:* Thomas Myles, last Prior of Boxgrove and later rector of New Shoreham.

(5) <i>Purpose:</i> Monument	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Secular	<input type="checkbox"/>	Re-used	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grave	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cenotaph	<input type="checkbox"/>		
(6) <i>Type:</i> Military & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Civilian & [ ] wife(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lady	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Military	<input type="checkbox"/>	Religious scene	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Not known	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(7) *Date of death:* not known, but possibly c.1550, as Myles was aged 70 in 1548.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1547. The monument includes a low ledge on its back wall, probably to hold religious iconography (see below). This part of the liturgy disappeared after 1548, so the monument was probably erected in Myles' lifetime, possibly by his patron, Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr (BOXGROVE I and BROADWATER II). The monument has a broken shield bearing the arms of ST JOHN, so conversely, members of this family may have paid for the tomb - or did it commemorate one of their family members and was appropriated for Myles?

(9) *Will reference:* N/A.

(10) <i>Monument/carving extant?</i>	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------------------	-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

*If lost, give source of information:*

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. Recessed canopy tomb with depressed arch, similar to others in the series. Carving of spandrels resemble those at PETWORTH and WEST WITTERING I. The trailing flower motif has an affinity with BOXGROVE I.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* Not known. Likely to have suffered during the Edwardine Reformation. Its present state is probably the result of Victorian additions during the restoration of the church, or during repairs to the chapel in 1931.

(13) *Position in structure:* North aisle (St Catherine's chapel) 4.04 m. from east wall of chancel, facing second bay of arcade from the east.

(14) <i>Easter Sepulchre?</i>	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-----	--------------------------	----	-------------------------------------



▲ Fig. 383: *Monument to Thomas Myles, c.1547, BOXGROVE II, showing recessed canopy, Purbeck marble coverstone and probable fragments of another tomb-chest, c.1450 on the left. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

*Comments:* A Caen stone shelf or corbel, 94 cm. in width; 27 cm. in height and 9.7 cm in depth remains at the base of the back wall. This may have been intended to accommodate some religious imagery, such as a cross during the Easter rites. This is shown in Grimm's drawing of c. 1781, so is likely to be original.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

An altar with an ancient aumbry and piscina is nearby at east end of the north aisle.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒

### (B) - Description

(17) *Material:* Creamy and white Caen stone and a greenish Purbeck 'Unio' slab, with prominent shells of the fresh water mussel *Unio valdensis*, as coverstone.



(18) *Description:* Simple recessed canopied tomb with mullions and a broken shield at centre, supported by a fluted frame left and right, built on top of a Purbeck slab, 213 cm. in length 87 cm. in depth and 11.2 cm. thick. Within the spandrels are a trailing flower motif and the initials 'T' and 'M' left and right, for 'Thomas Myles'. There is sign of a lost cornice.

The tomb-chest is problematical as it seems to have had at least one section added in modern times, probably during the Victorian restoration of the priory church in 1859-60 by Sir George Gilbert Scott. This is the section, 133.3 cm. in width and 53.5 cm. in height, forming almost two-thirds of the tomb-chest. It has two roundels and three tall trefoil niches carved in Purbeck marble and is badly eroded. The evidence for it being an interloper comes from its very close resemblance to a surviving fifteenth century altar tomb a few metres away to the south in St John's chapel, which looks to be by the same hand. The difference in height is also suggestive.

Grimm's sketch of the monument, done *c.*1780 (fig. 388, page 560) shows roundels and niches on the tomb-chest fascia, but the existing section does not match the way his were laid out.

The remaining section is two complete trefoil niches and two incomplete ones, 49.5 cm in width and 45 cm. in height, again in Purbeck marble. The east end is blank and plastered over.



▲ Fig. 384: *Left-hand portion of the tomb-chest of BOXGROVE II. Is this a spurious addition? It closely resembles a surviving fifteenth century altar tomb in St John's chapel, nearby in the priory church. Scale: 50 cm.*

The Purbeck cover- stone has crisp edges and little wear which is suggestive that it has been buried in the pavement, but Grimm's sketch shows a slab of approximately the same thickness *in situ*.

At the back of the monument there is a Caen stone ledge, presumably used to house religious imagery.

(19) *Restored:* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Details/Date:* Additions and reconstruction probably in 1859-60, or when the chapel was restored in 1931.

(20) *Number of separate components:* At least 16.

(21) *Lost components:* ?Religious imagery; portions of the tomb-chest; one half of the shield.

(22) *Method of construction:* The shafts of the canopy are in two sections and in a different coloured Caen stone from the spandrels. These are in three sections, with a short length forming the central portion, bearing the shield. The shelf against the back wall, the upper part moulded, is made up of six blocks of Caen stone.

(23) *Description of figures:* N/A.

(24) *Paint traces?* None.

(25) *Religious iconography:* None, but the ledge at the base of the back wall may have been designed to support some religious imagery.

(26) *Description:*

(27) *Erasures?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method:* The shield has been smashed, leaving only the upper portion.

(28) *When?* Probably during 1549-1553.

(29) *Overall damage/condition:* Poor.



▲ Fig. 385: *The left and right spandrels of the flattened arch of the recessed canopy tomb at BOXGROVE II, showing the trailing flower and leaf motif, and the initials 'T' and 'M' on each side for 'Thomas Myles'*

**(C) - Motifs/strapwork**

(30) *Frieze*: N/A.

(31) *Other*: N/A.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Recessed canopy and shield.

*Renaissance elements*: Trailing flower motif in spandrels.



▲ Fig. 386: *Indent of three-line brass inscription on the Purbeck marble coverstone of BOXGROVE II. One rivet remains in its lead plug at right, and the 'runner' used to pour lead into a hole to retain the rivet is clearly seen in the bottom centre of the indent. Scale: 20 cm.*

**(D) - Inscriptions**

(33) *Main inscription*: Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

*Position of text*: Foot ☐ Frieze ☐ Chamfer ☐

*Type*: Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☐ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments*: Indent of three-line inscription on Purbeck marble slab on top of tomb-chest. Did this belong to the monument, or was it a spurious addition by a Victorian restorer. Grimm's drawing of around 1781 shows a thick coverstone, so this slab may belong to this tomb.

The indent shows one rivet remaining in its lead plug at the right hand side, and a hole for the plug at left, suggesting that the plate was forcibly ripped out of the slab. The indent measures 29.2 cm. in width and 7.6 cm. in height.

*Text* ("/" denotes end of line) N/A.

*Errors*: N/A.

*Erasures:* Brass inscription lost.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):* None.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* N/A.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 116 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 210.4 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 87 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures:* None.

### **(F) - Heraldry**

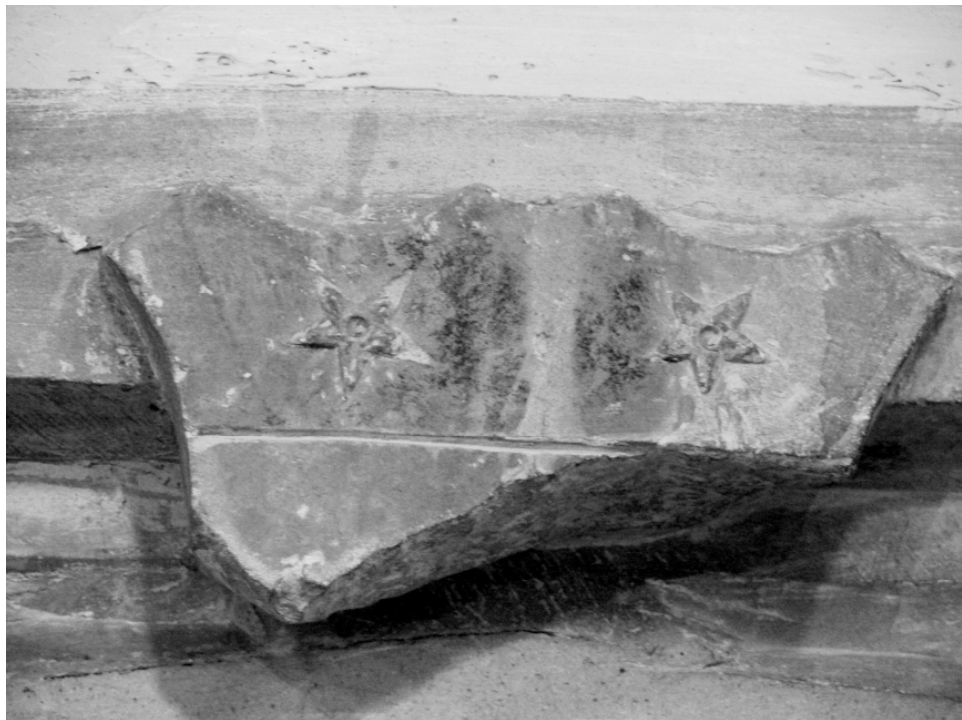
(41) *Heraldry:* Carved ☒ Painted ☐

*Type:* Shield ☒ Escutcheon ☐ Crest ☐

*Number and position:* One, in centre of arch, broken.

*Left - Height:* 10.2 cm. remaining. *Width:* 22 cm.

*Blazon:* Argent, a chief gules, with two rowels or (ST JOHN).



▲ Fig. 387: *Broken shield, bearing the arms of ST JOHN in the centre of the arch at BOXGROVE II. Shield is 22 cm. in width.*

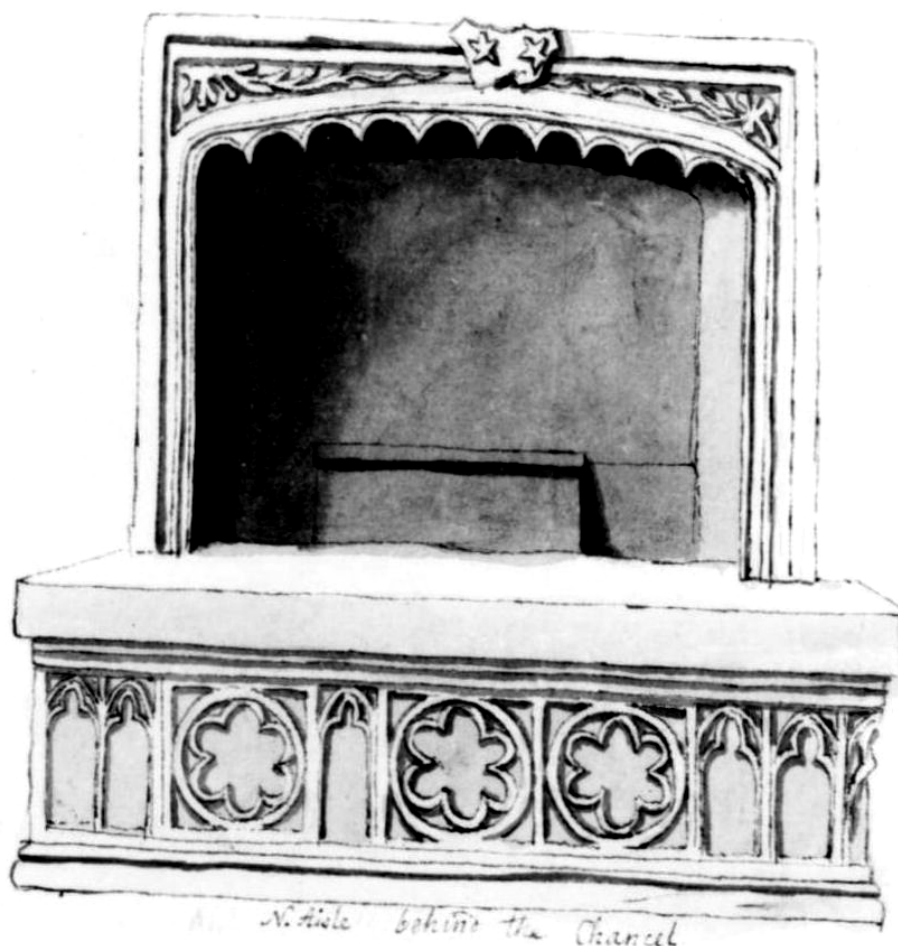
**(G) - Other information**

(42) *Graffiti*: None.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by Grimm, probably in 1781. (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 77).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 24 May 2004; 5 October 2007.

(45) *Biographical information*: When Boxgrove Priory was dissolved in March 1537, the last prior, Thomas Myles, was among the eight religious who applied for licences or 'capacities,' entitling them to seek employment as parish priests (Thom, no date, 31). Myles became rector of New Shoreham in Sussex in 1545 and three years later, at the age of 70, he was holding the chantry in that church, worth £4 6s 8d (Salzman, 1954, 28). He received an additional pension of £4 on the suppression of the chantry in 1548. Doubtless throughout this period he continued to enjoy the patronage of Thomas West, ninth Baron de la Warr, who may have paid for his tomb at Boxgrove.



▲ Fig. 388: *Drawing of BOXGROVE II by S.H. Grimm, probably in 1781.* (BL, Add. MS., 5,675, fol. 77. © British Library Board).

*Monument number:* 32

## Clapham, c.1550

### (A) - Location and Purpose

(1) *National Grid reference/NMR number:* TQ 0959 0663/ TQ 00 NE 51

(2) *Church dedication:* St Mary the Virgin.

(3) *Location:* Church Lane, off The Street, Clapham, West Sussex BN13 3UU.

(4) *Commemorated:* Sir William Shelley, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and his wife Alice, daughter of Harry Belknap of Knelle in Beckley, near Rye, East Sussex.

(5) *Purpose:* Monument ☒ Secular ☐ Re-used ☐  
 Grave ☒ Cenotaph ☐  
 (6) *Type:* Military & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Civilian & [ ] wife(s) ☐ Lady ☐  
 Civilian ☐ Military ☐ Religious scene ☐  
 Other ☒ Not known ☐

(7) *Date of death:* 4 January 1549.

(8) *Date of construction:* c.1550. The monument was unfinished 18 months after Sir William's death. It has no inscription and is arguably incomplete. The initials 'W.S.', in sixteenth century capitals, are found twice on the front of the monument, doubtless scratched to identify the deceased. The will of his son John, dated 8 August 1550, requested that 'my fathers Tombe be made upp & perfittlye fynished with all thinges belonging to the same as shalbe thought mete by my Executours' (TNA, PROB 11/34 fol.90v).

(9) *Will reference:* TNA, PROB 11/32, fols.185-186. Dated 6 November 1548; proved 5 February 1549.

(10) *Monument/carving extant?* YES ☒ NO ☐

*If lost, give source of information:* N/A.

(11) *Identification status:* Attributed. Confidence: 5. The heraldic roundels resemble those at PETWORTH, WEST WITTERING I and BROADWATER II. The arabesques on the pilasters have an affinity with CHICHESTER III. The stab marks on the mounds supporting the kneeling figures are found on other monuments of this series at PETWORTH, RACTON and WESTHAMPNETT.

(12) *Date/nature of destruction:* N/A.

(13) *Position in structure:* North wall of chancel, 276 cm. from east wall of chancel, 69 cm. from the floor.

(14) *Easter Sepulchre?* YES ☐ NO ☒

*Comments:* Although the monument is in an appropriate position in the church for an Easter Sepulchre, its religious iconography is neutral, in keeping with the changes in liturgy of the period.

(15) *Linked with another feature?* YES ☒ NO ☐

The faces of the effigies are turned towards the high altar in the chancel.

(16) *Moved?* YES ☐ NO ☒



▲ Fig. 389: *Monument of Sir William Shelley d 1549, and wife, c.1550 at CLAPHAM. Apart from the Books of Hours on their prie-dieus, the iconography of the tomb is religiously neutral. Scales: two metres and 50 cm.*

**(B) - Description**

(17) *Material*: Grey-white Caen stone surround; creamy Caen stone for figures.

(18) *Description*: A shallow recessed canopied tomb, with arabesques of tiny human figures, flowers, masks, bells, masks of monsters, in the pilasters. In the back wall are two groups of crudely carved kneeling figures, once with two prayer scrolls in raised blackletter ulc, but now only one survives.

Above them are three heraldic roundels carved more delicately by a more skilled hand. Above are two spandrels with a trailing flower motif and a central pendant. There is a shallow architrave with more trailing flowers and leaves and above this a frieze of Renaissance masks supporting unpainted shields. The cornice is a strip of diminutive Gothic leaves. There is no inscription, nor any chamfer for a painted one, but only a slightly scalloped base. Probably unfinished.

(19) *Restored*: YES ☐ NO ☒

*Details/Date*: N/A.

(20) *Number of separate components*: 25.

(21) *Lost components*: Was there a tomb-chest - or was this never erected?

(22) *Method of construction*: The groups of kneeling figures rest on a base of three slightly scalloped blocks – a tomb-chest was probably intended. There are short sections of two-sided pilasters beginning below this base, and two longer sections, 27 cm. and 67 cm. in height, ending at the base of the spandrels of the flattened arch. These are 18 cm. deep and only include a short section of the side of the recess. The spandrels are in two sections, with a block containing the central pendant, 60 cm. in width, extending to the cornice, acting as a keystone. The spandrels also include the shallow architrave of trailing flowers and small, blank shields. The frieze of masks and shields are formed of two blocks, each measuring 63 cm. in width and 23 cm. in height, but do not include the angled pilasters on either side. The cornice is in two separate strips.

Within the recess, the kneeling groups are carved out of two separate blocks, as are the three shields above them. The monument is completed by three curved blocks to form a plain, undecorated soffit.

(23) *Description of figures*: The crudely-carved figures have the wife kneeling, facing east, at a *prie-dieu*, with a Book of Hours open before her. She wears a pedimental head-dress, with the lappets folded up, and a mantle, fastened by a string and clasp at the chest. A rosary is looped over the fingers of her right hand. Her prayer scroll has been completely chiselled away. Behind her are seven daughters, the first (clearly the eldest) dressed as a nun or vowess, with a rosary hanging over her right forearm and a book in the other hand. Her six sisters have the newly-fashionable 'Paris'



head-dress, beaded around the brow, with veils hanging down behind. Their dresses have the puffed-sleeves of the late 1540s/early 1550s.



◀ Fig. 390: *The female group at CLAPHAM, with the wife Alice, wearing a pedimental head-dress and six of her daughters wearing the more fashionable 'Paris' style, with long veils behind. Note the eldest daughter is dressed as a nun or vowess. Scale: 50 cm.*



▶ Fig. 391: *Figure of Sir William Shelley, wearing a judge's coif and legal robes at CLAPHAM with seven sons behind him. Scale: 50 cm.*

Her husband wears legal robes and a judge's coif, and also kneels before a *prie-dieu*, with an open book. Behind him kneel his seven sons with bobbed hair and tunics with false sleeves and puffed upper sleeves. A prayer scroll, 2.6 cm. thick, carved in raised blackletter ulc, issues from his hands. Both groups look out from the monument.



▲ Fig. 392: *The rather chubby eldest daughter of Sir William Shelley and his wife at CLAPHAM, dressed as a nun or vowess, carrying an open missal in her left hand and with a rosary in the right. Scale: ten cm.*

(24) *Paint traces?* None. Grimm's drawing of the monument, done in 1789, has touches of yellow watercolour in the borders of the heraldic roundels.

(25) *Religious iconography:* None.

(26) *Description*: N/A.

(27) *Erasures*? YES ☒ NO ☐

*Method*: Chiselling off the prayer scroll above the female effigies- marks of the chisel still apparent.

(28) *When*? Possibly during the late Edwardine Reformation.

(29) *Overall damage/condition*: Poor to good.



▲ Fig. 393: *Frieze at CLAPHAM with Renaissance masks supporting a blank shield with an oblique disc decoration, a tiny Gothic cornice and arabesques on the central pendant and side pilasters.*

### (C) - Motifs/strapwork

(30) *Frieze*: Renaissance masks supporting two blank shields. The architrave's trailing flowers are similar to those on BROADWATER II.

(31) *Other*: Arabesques of monster masks, human figures, flowers, birds, Tudor roses, and bells carved in the side pilasters and central pendant.

(32) *Gothic elements*: Blackletter prayer scroll; tiny Gothic cornice.

*Renaissance elements*: Masks in the friezes and pendant; arabesque motifs in the pilasters; oblique disc decoration to the shields on the frieze and the heraldic roundels on the back wall.



▲ Fig. 394: Mask and trailing flowers on the central pendant at CLAPHAM with Renaissance motifs on both sides of the angled faces.

#### (D) - Inscriptions

(33) *Main inscription:* Carved ☐ Painted ☐ Not known/lost ☒

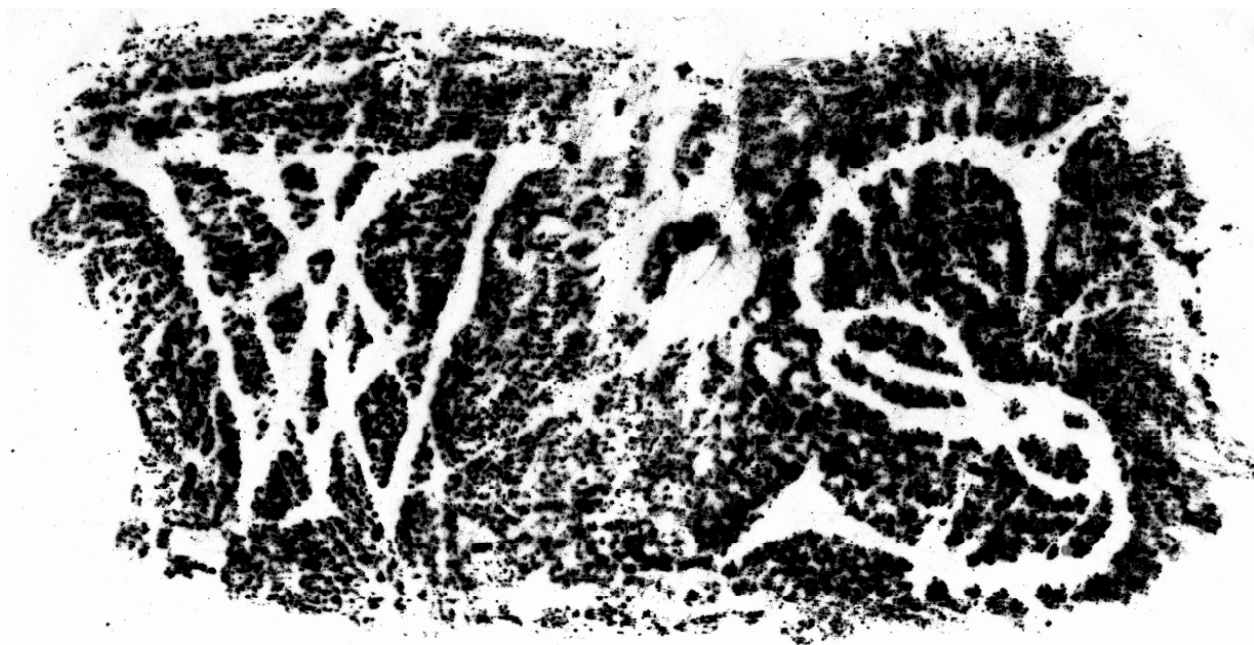
*Position of text:* There is no sign of an inscription. A tomb-chest, with a painted inscription on the chamfer may have been intended but never erected. Two sets of initials, in sixteenth century lettering, are scratched on the front of the tomb.

*Type:* Capitals ☐ Blackletter ulc ☒ Rounded ☐ Humanist ☐

*Comments:* Only a prayer scroll remains.

*Errors:* N/A.

*Erasures:* N/A.



▲ Fig. 395: One of the two sets of initials 'W.S' carefully scratched on the scalloped front of the Caen stone blocks at the base of CLAPHAM, identifying the deceased. Width: 18 cm.

(34) *Prayer Scrolls (left to right):*

1: Effaced

2: *Adoram[us] te xpe ihesu et benedicim [us] tibi*

Translated, 'We worship Thee, O Christ, and we bless Thee'.

*Damage/erasures to prayer scrolls:* Prayer scroll above group of female effigies chiselled off.

### **(E) - Dimensions**

(35) *Monument height:* 181 cm.

(36) *Monument width:* 156 cm.

(37) *Monument depth:* 39 cm.

(38) *Measurement of tomb-chest panels:* N/A.

(39) *Measurement of figures:*

Male - Height: 39.3 cm. Width: 31 cm. (66 cm. with sons)

Wife - Height: 35.5 cm. Width: 18 cm. (55 cm. with daughters)

(40) *Other - Type:*

Daughters - Height: 30 cm. Width: 37 cm. (Nun or vowess, 26.6 cm. in height).

Sons - Height: 30.5 cm. Width: 35 cm.

**(F) - Heraldry**(41) *Heraldry*: Carved☒ Painted ☒*Type*: Shield☐ Escutcheon ☒ Crest ☐

*Number and position*: Three in roundels, with oblique disc decorations to the borders, above the kneeling figures on the back wall of the recessed canopy tomb.

Two further shields are on the frieze, which were probably painted, but are now blank. These would have borne the arms of Shelley and Belknap, (see below).

Left roundel - Diameter: 28.5 cm.

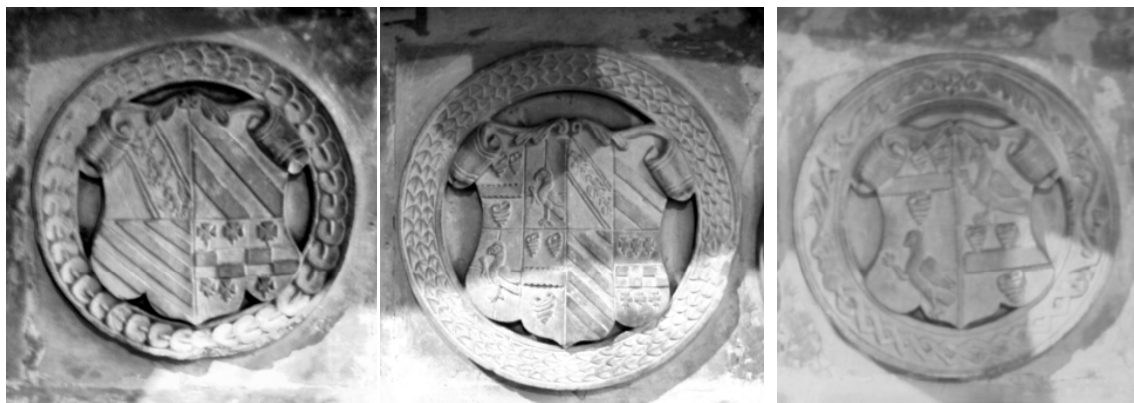
*Blazon*: Quarterly of four, 1. *Azure, three eagles between two bendlets argent* (BELKNAP), 2. *Or, two bends gules* (SUDELEY), 3. *Bendy of ten or and azure* (MOUNTFORD) and 4. *Gules, a fess compony sable and argent between six crosses patty fitchy argent* (BOTELER).

Centre roundel - Diameter: 35.3 cm.

*Blazon*: Quarterly of four, 1. and 4. *Sable, a fess engrailed between three whelk shells, or* (SHELLEY), 2. and 3. *Quarterly, or and azure, a falcon argent* (MICHELGROVE) impaling, quarterly of four, 1. (BELKANP), 2. (SUDELEY), 3. (MOUNTFORD) 4. (BOTELER).

Right roundel - Diameter: 31.1 cm.

*Blazon*: 1. and 4. (SHELLEY); 2. and 3. (MICHELGROVE), (Lambarde, 1931, 235).



▲ Fig. 396: The three heraldic roundels at CLAPHAM, probably once painted in their proper tinctures. Diameters vary between 28.5 and 35.3 cm.

**(G) - Other information**

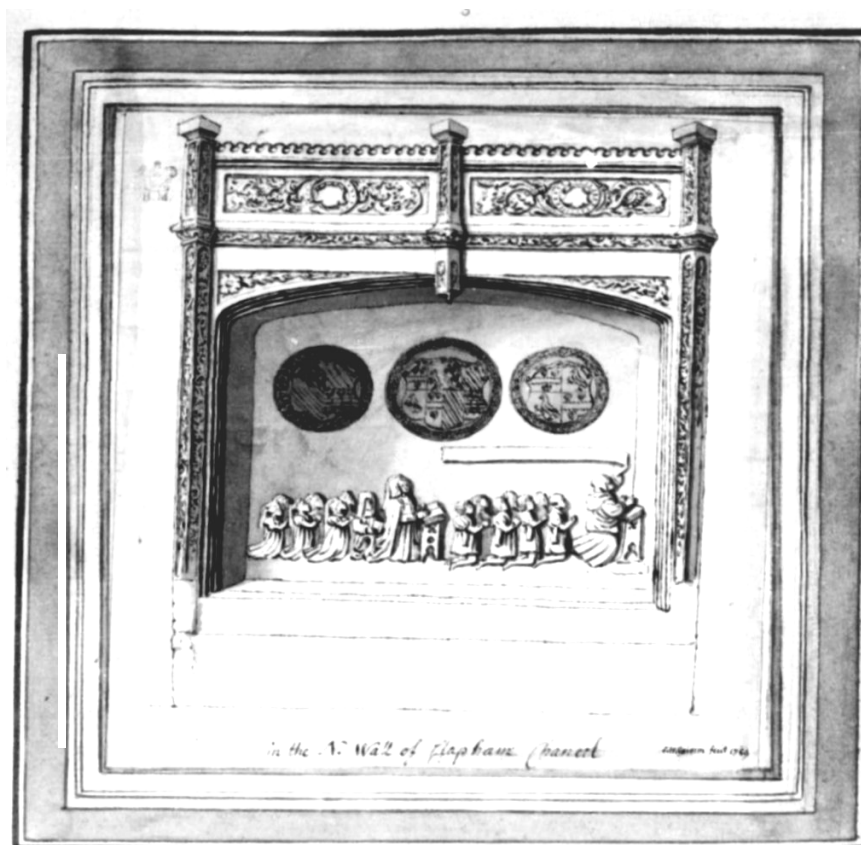
(42) *Graffiti*: Other than the two sets of inscribed initials 'W.S.' (fig. 395, page 568) there are a further two sets of initials in seventeenth century script, scratched on top of the base of the monument, possibly associated with each other: 'K.M.' and 'T.M', the latter letters conjoined.

(43) *Antiquarian drawings*: Drawing by S.H. Grimm in 1789 (BL, Add. MS. 5,674, fol.3). This shows the monument in the same state as today, although the original has traces of colour touches to the borders of the heraldic roundels (fig.397, below).

(44) *Date(s) recorded*: 5 April 2004; 18 September 2006; 21 May 2009.

(45) *Biographical information*: William Shelley was the son of John Shelley I, a member of a London family of mercers and aldermen, and his wife Elizabeth, the posthumous daughter of John Faulconer, alias Michelgrove, Clapham (Whittick, 2004a, 214). Around 1498, William married Alice, daughter of Harry Belknap of Knell, near Rye in Sussex. He became an under-sheriff of London, alongside Thomas More, in 1514 and in 1520, was appointed Recorder of London and was one of those sitting in judgement on Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham in his treason trial at the Guildhall, (LP, vol. 3, pt. I, no. 1284). Two years later, Shelley represented the city in the parliament of 1523.

In November 1526 he was appointed the fourth Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and



▲ Fig. 397: Grimm's drawing of CLAPHAM, dated 1789 showing the tomb in much the same state as it is today. (BL, Add. MS., 5,674, fol. 3. © British Library Board).

the following year, at the age of 48, succeeded to his father's estates in Sussex. From 1529 until his death, he was personally summoned to parliament by writ of assistance and he remained an active member of the Sussex bench of JPs, which he chaired as *custos rotulorum* from before 1532 (Whittick, 2004a, 215). Although a close friend of Cardinal Wolsey, it fell to Shelley to take possession of the Minister's London home at York Place in Westminster, and he was knighted there in 1530.

The judge was religiously conservative and he fell out of favour with Thomas Cromwell, Henry's new chief Minister, after he heard of Shelley's indiscreet remarks about heretical books. After Cromwell's fall, he received two of the Minister's manors in Essex.

He accompanied Henry VIII to the siege of Boulogne, with his son Edward, who was a master of the royal household and a lieutenant of horse in France, and his will, dated 6 November 1548, (TNA, PROB 11/32, fols. 185-186) includes a bequest to another son, Richard, of 'one hundred poundes whiche thexecutours of the late Kinges grace kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> owe me for I lent yt to our said late soveraigne lord at his being at the sege of Bolloyn'.

Shelley's wife Alice died around 1537 and he died probably at Michelgrove, (a mansion he had rebuilt by 1534), on 4 January 1549. He asked that if he died 'dye nyghe to the Parishe of Clapham where I dwell then yf it shalbe thought no greate trouble not coste to bury me in the churche of Clapham I require my executors that I may be buried there... withoute any pompe or costely Cerimonies. I will have no herse but foure honest tapers aboote my body...'.



## Appendix Two

### List of churches investigated, 2004-09

The churches are listed by their counties as they were before the boundary changes of the 1970s and those since.

Those churches in Sussex are identified by location only, not by modern county. Churches marked with an asterisk (\*) indicate repeat visits.

Those shown in bold contain monuments or religious panels attributed to the masons' workshop in this research.

1. Alton, St Laurence, Hants.
2. Amberley, St Michael.
3. Angmering, St. Margaret.
4. Aldingbourne, St Mary.
5. Appledram, St Mary.
6. Arundel, St Nicholas.
7. Arundel, Fitzalan Chapel (Arundel Castle).\*
8. Barlavington, St Mary.
9. Barnham, St Mary.
10. Basing, St Mary, Hants.

*John Paulet I and wife, d, 1490, but dated c.1520; John Paulet II and wife and William Paulet, first Marquess of Winchester, c.1546 in Caen stone on either side of Chancel. Last two have Renaissance details. All probably carved in Winchester or London.*

11. Bepton, St Mary.
12. Bersted, St Mary Magdalene.
13. Bignor, Holy Cross.
14. Billingshurst, St Mary.
15. Binsted, St Mary.
16. Birdham, St James.
17. Boarhunt, St Nicholas, Hants.

*Caen stone (or clunch?) monument to Thomas Henslowe and family, 1577. Pediment supported by four Corinthian columns with figures of Faith, Hope and Charity on top. No effigy.*

18. Bosham, Holy Trinity.
19. Botolphs, St Boltoph.
20. **Boxgrove, SS Mary and Blaise.\***
21. **Broadwater, St Mary.\***
22. **Brading, St Mary, IoW.**
23. Bramber, St Nicholas.
24. Brede, St George.

*Caen stone monument to Sir Goddard Oxenbridge, d. 1531, but dated 1537, with armoured effigy perched precariously on top of a tomb-chest with shields with a low back wall with pilasters. Possibly French-carved.*

25. Buncton, All Saints.
26. Burpham, St Mary.
27. Burton (Dedication lost).

28. Bury, St John the Evangelist.
29. **Carisbrooke, St Mary, IoW.**
30. **Chichester, St Andrew Oxmarket.\***
31. **Chichester Cathedral.\***
32. Chithurst, St Nicholas
33. **Christchurch Priory, Hants.\***
34. **Church Norton, or Old Selsey.\***
35. **Clapham, St Mary.\***
36. Climping, St Mary.
37. Coates, St Agatha.
38. Cocking, (dedication unknown).
39. Coombes (dedication unknown)
40. Crondall, All Saints, Hants.

*Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb with a tomb-chest and London 'G' Lytkott brass plates on back panel to John Gyfford and wife, d. 1560.*

41. Earnley (dedication lost).
42. Eartham, St Margaret.
43. Easebourne, St Mary.

*Alabaster effigy, c.1500, to Sir David Owen, d. 1542. Ordered 40 years before.*

44. East Dean, All Saints.
45. East Tisted, St James, Hants.\*

*Richard Norton (d. 1556) and wife but erected c.1540. Easter Sepulchre with Resurrection, later moved to south aisle. Carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester (Riall, 2007, 165)*

46. Eastergate, St George.
47. Edburton, St Andrew.
48. Felpham, St Mary.
49. Ford, St Andrew.
50. Funtingdon, St Mary.

*Fragments of a fifteenth century tomb-chest with cusped diamond panels in the porch - possibly the remnants of a monument recorded in the early nineteenth century as being in the chancel.*

51. **Godshill, All Saints, IoW.**
52. Goring, St Mary.
53. **Goudhurst, St Mary, Kent.**
54. Graffham, St Giles.
55. Hangleton, St Helen.

*Caen stone panel to ?Richard Bellingham; kneeling figures crudely carved in shallow bas-relief, c.1585.*

56. **Hamsey, St Peter.**
57. Harting SS Mary and Gabriel.
58. Henfield, St Peter.
59. Herstmonceux, All Saints.

*Fifteenth century tomb-chest which bore brasses appropriated for Thomas Fenys, second Lord Dacre of the South, d. 1531 with effigies of c.1480 appropriated ?from Battle Abbey and new Caen stone panels inserted at the east and west ends.*

60. Hunton, St James, Hants.

*Late fifteenth century tomb carved in clunch (See Crook, 2008, 9-36).*

61. Hunston, St Ledger.
62. Isfield, St Margaret

*Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb with*

63. **Kingston Buci, St Julian.**
64. Lancing, St James the Less.
65. East Lavant, St Mary.
66. Mid Lavant, St Nicholas.
67. Lyminster, St Mary Magdalene.
68. Michelmersh, St Mary, Hants.\*
  
69. **Mickleham, St Michael, Surrey\***
70. **North Mundham, St Stephen.\***
71. Oving, St Andrew.
72. Pagham, St Thomas à Becket.
73. Parham, St Peter.
74. Patching, St John.
75. **Petworth, St Mary.\***
76. **Preston Episcopi, Brighton, St Peter.**
77. **Racton, St Peter.\***
78. **Rustington, SS Peter and Paul.**
79. Selham, St James.
80. **Selmeston, (dedication lost).\***
81. Sherborne St John, Hants.
82. Shipley, St Mary.
83. Sidlesham, St Mary.
84. Singleton, St John Evangelist.
  
85. Slindon, St Mary.
  
86. Soberton, SS Peter and Paul, Hants.
  
87. **Sompting, St Mary.\***
88. South Warnborough, St. Andrew, Hants.
  
89. Southwick, St James, Hants.
  
90. Steyning, St Andrew.\*

*tomb-chest and brasses to John Shirley esquire, chief clerk of the kitchen to Henry VII and cofferer to Henry VIII. Brass plates of BVM and kneeling figures lost.*

*Small panel with diminutive kneeling figures and inscription with Humanist lettering, probably from the back wall of a monument. One panel of tomb-chest with shield bearing the arms of FANTLEROY cemented into wall of north transept, almost hidden by organ case.*

*Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb with indents of brasses said to commemorate Thomas Fitzalan, seventh Earl of Arundel, d. 1524. Purbeck marble tomb with moulded Caen stone pediment and surround, with indents of brasses, said to commemorate William Howard, tenth Earl of Arundel, d. 1544. Wooden effigy of Sir William St Leger, d. 1539; remains of recessed canopy tomb, now destroyed.*

*Purbeck marble recessed canopy tomb with indents of brasses, 1521.*

*Caen stone monument to Sir Thomas White, d. 1566, & wife. Nairn & Pevsner (1967, 604) suggest that it might be an appropriated Easter Sepulchre: they may be correct as putti bearing shields on top of the pinnacles and the soffit is made up of very Gothic niches. Not one of the group under investigation.*

*Caen stone tomb added in 1566 to Purbeck marble altar tomb from Southwick Priory with appropriated brasses and Purbeck marble slab. (See Hutchinson & Egan, 1994, 278-9).*

**91. Stoke Charity SS Mary  
and Michael, Hants.\***

- 92. Stoughton, St Mary.
- 93. Sutton, St John.
- 94. Swaythling (*alias* South Stoneham),  
St Mary, Hants.

- 95. Tangmere, St Andrew.
- 96. Thakeham, St Mary.
- 97. Thruxton, SS Peter & Paul.

- 98. Tillington, All Hallows.
- 99. Titchfield, St Peter, Hants.
- 100. Tortington, St Thomas.
- 101. Treyford (old church, St Mary).
- 102. Trotton, St George.

- 103. Walberton, St Mary.
- 104. West Dean (near Chichester) St Andrew.
- 105. Westbourne, St John the Baptist.
- 106. West Grinstead, St George.
- 107. **Westhampnett, St Peter.**
- 108. West Stoke, St Andrew.
- 109. **West Wittering, SS Peter and Paul.\***
- 110. **Wiston, St Mary.\***
- 111. Yapton, St Mary.

*Freestone monument to Edward Waller with  
painted image niches.*

*Caen stone monument of classical design but  
with Gothic niche soffit, said to be of c.1540  
(Nairn & Pevsner 1967, 573) but more like to  
be after 1568, the date of death of  
commemorated.*

*Armoured effigy of de Lisle family and wife  
c.1525, probably carved by Thomas Bertie of  
Winchester (Riall, 2007, 165)*

*Purbeck marble altar tomb to Sir Roger  
Lewknor I, d. 1478, but erected c.1500.  
Purbeck marble tomb, with fragments of  
recessed canopy to his grandson, Sir Roger  
Lewknor II, d. 1543.*

## Appendix Three

*For descriptions of the various monumental brass workshops' figure styles, see Kent, 1949, 70-97, Norris, 1977, vol. 1, 154-76 and Hutchinson & Egan, 1993, 142-83.*

### Choice of Monument Type in Sussex, 1510-1550

NO	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	STATUS	TYPE	COMMENTS
1	1510	Wiston.	Ralph Shirley & wife.	Esquire.	MB	Indents of small kneeling figures. London 'F' workshop.
2	1510	Ardingly.	Nicholas Culpeper & wife.	Esquire.	MB	London 'F' workshop.
3	1513	Horsham.	Richard Foys & wife.	?	MB	London 'F' workshop. Small figure. Husband and inscription lost.
4	1513	Bodiam.	William Wetherden.	Vicar.	MB	London 'G' workshop. Small figure.
5	1515	Thakeham.	Beatrice, wife of William Apsley.	Wife of Esquire.	MB	London 'G' workshop. Small figure.
6	1515	Laughton	Thomas Pelham	Esquire	MB	Inscription. London 'G' workshop.
7	1517	Thakeham.	Thomas, son of William Apsley.	Esquire.	MB	London 'G' workshop. Small figure.
8	1518	Northiam.	Richard Beuford.	Parson.	MB	London 'G' workshop.
9	c.1520	Burton.	John Goring	Esquire	MB	London 'F' workshop. Small kneeling figure.
10	c.1520	Bodiam.	Thomas Grove & wife.	?	MB	London 'G' variant workshop. Inscription only.
11	c.1520	East Grinstead.	Civilian.	?	MB	London 'G' workshop.
12	c.1520	Clapham.	John Shelley I & wife.	Esquire.	MB	Armoured figure and wife in heraldic tabard, Holy Trinity. London 'F' workshop.
13	c.1520	Hastings, All Saints.	Thomas Goodenouth & wife.	Burgess.	MB	London 'G' workshop.
14	c.1520	Preston Episcopi.	Edward Elrington, d.1515.	Esquire.	CS	RC/TC. ES. Monument destroyed.
15	c.1520	North Mundham.	Unidentified civilian & wife.	?Merchant	CS	Exterior panel. Religious imagery.
16	1520-47	Slaugham.	Richard Covert & ws.	Esquire.	CS	CS ES with MB
17	c.1520	Crawley.	Unknown lady.	?	MB	London 'F' workshop. Inscription lost.
18	c.1520	Goring	John Cook & wife	Esquire	MB	Armoured figure. London 'F' workshop.
19	c.1520	Ewhurst.	William Crysford.	?	MB	London 'G' workshop. Small kneeling figure.

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
20	c.1520	Ovingdean.	Unknown lady.	?	MB	Indents of lady and inscription. London 'F' workshop.
21	c.1520	Poynings.	Unknown lady.	?	MB	Indents of figure of lady, inscription and shield. Probably from London 'F' workshop.
22	c.1520	Boxgrove Priory.	Unknown man & wife.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of man and wife, ?Holy Trinity, inscription and two shields. Probably from London 'F' workshop.
23	1522	West Grinstead.	Robert Havercroft & wife.	?	MB	London 'G' workshop. Inscription remains: figures lost.
24	1523	Clayton.	Richard Idon.	Parson.	MB	London 'G' workshop.
25	1524	Singleton.	?Thomas seventeenth Earl of Arundel.	?Nobility.	MB/PM	Indents of two rectangular plates, one an inscription, in an arched recess over an AT. London 'F' variant workshop.
26	1524	Cuckfield.	Mylicent Mychell.	?	MB	London 'F' debased workshop. Inscription only, shields are lost.
27	1524	Withyham	Richard Sakevyle & wife.	Esquire	MB	Kneeling figures and inscription. Lost.
28	c.1524	Broadwater I.	<b>Sir Thomas West I, eighth Baron de la Warr.</b>	<b>Nobility.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>RC/TC. ES.</b>
29	c.1525	Chichester I, St Andrew Oxmarket.	<b>?Thomas Royse &amp; wife.</b>	<b>?Merchant</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>Exterior panel. Religious imagery.</b>
30	c.1525	Sompting.	<b>Richard Burré.</b>	<b>Merchant.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>RC/TC. ES. Reconstructed. Only angel remains of religious imagery.</b>
31	c.1525	Brede.	A member of the Oxenbridge family.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of small kneeling figure before ?Trinity. London 'F' workshop.
32	c.1525	Petworth	?Edmund Dawtrey	Esquire	MB/PM	Recessed tomb with TC and brass figures and inscription.
33	c.1525	Chichester Cathedral.	Kneeling figure.	?Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of kneeling figure, two others, BVM and Child in arched recess and AT. Probably London 'F' variant workshop.
34	c.1525	Poynings.	Unknown man in armour & wife.	Esquire.	MB	Indents of man in armour and wife, Holy Trinity, London 'F' workshop.

NO	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	STATUS	TYPE	COMMENTS
35	c.1525	Chichester Cathedral. South aisle, east of south door.	Civilian & wife.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indent of man and wife, shields and ?saint over an AT. Probably London 'G' workshop.
<b>36</b>	<b>c.1526</b>	<b>Rustington I.</b>	<b>Thomas Cooke &amp; wife.</b>	<b>?Esquire.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>?RC/TC. Only the tomb-chest front survives.</b>
37	1527	Thakeham.	William Apsley.	Esquire.	IS	Burton-upon-Trent alabasterer work. Slab on low AT.
38	1527	Isfield.	John Shurley, chief clerk of kitchen to Henry VII & cofferer to Henry VIII.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of small kneeling effigy, and Virgin Mary. Extant inscription. London 'G' workshop.
39	c.1530	Chichester Cathedral. South wall, south transept.	Civilian & wife.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of kneeling man & wife, ?Pieta, prayer scrolls, inscription shields within arched recess over an AT. London 'G' workshop.
40	c.1530	Chichester Cathedral. North choir aisle.	Civilian.	?Esquire	MB/PM	Indents of kneeling figure with prayer scrolls, ?Holy Trinity and inscription. London 'G' workshop.
41	c.1530	Chichester Cathedral. North choir aisle.	Two figures.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of prayer scrolls, ?Holy Trinity, and two figures. Arched recess over an AT.
42	c.1530	Horsham.	Civilian & wife.	Esquire.	MB	Indents of two kneeling figures, prayer scrolls, inscription, shield. London 'G' workshop.
43	c.1530	Thakeham.	An Apsley.	Esquire.	MB	Indent of armoured figure. Shield extant.
<b>44</b>	<b>c.1530</b>	<b>Kingston Buci.</b>	<b>?Edward Lewkenor III.</b>	<b>Esquire.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>RC/TC. ES.</b>
45	1532	Rusper.	Thomas Chaloner & wife.	?	MB	London 'G' Rufford workshop.
46	<b>1532</b>	<b>Boxgrove I.</b>	<b>Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr.</b>	<b>Nobility.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>Chantry chapel.</b>
<b>47</b>	1533	Slinfold.	Richard Bradbryge & wife.	Gentleman.	MB	London 'F' debased workshop.
48	1533	Herstmonceux.	Thomas, Lord Dacres.	Nobility.	CS	CS inserts added to existing AT. Effigies from Battle Abbey.
49	<b>c.1533</b>	<b>Selmeston.</b>	<b>Beatrix, wife of Sir Edward Bray.</b>	<b>Lady.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>RC/TC. ES.</b>

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
50	c.1535	Petworth.	Sir John Dawtrey I & wife.	Knight.	CS	RC/TC. ES.
51	1536	Chichester Cathedral.	Robert Sherborn.	Bishop.	AE	RC/TC.
52	1536	Burwash	John Collins	?	CIS	Cross and inscription.
53	1537	Brede.	Sir Goddard Oxenbridge,	Knight.	CS	CS effigy on tomb-chest.
54	1537	Church Norton (or Old Selsey).	John Lews & wife.	Esquire.	CS	RC/TC. ES.
55	1538	Hamsey.	?Edward Markewyck.	?	CS	RC/TC. ES.
56	1538	Northiam.	Nicholas Tufton.	Coroner.	MB	London 'G' Rufford workshop.
57	c.1538	West Wittering I.	William Ernle & first wife.	Esquire.	CS	RC/TC. ES.
58	c.1538	Racton.	John Gounter & wife.	Esquire.	CS	RC/TC. ES.
59	1539	Northiam	Margaret Tufton	Wife of Esquire	MB	Inscription only. London 'G' Workshop.
60	1539	Slindon.	Sir Anthony St Leger.	Knight	WE	Recessed canopied tomb, AT destroyed. Wooden effigy.
61	1539	Hooe.	Richard Hollyer & wife.	?	MB	Lost inscription. B.L. Add. MSS. 5,697, fol. 77.
62	c.1540	Chichester II. St Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester.	William Royse & wife	Coroner	CS	Exterior panel with figures, inscription, religious imagery.
63	c.1540	Westhampnett.	Richard Sakevyle & wife.	?Esquire.	CS	RC/TC. ES.
64	c.1540	Rustington II.	?Richard Covert & wife.	Esquire.	CS	Small panel with kneeling figures and religious imagery.
65	c.1540	Wiston.	Sir Richard Shirley & two wives.	Knight.	CS	RC/TC. ?ES.
66	1542	Friston.	Thomas Selwyn & wife.	?	MB	London 'G' Rufford workshop. Reused plate.
67	1542	Easebourne.	Sir David Owen.	Knight.	AE	Pre-ordered effigy of c.1500, in Chellaston alabaster within 13th. century niche.
68	1543	Trotton.	Sir Roger Lewkenor.	Knight.	PB	Remains of recessed canopied tomb with AT. Shown in B.L. Add. MS, 5,675, fol. 126.
69	1544	Singleton.	?William, eighteenth Earl of Arundel.	?Nobility.	MB/PM	Indents of a cross, inscription and two shields over an AT. London 'Fermer' workshop.



<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
70	c.1545	Battle.	Sir Anthony Browne & wife.	Knight.	AE	Painted effigies on Italianate alabaster TC.
71	c.1545	Chichester III. Chichester Cathedral.	?Ellis Bradshaw.	Mayor.	CS	RC/TC.
72	c.1545	Broadwater II.	Sir Thomas West II, ninth baron de la Warr.	Nobility.	CS	RC/TC.
73	c.1547	West Wittering II.	William Ernle & second wife.	Esquire.	CS	RC/TC
74	c.1547	Boxgrove II.	Thomas Miles.	Prior.	CS	RC/TC.
75	c.1550	Clapham.	Sir William Shelley & wife.	Judge.	CS	RC/TC
76	1550	Clapham.	John Shelley II & wife.	Esquire.	MB	London 'Fermer' workshop.

*Sources:* Fieldwork surveys; (Stephenson 1926; Mosse 1933; Greenhill, vol.2, 1-27; Nairn & Pevsner, 1965, Sadler, 1969 and 1970)

**KEY:** **AE** = Alabaster effigy. **AT** = Altar tomb. **CS** = Caen stone monument. **CIS** = Cast iron slab. **ES** = Easter Sepulchre. **Ind** = Indent. **IS** = Incised slab. **MB** = Monumental Brass. **PM** = Purbeck marble monument. **WE** = Wooden effigy.

## Appendix Four

*For descriptions of the various monumental brass workshops' figure styles, see Kent, 1949, 70-97, Norris, 1977, vol. 1, 154-76 and Hutchinson & Egan, 1993, 142-83.*

### Choice of Monument Type in Hampshire, 1510-1550

NO	DATE	LOCATION	NAME	STATUS	TYPE	COMMENTS
1	c.1510	Alton	?Joan, wife of John Fylder.	?	MB	Small effigy of lady; inscription lost. London 'F' workshop.
2	c.1510	Alton	Not known.	?	MB	Three daughters, fragments. London 'F' workshop.
3	c.1510	Christchurch Priory. Lady chapel.	Not known.	Not known.	MB/PM	Indent of chamfer inscription on AT.
4	c.1510	Headley.	Not known.	?	MB	Small figures of man and wife, inscription lost. London 'G' workshop.
5	c.1510	Penton Mewsey.	John Ryche.	?	MB	Lost brass of small effigy of civilian and foot inscription. London 'G' workshop.
6	c.1510	Kimpton.	Not known.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indent, man in armour & two wives, four shields and marginal inscription lost, on AT. London 'F' workshop.
7	1512	Warnborough, South.	Robert White.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Purbeck TC with shields and quatrefoils. Against east wall, kneeling effigy in armour. Religious iconography.
8	1513	Yateley.	Richard Gale.	?	MB	Lost effigy of civilian and inscription.
9	1514	Heckfield.	John Hall & wife.	?	MB	Small figures; that of lady survives. London 'G' workshop.

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
10	1514	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	John Gylbert.	Fellow.	MB	Three-quarter effigy in mass vestments. London 'G' workshop.
11	1514	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	John Erewaker.	Fellow.	MB	Three-quarter effigy in mass vestments. London 'G' workshop.
12	1514	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	Richard Skynner.	Fellow.	MB	Inscription. London 'G' workshop.
13	1514	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	John Hopkyns.	Conductor.	MB	Inscription. London 'G' workshop.
14	c.1515	Farringdon.	Not known.	?Esquire.	MB	Remnants of brass to a man in armour & two wives. Now held by Winchester Museums Service. London 'F' workshop.
15	c.1515	Ringwood.	Not known.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Small kneeling figures of man & wife in London-made Purbeck recessed canopy tomb.
16	c.1515	Romsey Abbey. Chapel of St Mary.	?Joyce Rowse.	Abbess.	MB/PM	Indent of large figure of abbess in mantle with crosier, marginal inscription, AT. Purbeck slab. London 'G' workshop.
17	c.1515	Winchester Cathedral. South aisle of nave.	Not known.	?	MB	Indents of cross, foot inscription. Cross 75 cm. in height. London 'F' workshop.
18	c.1515	Winchester Cathedral. South aisle of nave.	Not known.	?	MB	Indents of cross, foot inscription. Cross 45 cm. in height. London 'F' workshop.
19	1516	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	Thomas Ashbourne.	Fellow.	MB	Lost inscription.
20	1517	Yateley.	William Leward & wife.	?	MB	Small effigies of civilian and wife. London 'F' variant workshop.

<i><b>NO</b></i>	<i><b>DATE</b></i>	<i><b>LOCATION</b></i>	<i><b>NAME</b></i>	<i><b>STATUS</b></i>	<i><b>TYPE</b></i>	<i><b>COMMENTS</b></i>
21	1518	Heckfield.	John Creswell & wife.	Lord of manor.	MB	Inscription, two evangelical symbols and rebus. London 'G' workshop.
22	1518	Itchen Stoke.	Joan, wife of John Batmanson, 'doctor of Sevell'.	?	MB/PM	Small figure, foot inscription; formerly on AT. London 'G' workshop.
23	1518	Winchester St Cross.	Thomas Lawne, rector of Mottisfont.	Priest.	MB	Large effigy in mass vestments, London 'G' workshop.
24	1518	Shorwell, IoW.	Richard Bethell.	Vicar.	MB	Small effigy of priest in surplice and scarf. London 'G' workshop.
25	1518	Winchester Cathedral.	Bishop Richard Fox	Bishop	CS	Chantry chapel probably designed by William Vertue, royal mason. 'Newly built' in 1518.
26	1519	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	Richard Cole.	Conductor.	MB	Lost inscription.
27	1519	Tichborne.	Anne, wife of Nicholas Tychborne.	Lady.	MB	Inscription and two shields (two others lost). Freestone slab. London 'G' workshop.
28	1519	Kingsclere.	William Estwood.	Vicar.	MB	Small figure of priest in mass vestments. London 'G' workshop.
29	c.1520	Old Basing.	John Paulet and wife.	Esquire.	CS	Canopied tomb altar.
30	c.1520	Wallop, Farleigh.	?Member of Wallop family and wife.	?Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of large effigy in armour and wife; Holy Trinity, four shields on Purbeck AT. London 'F' workshop.
31	c.1520	Netley Abbey.	A Cistercian	Monk	IS	
32	c.1520	Titchfield.	Not known.	?Esquire.	MB	Indent of large armoured figure. London 'G' workshop.

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
33	c.1520	Bramley.	Gwen More.	Lady.	MB	Effigy, inscription, four shields. London 'F' debased workshop.
34	c.1520	Candover, Brown.	John Latihall.	Priest.	MB	In mass vestments, without stole. Lost. B.L. Add. MS 39987, fol. 44 <i>b</i> . ?London 'F' debased workshop.
35	c.1520	Christchurch Priory. North ambulatory.	William Eyre.	Prior.	MB	Indent priest in ?cassock, surplice and almuze, foot inscription. London 'F' debased workshop.
36	c.1520	Odiham.	Not known.	Lady.	MB	Lady with nine daughters; inscription ?and sons lost. London 'F' workshop.
37	c.1520	Odiham.	Not known.	Lady.	MB	Lady with six daughters; inscription ?and sons lost. London 'F' workshop.
38	c.1520	Christchurch Priory.	Not known.	?Priest.	MB	Indent of ?priest and marginal inscription effaced. Purbeck slab.
39	c.1520	Thruxton.	--- de Lisle and wife.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Indent of marginal inscription, AT with four shields on panels. Purbeck slab.
40	c.1520	Sutton, Bishop's.	Not known.	?Esquire.	MB	Man in armour and wife, inscription lost. London 'F' workshop.
41	c.1520	Sherborne, Monk.	Not known.	?	MB	Indent of small civilian and foot inscription, London-made.
42	c.1520	Oakley.	Not known	?Esquire	AE	Recumbent effigies of armour and wife on TC. Shields on quatrefoil panels.
43	c.1520	Carisbrooke IoW.	Lady Margaret Wadham	Lady	CS	<b>Recessed canopy tomb with figures of poor and lame.</b>

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
44	c.1520	Brading, IoW	William Howlys	?	CS	AT with cusped panels with inscriptions.
45	c.1520	Brading, IoW	Elizabeth Howlys	?	CS	AT with cusped panels with inscriptions.
46	c.1520-30	Christchurch Priory.	Not known.	Lady.	MB	Indent of lady in heraldic mantle. Purbeck slab.
47	1521	Heckfield.	Thomas Wyfold & two wives.	Gentleman.	MB	Inscription only. London 'G' workshop.
48	1521	Soberton.	?John Newport & wife.	?Esquire.	MB/PM	Indents of small kneeling figure and plate with religious iconography within recessed canopied tomb. London-made brasses.
49	1521	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters	William Ernle.	Fellow.	MB	Inscription and effigy lost. London 'G' workshop.
50	1522	Kimble.	Robert Thornborough & two wives.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Small kneeling figures with scrolls, Cross with Five wounds on AT. London 'F' debased workshop.
51	1522	Odiham.	Thomas Chapman & wife.	?	MB	Inscription only. London 'F' debased workshop.
52	c.1522	Sherborne St John.	Sir Ralph Pexall, d.1538 & wife.	Knight.	CS	Recumbent effigies on TC, with Renaissance ornament, probably carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester, (Riall, 2007, 157).
53	1523	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters	Maurice Morrys.	Clerk.	MB	Lost inscription.
54	c.1523	Romsey Abbey. North aisle, nave.	?Anne Westbrook.	Abbess.	MB	Indent of abbess with crosier. Purbeck slab. London '?F' workshop.
55	1524	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters	John Barratt.	Fellow.	MB	Small kneeling effigy. London 'F' debased workshop.
56	1524	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters	Thomas Rvye.	Fellow.	MB	Lost inscription.

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
57	c.1525	Christchurch Priory.	Not known.	?	MB	Indent inscription only. Purbeck slab.
58	c.1525	Stratfield Saye.	Not known.	?	MB	Indents, inscription and oval plate. Purbeck slab. London-made brasses.
59	c.1525	Itchen Stoke.	Not known.	Esquire.	MB/PM	Small kneeling figure of lady; inscription, plate with BVM and Child, shields. London 'F' debased workshop.
60	c.1525	Itchen Stoke.	Not known.	Lawyer.	MB	Four fragments of marginal inscription, 'one of the kyng's s'jeant at lawe...' now lost. London 'F' debased.
<b>61</b>	<b>c.1525</b>	<b>Christchurch Priory I. South quire.</b>	<b>Robert Harys, thirteenth vicar of priory.</b>	<b>Vicar.</b>	<b>CS</b>	<b>Chantry chapel.</b>
62	c.1525	Wallop, Farleigh.	Not known.	Lady.	MB	Indents of small figure of lady, and two shields. London 'F' workshop.
63	c.1525	Winchester Cathedral. South Transept.	?Thomas Silkstead.	Prior.	MB	Indents of large figure in pontifical vestments, mitre and crosier, canopy. London 'F' workshop.
64	c.1525	Mapledurwell.	John Canner & wife.	?	MB	Small figures of civilian and wife. London 'F' debased workshop.
65	1526	Stoke Charity.	John Waller	Esquire	FS	Shallow four centred depressed arch, niche for images, TC and painted figures of BVM and St Thomas à Becket.
66	1527	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	John Dere.	Fellow.	MB	Inscription. London 'G' workshop
67	1527	Thruxton.	Sir John Lisle & wife.	Knight.	CS	Effigies on TC, probably carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester, (Riall, 2007, 150).

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
68	1529	Bramley.	Richard Carter & wife.	?	MB	Two effigies, inscription. London 'G' workshop.
69	1529	Christchurch Priory.	John Draper.	Prior.	CS	Chantry, probably carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester, (Riall, 2007, 65).
70	1529	Godshill, IoW.	Sir John Leigh & wife.	Knight.	CS	<b>Canopied tomb between chancel and south chapel with alabaster recumbent effigies on AT.</b>
71	c.1530	Christchurch Priory II. South quire aisle.	Unknown, appropriated by Robert White, 1619.	?Sub-prior.	CS	<b>Recessed canopied tomb with AT. Later reconstructions and insertions.</b>
72	c.1530	Odiham.	Not known.	?	MB	Effigy of civilian. Inscription lost. London 'F' debased workshop.
73	c.1530	Netley Abbey	A Cistercian	Monk	IS	
74	c.1530	Warblington.	Not known.	?	MB	Indents of figures of civilian and wife, two shields, two roundels and foot inscription. London 'F' workshop.
75	c.1530	Christchurch Priory. North quire aisle.	Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury	Nobility	CS	Chantry chapel, probably foreign work.
76	1531	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	Thomas Beche.	Fellow.	MB	Lost inscription.
77	1532	Yateley.	William Rygg and wife	?	MB	Small effigies of civilian and wife, foot inscription, children. London 'G' workshop.
78	1532	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters.	John Webb.	Fellow.	MB	Inscription. London 'G' workshop.
79	1534	Alton.	Richard Clarke & wife.	?	MB	Inscription. London 'F' workshop.
80	1535	Kingston, IoW.	Richard Mewys.	?	MB	Small effigy of civilian, foot inscription and sons. London 'G' Rufford workshop.



<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
81	c.1535	Sherborne St John.	William Brocas.	Esquire.	MB	Small kneeling figure of man in armour with foot inscription. London 'G' Rufford workshop.
82	1536	Brading, IoW.	Oliver Oglander and wife	Esquire	CS	<b>AT with figures of Oglander and family and effigies of old and infirm people.</b>
83	1533	Sherborne St John.	James Spiers & wife	?	CS	Donor inscription panel on porch. Probably by Thomas Bertie of Winchester
84	c.1535	South Warnborough	Unknown, appropriated by Sir Thomas White & wife, c.1570	?	CS	Former Easter Sepulchre, appropriated by addition of kneeling figures and three inscriptions inserted into back wall of recessed canopy tomb. Possibly original monument carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester.
85	c.1540	Swaythling	Initials 'F.D.' & 'B.D' for Sir Francis Dawtrey & his wife Blanche.	?	CS	Recessed canopy tomb with arabesque decoration and cartouches on TC. Probably erected after Dawtrey's death in 1568. ?London made.
86	c.1540	Odiham.	Man in armour & two wives.	?Esquire.	MB	Male effigy and daughters only remaining; re-used brass plate, from monastic spoil. London 'G' Rufford workshop.
87	c.1540	East Tisted.	Richard Norton, d. 1537.	Esquire.	CS	Re-dated to c.1540. Probably carved by Thomas Bertie of Winchester, (Riall, 2007, 165).
88	c.1545-60	Old Basing.	William Paulet, first Marquess.	Nobility	CS	Canopied tomb altar. Probably London work.

<i>NO</i>	<i>DATE</i>	<i>LOCATION</i>	<i>NAME</i>	<i>STATUS</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
89	1547	Farlington.	Anthony Pounde.	Esquire.	MB	Inscription and shield. London 'Fermer' workshop.
90	1548	Itchen Abbas.	William Letham.	Rector.	MB	Indents of figure, inscription and marginal inscription. London 'Fermer' workshop.
91	c.1548	Winchester College Chapel & Cloisters	John White.	Warden.	MB	Large figure in cope, inscription; re-used monastic spoil? London 'G' Rufford workshop.
92	c.1548	Winchester Cathedral. South aisle of nave	? William Kingsmell, last prior, first dean.	Dean.	MB	Indents of large figure in cope with foot inscription, nearly effaced. London 'G' workshop.
93	1548	Southwick.	John White.	Esquire.	CS/PM/MB	Caen stone arch dated 1566 on south side, erected above appropriated PM AT, probably from Southwick Priory, and appropriated London 'F' brass. London 'Fermer' workshop. (Hutchinson & Egan, 1994, 278-9).
94	c.1549	Michelmersh.	Tristram Fantleroy, d. 1538, & wife.	Esquire.	CS	Small rectangular panel from back wall of tomb. TC fascia in north transept. Not part of this group of monuments. Possibly by Thomas Bertie of Winchester.
95	?1551	Wherwell.	Sir Owen West	Knight		TC with strapwork.

*Source:* Fieldwork surveys; (Lack, Stuchfield & Whittemore, 2007, Greenhill, vol.2, 1-27, Pevsner & Lloyd, 1967).

**KEY:** **AE** = Alabaster effigy. **AT** = Altar tomb. **CS** = Caen stone monument. **ES** = Easter Sepulchre. **FS** = Freestone. **Ind** = Indent. **IS** = Incised slab. **MB** = Monumental Brass. **PM** = Purbeck marble monument.